Ibn Hisham's As-Seera an-Nabaviyya

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE THE MERCIFUL

PRAISE BELONGS TO ALLAH THE LORD OF THE WORLDS AND MAY HIS BLESSING BE UPON OUR LORD MUHAMMAD AND HIS FAMILY, ALL OF THEM
(The formula of blessing which follows every mention of the prophet is omitted hereafter.

Capital B. stands for `Sons of'; b. for `son of'; d. for `daughter of'.

1- MUHAMMAD'S PURE DESCENT FROM ADAM

Abu Muhammad `Abdu'l-Malik ibn Hisham the Grammarian said:

This is the book of the biography of the apostle of Allah.

Muhammad was the son of `Abdullah, b.`Abul'l-Muttalib (whose name was Shayba), b. Hashim (whose name was `Amr), b. `Abdu Manaf (whose name was al-Mughira), b. Qusayy (whose name was Zayd), b.Kilab, b. Murra, b.Ka`b, b. Lu'ayy, b. Ghalib, b. Fihr, b. Malik, b. al-Nadr, b. Kinana, b. Khuzayma, b. Mudrika (whose name was `Amir), b. Ilyas, b. Mudar, b. Nizar b. Ma`add b. `Adnan, b. Udd (or Udad), b. Muqawwam, b.Nahur, b. Tayrah, b. Ya'rub, b. Yashjub, b. Nabit, b. Isma`il, b. Ibrahim, the friend of the Compassionate, b. Tarih (who is Azar), b. Nahur, b. Sarugh, b. Ra`u, b. Falikh, b. `Aybar, b. Shalikh, b. Arfakhshadh, b. Sam, b. Nuh, b. Lamk. B. Mattushalakh, b. Akhnukh, who is the prophet Idris according to what they allege (The phrase employed indicates that the writer doubts the statement. There is a saying in Arabic: `There is a euphemism for everything and the polite way of saying "It's a lie " is "they allege" (za`amu)'), but Allah knows best (he was the first of the sons of Adam to whem prophecy and writing with a pen were given), b. Yard, b. Mahlil, b. Qaynan, b. Yanish, b. Shith, b.Adam (10).*

2- THE LINE OF ISMA`IL

Isma`il b. Ibrahim begot twelve sons: Nabit the eldest, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Mabsha, Misma`, Mashi, Dimma, Adhr, Tayma, yatur, Nabish, Qaydhuma.Their mother was Rs`la d. Mudad b. `Amr al-Jurhumi (11). Jurhum was the son of Yaqtan b. `Aybar b. Shalikh, and [Yaqtan was] (These words are added by C. as the context demands.) Qahtan b. `Aybar b. Shalikh. According to report Isma`il lived 130 years, and when he died he was buried in the sacred preincts (The hijr is the semicircular space between the hatim (wall) and the Ka`ba.) of the Ka`ba beside his mother Hagar (12).

Muhammad b. Muslim b. `Ubaydullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Abdullah b. Ka`b b. Malik al-Ansari, also called al-Sulami, told him that the apostle of Allah said: `When you conquer Egypt treat its people well, for they can claim our protection and kinship.' I asked al-Zuhri what the apostle meant by making them our kin and he replied that Hagar, the mother of Isma`il, was of their stock (13).

`Ad b. `Aus b. Iram b. Sam b. Nuh and Thamud and Jadis the two sons of `Abir b. Iram b. Sam b. Nuh, and Tasm and `Imlaq and Umaym the sons of Lawidh b. Sam b. Nuh are all Arabs.Nabit b. Isma`il begat Yashjub and the line runs: Ya`rub-Tayrah-Nahur-Muqawwam_udad-`Adnan (14).

From `Adnan the tribes descended from Isma`il split off. `Adnan had two sons, Ma`add and `Akk (14). Ma`add had four sons: Nizar, Quda`a (he being his first born he was called Abu Quda`a), Qunus, and Iyad. Quda`a went to the Yaman to Himyar b. Saba' whose name was `Abdu Shams; the reason why he was called Saba' was that he was the first among the Arabs to take captives. He was the son of Yashjub b. Ya`rub b. Qahtan (15). Of Qunus b. Ma`add according to the genealogists of Ma`add, none has survived. Al-Nu`man b. al-Mundhir king of al-Hira belonged to their tribe. Al-Zuhri told me that this Nu`man belonged to the Qunus b. Ma`add (16).

Ya`qub b.`Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that a shaykh of the Ansar of B. Zurayq told him that `Umar b. al-Khattab, when he was given the sword of al-Nu`man b. al-Mundhir, sent for Jubayr b. Mat`im b. `Adiy b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy (he being the best genealogist of the Qunaysh and indeed of all the Arabs and claimed to have been taught by Abu Bakr who was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs) and girded it on him. When he asked who al-Nu`man wa, Jubayr replied that he was a survivor of the tribe of Qunus b. Ma`add. However, the rest of the Arabs assert that he belonged to the Lakhm of the Rabi`a b. Nasr. Only Allah knows the truth (17).

3 - OF RABI`A B. NASR KING OF THE YAMAN AND THE STORY OF SHIQQ AND SATIH THE SOOTHSAYERS

Rabi`a b. Nasr, king of the Yaman, was of the true stock of the Tubba` kings. He had a vision which terrified him and continued to cause him much anxiety. So he summoned every soothsayer, sorcerer, omenmonger, and astrologer in his kingdom and said: `I have had a vision which terrifies me and is a source of anxiety. Tell me what it was and what it means.' They replied: `Tell us the vision and we will tell you its meaning.' `If I tell you it.' said he, `I can have no confidence in your interpretation; for the only man who knows its meaning is he knows about the vision without my telling him.' Thereupon one of them recommended him to send for Shiqq and Satih, for they knew more than others and would be able to answer his questions. Satih's name was Rabi`b. Rabi`a b. Mas`ud b. Mazin, b. Dhi'b b. `Adiy b. Mazin Ghassan. Shiqq was the son of Sa`b, b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak, b. Qasr b. `Abqar b. Anmar b. Nizar, and Anmar was the father of Bajila and Khath `am (18).

So he sent for them and Satih arrived first. The king then repeated his words, ending, `If you know the vision you will know what it means.' Satih replied (in saj`):

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell on the low country
And devoured all that be.

The king agreed that this was exactly what he had seen, and what was the meaning of it all? He answered:

By the serpent of the lava plains I swear
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jurash everywhere.

The king exclaimed that this was distressing news, but when would these things come to pass-in his time or after him? He replied: [again in rhyme] that more than sixty or seventy years must first pass. Would the new-comers' kingdom last? No, an end would be put to it after seventy years or more; then they would be slain or driven out as fugitives. Who would do this? Iram b. Dhu Yazan, who would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yemen. Further questions drew the information that their kingdom would not last, but a pure prophet to whom revelation came from on high would bring it to an end; he would be a man of the sons of Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik, b. al-Nadr. His dominion would last to the end of time. Has time an end? asked the king. Yes, replied Satih, the day on which the first and the last shall be assembled, the righteous for happiness, the evildoers for misery. Are you telling me the truth? the king asked.

Yes, by the dark and twilight
And the dawn that follows the night
Verily what I have told you is right

Later Shiqq arrived and the king acquainted him with the facts but did not tell him what Satih had said, so that he might see whether they agreed or differed. His words were:

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell between rock and tree
Devouring all that did breathe.

Perceiving that they agreed one with the other and that the difference was a mere choice of words, the king asked Shiqq for his interpretation:

By the men of the plains I swear
The blacks on your land shall bear
Pluck your little ones from your care
Ruling from Abyan to Najran everywhere.

The king put the same questions to him and learned that after his time:

There shall deliver you from them one mighty, great of name

And put them to the utmost shame.

He would be:

A young man neither remiss nor base
Coming forth from Dhu Yazan's house, his place,

Not one of them shall leave on Yaman's face.

He continued in answer to the questions already put to his predecessor: His kingdom shall be ended by an apostle who will bring truth and justice among men of religion and virtue. Dominion will rest among his people until the Day of Separation, the day on which those near Allah will be rewarded, on which demands from heaven will be made which the quick and dead will hear, men will be gathered at the appointed place, the Allahfearing to receive salvation and blessing. By the Lord of heaven and earth, and what lies between them high or low I have told you but the truth in which no doubt (amd) lies (19).

What these two men said made a deep impression on Rabi`a b. Nasr and he dispatched his sons and family to Iraq with all that they might need, giving them a letter to the Persian king Sabur b. Khurrazadh who let them settle in al-Hira.

Al-Nu`man b. al-Mundhir was a descendant of this king; in the genealogies and traditions of the Yaman in his line is: al-Nu`man b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu`man b. Mundhir b. `Amr b. `Adiy b. Rabi`a b. Nasr (20).

4 - HOW ABU KARIB TIBAN AS`AD TOOK POSSESSION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE YAMAN AND HIS EXPEDITION TO YATHRIB

When Rabi`a b.Nasr died the whole kingdom of the Yaman fell into the hands of Hassan b. Tiban As`ad Abu Karib (Tiban As`ad was the last Tubba`, the son of Kuli Karib b. Zayd, Zayd being the first Tubba` son of `Amr Dhu-l-Adh `ar b. Abraha Dhu-l-manar b. al-Rish (21) b. `Adiy b. Sayfi b. Saba' al-Asghar b. Ka`b-Kahf al-Zulm-b. Zayd b. Sahl b. `Amr b. Qays b. Mu'awiya b. Jusham b. `Abdu Shams b. Wa'il b. al-Ghauth b. Qatan b. `Arib b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. Al-Hamaisa` b. al-`Aranjaj, the latter is Himyar b. Saba'al-Akbar b. Ya`rub b. yashjub b. Qahtan (22).)

It was Tiban As`ad Abu Karib who went to Medina and took away to the Yaman two Jewish rabbis from thence. He adorned (`ammara perhaps means `restored'. Tab. omits this sentence.) the sacred temple and covered it with cloth. His reign was before that of Rabi`a b. Nasr (23).

When he came from the east he had passed by Medina without harming its people; but he left behing there one of his sons who was treacherously slain. Thereupon he returned with the intention of destroying the town and exterminating its people and cutting down its palms. So this tribe of the Ansar gathered together under the leadership of `Amr b. Talla the brother of B. al-Najjar and one of B. `Amr b. Mabdhul. Mabdhul's name was

`Amir b. Malik b. al-Najjar: and al-Najjar's name was Taym Allah b. Tha`laba b. `Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Haritha b. Tha`laba b. `Amr b. `Amir (24).

Now a man of B. `Adiy b. al-Najjar called Ahmar had fallen upon one of the followers of Tubba` when the brought them to Medina and killed him (Tab. adds: `and threw him into a well called Dhat Tuman'.), because he caught him among his palms cutting the date clusters; he struck him with his sickle and killed him, saying `The fruit belongs to the men who cultivates it.' This enraged the Tubba' against them and fighting broke out. Indeed the Ansar assert that they used to fight them by day and treat them as guests by night. Tubba` was amazed at this and used to say: `By Allah our people are generous!'

While Tubba` was occupied in this fighting there came two Jewish rabbis from B.Qurayza-Qurayza, and al-Nadir and al-Najjam and `Amr nicknamed Hanging-lip were sons of al-Khazraj b. al-Sarih b. al-Tau'aman b. al-Sibt b. al-Yasa`b. Sa'd b. Lawi b. Khayr b. al-Najjam b. Tanhum b. `Azar b. `Izra b. Harun b. `Imran b. Yashar b. Qahat (Variant Qahath.) b. Lawi b. Ya`qub otherwise called Isra'il b. Ishaq b. Ibrahim the friend of al-Rahman-learned men well grounded in tradition. They had heard about the king's intention to destroy the town and its people and they said to him: `O King, do not do it, for if you persist in your intention something will happen to prevent your carrying it out and we fear that you will incur speedy retribution.' When the king asked the reason for this they told him that Yathrib was the place to which a prophet of the Quraysh would migrate in time to come, and it would be his home and resting-place. Seeing that these men had hidden knowledge the king took their words in good part and gave up his design, departed from Medina and embraced the rabbis' religion (Tab. traces back this story through Ibn Ishaq-Yazid b. `Amr-Aban b. Abu `Ayyash-Anas b. Malik to certain shaykhs of Medina who lived in pre-Islamic times.).

Khalid b. `Abd al-`Uzza b. Ghaziya b. `Amr b. `Auf b. Ghunm b. Malik b. al-Najjar boasting of `Amr b. Talla said:

Has he given up youthful folly or ceased to remember it?

Or has he had his fill of pleasure?

Or have you remembered Youth?
And what a memory of youth and its times you have!
It was a Young man's war
Such as gives him experience.
So ask `Imran or Asad,
When headlong (Variant ghadwan `at early dawn'.) with the morning star came
Abu Karib with his great squadrons
Clad in long mail, of pungent smell.
They said, Whom shall we make for,
The Banu AFu or the Najjar?
Surely the Banu-l-Najjar,
For we seek revenge for our dead.

Then our swordsmen (Reading musayifatun.) went to meet them,
Their number as the drops of widely falling rain,
Among them `Amr b. Talla
(Allah prolong his life for the welfare of his people).
A chief who is on a level with kings but whoso
Would vie with him does not know his eminence.

This tribe of the Ansar claim that the Tubba` was enraged only against this tribe of Jews who were living among them and that it was only his intention to destroy them, but they protected them until he went his way. Therefore in his verse he said:

In rage against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fateful day (25)

(W.'s text is preceded by another verse. Tab. has preserved the full text which I have inserted at the end of this section in the context assigned to it by Tab.)

Now the Tubba` and his people were idolaters. He set out for Mecca which was on his way to the Yaman, and when he was between `Usfan and Amaj (Authorities differ as to the site of the `Usfan. Amaj is the the name of a town within reach of Medina and also of a wadi running from the Harra of the Banu Sulaym to the sea.) some men of the Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma`add came to him saying, `O king, may we not lead you to an ancient treasury which former kings have overlooked? It contains pearls, topaz, rubies, gold and silver.' Certainly, said he, and they added that it was a temple in Mecca which its people worshipped and where they prayed. But the real intention of the Hudhaylis was to encompass his destruction, for they knew that any king that treated it with disrespect was sure to die. Having agreed to their proposal he sent to the two rabbis and asked their opinion. They told him that the sole object of the tribe was to destroy him and his army. `We know of no other temple in the land which Allah has chosen for Himself, said they, and if you do what they suggest you and all your men will perish.' The king asked them what he should do when he got there, and they told him to do what the people of Mecca did: to circumambulate the temple, to venerate and honour it, to shave his head, and to behave with all humility until he had left its precincts.

The king asked why they too should not do likewise. They replied that it was indeed the temple of their father Abraham, but the idols which the inhabitants had set up round it, and the blood which they shed there, presented an insuperable obstacle. They are unclean polytheists, said they -or words to that effect.

Recognizing the soundness and truth of their words the king summoned the men from the Hudhayl and cut off their hands and feet, and continued his journey to Mecca. He went round the Ka`ba, sacrificed, and shaved his head, staying there six days (so they say) sacrificing animals which he distributed to the people and giving them honey to drink.

It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover the temple, so he covered it with woven palm branches; a later vision showed him that he must do better so he covered it with Yamani cloth; a third vision induced him to clothe it with fine striped Yaman cloth. People say that the Tubba` was the first man to cover the temple in this way. He ordered its Jurhumi guardians to keep it clean and not to allow blood, dead bodies, or menstruous cloths to come near it, and he made a door and a key for it.

Subay`a d. al-Ahabb b. Zabina b. Jadhima b. `Auf b. Nasr b. Mu`awiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. `Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. `Aylan was the wise of `Abdu Manaf b. Ka`b b. Sa`d b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ay b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. Nadr b. Kinana. She had by him a son called Khalid; and in impressing on him the sanctity of Mecca and forbidding him to commit grievous sin there, she reminded him of Tubba` and his humility towards it and his work there, in the following lines:

5 - THE REIGN OF HIS SON HASSAN IBN TIBAN AND HOW `AMR KILLED HIS BROTHER

When his son Hassan b. Tiban As`ad Abu Karib came to the throne he set out with the Yamanites to subdue the land of the Arabs and Perssians. However, when they reached a place in Iraq (27) the Himyarite and Yamanite tribes were unwilling to go farther and wanted to return to their families, so they approached one of his brothers called `Amr who was with him in the army and said that if he would kill his brother they would make him king so that he might lead them home again. He said that he would do so, and they all agreed to join in the plot except Dhu Ru`ayn the Himyarite. He forbade him to do this, but he would not heed, so Dhu Ru`ayn wrote the following verses:

Oh who would buy sleeplessness for sleep?
Happy is he who passed the night in peace;
Though Himyar have been treacherous,
Allah will hold Dhu Ru`ayn blameless.

He sealed the document and brought it to `Amr, saying: `Keep this with you for me,' and he did so. Then `Amr killed his brother Hassan and returned to the Yaman with his men (T. 915. Hassan vainly appeals to his brother thus:
Do not hasten my death, O `Amr.
Take the kingdom without using force.). One of the Himyarites was moved to say:

In former generations
What eyes have seen
The like of Hassan who has been slain!
The princes slew him lest they should be kept at war.
On the morrow they said `Ir is naught!'
Your dead was the best of us and your living one
Is lord over us while all of you are lords.

The words `lababi lababi' mean `no matter' in the Himyari language (28).

When Amr b. Tiban returned to the Yaman he could not sleep and insomnia took a firm hold of him. Being much concerned at this, he asked the physicians and those of the soothsayers and diviners who were seers about his trouble. One of them said: `No man has ever killed his brother or kinsman treacherously as you killed your brother without losing his sleep and becoming a prey to insomnia.' At this he began to kill all the nobles who had urged him to murder his brother Hassan, till finally he came to Dhu Ru`ayn who claimed that `Amr held the proof of his innocence, namely the paper which he had given him. He had it brought to him and when he had read the two verses he let him go, recognizing that he had given him good counsel (Tab.916 f. contains a long poem ascribed to `Amr.). When `Amr died the Himyarite kingdom fell into disorder and the people split up into parties.

6 - HOW LAKHNI`A DHU SHANATIR SEIZED THE THRONE OF THE YAMAN

A Himyari who had no connexion with the royal house called Lakhni`a Yanuf Dhu Shanatir (Nold., Gesch.d.Perser u. Araber, 173, notes that the name Lakhi`atha occurs in inscriptions and that shanatir means `fingers'.) arose and killed off their leading men and put the royal family to open shame. Of this man a certain Himyari recited:

Himyar was slaying its sons and exiling its princes,
Working its shame with its own hands,
Destroying its worldly prosperity with frivolous thoughts.
Even greater was the loss of their religion.
So did earlier generations bring their doom
By acts of injustice and profligacy.

Lakhni`a was a most evil man-a sodomite. He used to summon a young man of the royal family and assault him in a room which he had constructed for this very purpose, so that he could not reign after him. Then he used to go from this upper chamber of his to his guards and soldiers, (who were below) having put a toothpick in his mouth to let them know that he had accomplished his purpose. (T. Then he would release him and he would appear before the guards and the people utterly disgraced.) One day he sent for Zur`a Dhu Nuwas son of Tiban As`ad brother of Hassan. He was a little boy when Hassan was murdered and had become a fine handsome young man of character and intelligence. When the messenger came he perceived what was intended and took a fine sharp knife and hid it under the sole of his foot and went to Lakhni`a. As soon as they were alone he attacked him and Dhu Nuwas rushed upon him and stabbed him death. He then cut off his head and put it in the window which overlooked the men below. He stuck the toothpick in his mouth and went out to the guards, who in coarse language inquired what had happened (The Arabic text is in some disorder here, but the citation from al-Aghani given in the Cairo edition makes it possible to restore the rule reading. A literal translation has been avoided for obvious reasons.). `Ask that head,' he replied. They looked at the window and there was Lakhni`a's head cut off. So they went in pursuit of Dhu Nuwas and said: `You must be our king and no one else, seeing that you have rid us of this disgusting fellow.'(29).

7 - THE REIGN OF DHU NUWAS

They made him king and all the tribes of Himyar joined him. He was the last of the Yamani kings and the man who had the ditch made (See below,p.17. In place of the mention of the ditch T. has: `he adopted Judaism and Himyar followed him'. T.'s version of this story is slightly more detailed and one may suspect that I.H. has omitted phrases here and there. Prof. G. Ryckmans in 1952 discovered an inscription at Qara. His name is written Ysf`s'ar. The Sabaean date = A.D.518.). He was called Joseph and reigned for some considerable time.

In Najran there were some people (Lit. `remnants of the people of `Isa's religion.' Nold. takes this to mean upholders of an uncorrupted Christianity; but this is not necessarily the meaning.) who held the relilgion of `Isa b. Maryam, a virtuous and upright people who foolowe the Gospel. Their head was named `Abdullah b. al-Thamir. The place where the religion took root was in Najran, at that time the centre of the Arabs' country; its people, and indeed the rest of the Arabs, were idolaters. A Christian by the name Faymiyun had seeled there and converted the people to his religion.

8 - THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN NAJRAN

Al-Mughira b. Abu Labid, a freedman of al-Akhnas, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih the Yamani told me that the origin of Christianity in najran was due to a man named Faymiyun who was a righteous, earnest, ascetic man whose prayers were answered. He used to wander between towns: as soon as he became known in one town he moved to another, eating only what he earned, for he was a builder by trade using mud bricks. He used to keep Sunday as a day of rest and would do not work then. He used to go into a desert place and pray there until the evening. While he was following his trade in a Syrian village withdrawing himself from men, one of the people there called Salih perceived what manner of man he was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Faymiyun he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as his wont was out into the desert followed by Salih. Salih chose a hiding-place and sat down where he could see him, not wanting him to know where he was. As Faymiyun stood to pray a tinnin, a seven-horned snake, came towards him and when Faymiyun saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Faymiyun's safety, Salhi could not contain himself and cried out: `Faymiyun a tinnin is upon you!' He took no notice and went on with his prayers until he had ended them. Night had come and he departed. He knew that he had been recognized and Salih knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: `Faymiyun, you know that I have never loved anything as I love you; I want to be always with you and go wherever you go.' He replied: `As you will. You know how I live and if you feel that you can bear the life well and good.' So Salih remained with him, and the people of the village were on the point of discovering his secret. For when a man suffering from a disease came in his way by chance he prayed for him and he was cured; but if he was summoned to a sick man he would not go. Now one of the villagers had a son who was blind (Or `sick') and he asked about Faymiyun and was told that he never came when he was sent for, but that he was a man who built houses for people for a wage. Thehreupon

the man took his son and put him in his room and threw a garment over him and went to Faymiyun saying that he wanted him to do some work for him in his house and would he come and look at it, and they would agree on a price. Arrived at the house Faymiyun asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whisked off the covering from the boy and said: `O Faymiyun, one of Allah's creatures is in the state you see. So pray for him.' Faymiyun did so (T. Gives the words of Faymiuun's prayer: `O Allah, thy enemy has attacked the health of one of they servants to run it. Restore him to health and protect him from him.') and the boy got up entirely healed. Knowing that he had been recognized he left the village followed by Salih, and while they were walking through Syria they passed by a great tree and a man called from it saying, `I've been expecting you and saying, "When is he coming?" until I heard your voice and knew it was you. Don't go until you have prayed over my grave for I am about to die.' He did die and he prayed over him until they buried him. Then he left followed by Salih until they reached the land of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off ans sold them in Najran. At this time the people of Najran followed the religion of the Arabs worshipping a great palm- tree there. Every year they had a festival when they hung of the tree any fine garment they could find and women's jewels. Then they sallied out and devoted the day to it (Or, perhaps, `processed round it'.). Faymiyun was sold to one noble and Salih to another. Now it happened that when Faymiyun was praying earnestly at night in a house which his master had assigned to him the whole house was filled with light so that it shone as it were without a lamp. His master was amazed at the sight, and asked him about his religion. Faymiyun told him and said that they were in error; as for the palm-tree it could neither help nor hurt; and if he were to curse the tree in the name of Allah, He would destroy it, for He was Allah Alone without companion. `Then do so,' said his master, `for if you do that we shall embrace your religion, and abandon our present faith.' After purifying himself and performing two rak`as, he invoked Allah against the tree and Allah sent a wind against it which tore it from its roots and cast it on the ground. Then the people of Najran adopted his religion and he instructed them in the law of `Isa b. Maryam. Afterwards they suffered the misfortunes (Or `innovations' (ahdath), so Nold.,op.cit.,182,v.s.) which befell their co- religionists in every land. This was the origin of Christianity in Najran in the land of the Arabs. Such is the report of Wahb b. Munabbih on the authority of the people of Najran.

8 - THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN NAJRAN

Al-Mughira b. Abu Labid, a freedman of al-Akhnas, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih the Yamani told me that the origin of Christianity in najran was due to a man named Faymiyun who was a righteous, earnest, ascetic man whose prayers were answered. He used to wander between towns: as soon as he became known in one town he moved to another, eating only what he earned, for he was a builder by trade using mud bricks. He used to keep Sunday as a day of rest and would do not work then. He used to go into a desert place and pray there until the evening. While he was following his trade in a Syrian village withdrawing himself from men, one of the people there called Salih perceived what manner of man he was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Faymiyun he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as his wont was out into the desert followed by Salih. Salih chose a hiding-place

and sat down where he could see him, not wanting him to know where he was. As Faymiyun stood to pray a tinnin, a seven-horned snake, came towards him and when Faymiyun saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Faymiyun's safety, Salhi could not contain himself and cried out: `Faymiyun a tinnin is upon you!' He took no notice and went on with his prayers until he had ended them. Night had come and he departed. He knew that he had been recognized and Salih knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: `Faymiyun, you know that I have never loved anything as I love you; I want to be always with you and go wherever you go.' He replied: `As you will. You know how I live and if you feel that you can bear the life well and good.' So Salih remained with him, and the people of the village were on the point of discovering his secret. For when a man suffering from a disease came in his way by chance he prayed for him and he was cured; but if he was summoned to a sick man he would not go. Now one of the villagers had a son who was blind (Or `sick') and he asked about Faymiyun and was told that he never came when he was sent for, but that he was a man who built houses for people for a wage. Thehreupon the man took his son and put him in his room and threw a garment over him and went to Faymiyun saying that he wanted him to do some work for him in his house and would he come and look at it, and they would agree on a price. Arrived at the house Faymiyun asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whisked off the covering from the boy and said: `O Faymiyun, one of Allah's creatures is in the state you see. So pray for him.' Faymiyun did so (T. Gives the words of Faymiuun's prayer: `O Allah, thy enemy has attacked the health of one of they servants to run it. Restore him to health and protect him from him.') and the boy got up entirely healed. Knowing that he had been recognized he left the village followed by Salih, and while they were walking through Syria they passed by a great tree and a man called from it saying, `I've been expecting you and saying, "When is he coming?" until I heard your voice and knew it was you. Don't go until you have prayed over my grave for I am about to die.' He did die and he prayed over him until they buried him. Then he left followed by Salih until they reached the land of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off ans sold them in Najran. At this time the people of Najran followed the religion of the Arabs worshipping a great palm- tree there. Every year they had a festival when they hung of the tree any fine garment they could find and women's jewels. Then they sallied out and devoted the day to it (Or, perhaps, `processed round it'.). Faymiyun was sold to one noble and Salih to another. Now it happened that when Faymiyun was praying earnestly at night in a house which his master had assigned to him the whole house was filled with light so that it shone as it were without a lamp. His master was amazed at the sight, and asked him about his religion. Faymiyun told him and said that they were in error; as for the palm-tree it could neither help nor hurt; and if he were to curse the tree in the name of Allah, He would destroy it, for He was Allah Alone without companion. `Then do so,' said his master, `for if you do that we shall embrace your religion, and abandon our present faith.' After purifying himself and performing two rak`as, he invoked Allah against the tree and Allah sent a wind against it which tore it from its roots and cast it on the ground. Then the people of Najran adopted his religion and he instructed them in the law of `Isa b. Maryam. Afterwards they suffered the misfortunes (Or `innovations' (ahdath), so Nold.,op.cit.,182,v.s.) which befell their co- religionists in every land. This

was the origin of Christianity in Najran in the land of the Arabs. Such is the report of Wahb b. Munabbih on the authority of the people of Najran.

9 - `ABDULLAH IBN AL-THAMIR AND THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE TRENCH

Yazid b. Ziyad told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka`b al-Qurazi, and a man of Najran also told me, that according to his people they used to worship idols. Najran is the largest town in which the people of the neighbouring district congregated, and in a village hard by there was a sorcerer who used to instruct the young men of Najran in his art. When Faymiyun came there-they did not call him by the name that Wahb b. Munabbih gives him but simple said a man came there-he put up a tent between Najran and the place where the sorcerer was. Now the people of Najran used to send their young men to that sorcerer to be taught sorcery and al-Thamir sent his son `Abdullah along with them. When he passed by the man in the tent he was immensely struck by his prayers and devotion and began to sit with him and listen to him until he became a Muslim (The Quran teaches that pure Christianity was Islam, cf. Sura 3.45 et passim.), and acknowledged the unity of Allah and worshipped Him. He asked questions about the laws of Islam until when he became fully instructed therein he asked the man what was the Great Name of Allah. Although he knew it he kept it from him, saying: `My dear young man (Lit. `Son of my brother'.), you will not be able to bear it; I fear that you are not strong enough.' Now al-Thamir had no idea that his son. `Abdullah was not visiting the sorcerer along with the other young men. `Abdullah seeing that his master had kept the knowledge from him and was afraid of his weakness, collected a number of sticks and whenever he taught him a name of lAllah he wrote that name on a stick. When he had got them all he lit a fir and began to throw them in one by one until when he reached the stick with the Great Name inscribed on it he threw it in, and it immediately sprang out untouched by the fire. Thereupon he took it and sent and told his master that he knew the Great Name which he had concealed from him. The latter questioned him and when he learned how he had found out the secret he said, `O my young friend (Lit. `Son of my brother'.), you have got it, but keep it to yourself, though I do not think you will'.

Thereafter whenever `Abdullah b. al-Thamir entered Najran and met any sick person he would say to him, `O servant of Allah, will you acknowledge the unity of lAllah and adopt my religion so that I may pray to Allah that he may heal you of your affliction?' The man would agree, acknowledge the unity of Allah, and become a Muslim, and he would pray for him and he would be healed, until in the end there was not a single sick person in Najran but had adopted his religion and become whole from his sickness. When the news reached the king he sent for him and said: `You have corrupted the people of my town so that they are against me and have opposed my religion and the religion of my fathers. I will make a terrible example of you!' He replied: `You have not the power to do that.' The king had him taken to a high mountain and thrown down headlong, but he reched the ground unhurt. Then he had him thrown into deep water in Najran from which no one had ever emerged alive, but he came out safely.

Having thus got the better of him `Abdullah told him that he would not be able to kill him until he ackowledged the unity of Allah and believed in his religion; but that if he did

that he would be given power' to kill him. The king then acknowledged the unity of Allah and pronounced the creed of `Abdullah, and hitting him a moderate blow with a stick which he had in his hand he killled him and died himself on the spot. The people of Najran accepted the religion of `Abdullah b. al-Thamir according to the Gospel and the law which `Isa b. Maryam brought. Afterwards they were overtaken by the misfortunes (ahdath,v.s.) which befell their co-religionists. Such is the origin of Christianity in Najran. But Allah knows best (what the facts are).

Such is the report of Muhammad b. Ka`b. al-Qurazi and one of the men of Najran about `Abdullah b. al-Thamir, but Allah knows best what happened.

Dhu Nuwas came against them with his armies and invited them to accept Judaism, giving them the choice between that or death: they chose death. So he dug trenches for them; burnt some in fire, slew some with the sword, and mutilated them until he had killed nearly twenty thousand of them (T. `Then Dhu Nuwas returned to San`a with his troops.'). Concerning Dhu Nuwas and that army of his Allah revealed to his apostle

On the trenchmakers be eternal ire
For their fuel-fed fire
Watching as the flames grew higher
The sufferings of the faithful, dire!
They only tormented them because they believed in
Allah the Mighty, the Worthy to be Praised (30)(Sura 85.4).

It is said that among those put to death by Dhu Nuwas was `Abdullah b. al-Thamir, their leader and imam (Another tradition in T. says that `Abddullah was killed by an earlier king. Azr.i.81 gives a somewhat different version from the riwaya of Ibn Saj. For an account of these martyrs from Christian sources see The Book of the Himyarites, ed. Axel Moberg, Lund, 1924.).

I was told by `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. `Amr b. Hazm that he was told that in the days of `Umar b. al-Khattab a man of Najran dug up one of the ruins of Najran intending to make use of the land, when they came upon `Abdullah b. al-Thamir under a grave; he was in a sitting posture with his hand covering a wound in his head and holding firmly to it. When his hand was removed the blood began to flow; when they let go of his hand it returned to its place and the flow of blood ceased. On his finger was a ring inscribed `Allah is my Lord'. A report was sent to `Umar and he replied: `Leave him alone and cover in the grave' and his orders were duly carried out.

10 - OF DAUS DHU THA`LABAN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ABYSSINIAN DOMINATION AND THE HISTORY OF ARYAT WHO BECAME VICEROY OF THE YAMAN

A man of Saba` called Daus Dhu Tha`laban escaped on a horse, and taking to the desert eluded them (Tab.925.9 says that there was a Yamani report that a man of Najran called Jabbar b. Fayd also escaped.). He pressed on until he reached the Byzantine court, when

he asked the emperor to aid him against Dhu Nuwas and his troops, telling him what had happened. The latter replied that his country was too distant for him to be able to help by sending troops, but that he would write to the Abyssinian king who was a Christian and whose territory was near the Yaman. Accordingly he did write ordering him to help Daus and seek revenge.

Daus went to the Negus with the emperor's letter, and he sent with him seventy thousand Abyssinians, putting over them a man called Aryat. (T. He ordered him to kill a third of the men, lay waste a third of the country, and seize a third of the women and children if he conquered.) With the army there was a man called Abraha `Split-face'. Aryat crossed the sea with Daus Dhu Tha`laban and landed in the Yaman. Dhu Nuwas with the Himyarites and such of the Yamani tribes as were under his command came out against him, and after an engagement Dhu Nuwas and his force was put to flight (Tab.927.15 contains an account of the disordered state of the Yamani army and their feeble opposition.). Seeing that his cause was lost Dhu Nuwas turned his horse seawards beating it until it entered the waves and carried him through the shallows out into the deep water. This was the last that was seen of him. Aryat entered the Yaman and took possession of it. (T. He carried out the Negus's orders, and sent a third of the women and children to him. He stayed on in the country and reduced it to subjection.)

One of the Yamanis remembering how Daus had brought the Abyssinians upon them said:

Not like Daus and not like the things he carried in his saddle bag.

And this saying has become proverbial in the Yaman until this day.

Dhu Jadan the Himyari (T recording their humiliation after their former glory and Aryat's destruction of their castles Silhin, Baynun, and Ghumdan unique in their splendour) recited:

Gently! Tears cannot recall what is sped.
Fret not thyself for those who are dead.
After Baynun no stones nor trace remain,
And after Silhin shall men build such houses again?

Baynun, Silhin, and Ghumdan are Yamani castles which Aryat destroyed and none like them existed.

He continued:

Peace, confound you! You can't turn me from my purpose
Thy scolding dries my spittle!
To the music of singers in times past'twas fine
When we drank our fill of purest noblest wine.
Drinking freely of wine brings me no shame

If my behaviour no boon-companion would blame.
For death no man can hold back
Though he drink the perfumed potions of the quack.
Nor monk in his secluded cell on high
Where the vulture round his nest doth fly.
You have heard of Ghumdan's towers:
From the mountain top it lowers
Well carpentered, with stones for stay,
Plastered with clean, damp, slippery clay;
Oil lamps within it show
At even like the lightning's glow.
Beside its wall the palm-trees fine
With ripening fruit in clusters shine.
This once-new castle is ashes today,
The flames have eaten its beauty away.
Dhu Nuwas humbled gave up his castle great
And warned his people of their coming fate.

With reference to that, Ibn al-Dhi'ba al-Thaqafi said (31):

By thy life there's no escape for a man when death and old age seize him.

By thy life a man has nowhere to flee-no asylum

Could there be after Himyar's tribes were destroyed one morn by calamity's stroke,

A thousand thousand with spearmen (glittering) like the sky before rain.

Their cry deafened the chargers and they put to flight the warriors with their pungent smell.

Witches as the sand in number the very sap of trees dried at their approach.

`Amr b. Ma`di Karib al-Zubaydi said concerning a dispute which he had with Qays b. Makshuh al-Muradi when he heard that he had threatened him, and bringing to memory the lost glory of Himyar:

Do you threaten me as though you were Dhu Ru`ayn
Or Dhu Nuwas in the days of their prime?
Many a man before you was prosperous
With a kingdom firmly rooted among men.
Ancient as the days of `Ad
Exceeding fierce, overcoming tyrants,
Yet his people perished
And he became a wanderer among men (32).

11 - HOW ABRAHA SEIZED POWER IN THE YAMAN ANDKILLED ARYAT

Aryat held sway in the Yaman for some years and then Abraha the Abyssinian (T. who was in his army) disputed his authority, and the Abyssinians split into two parties each claiming supporters. When war was about to begin, Abraha sent to Aryat asking him to avert the danger of internecine war and inviting him to settle the dispute by personal combat, the winner to be the sole commander of the army. Aryat agreed the Abraha went forth to meet him. He was a short fat man holding the Christian faith; and Aryat advanced against him spear in hand; he was a big, tall, handsome man. Abraha had a young man called `Atawda at his back to defend him against attack from the rear. Aryat raised his spear striking at Abraha's skull and hit him on the forehead splitting his eyebrow, nose, eye, and mouth. It was for this reason that he was called al-Ashram (split-face). Thereupon `Atawda coming out from behind Abraha attacked Aryat and killed him, and Aryat's army joined Abraha, and the Abyssinians in the Yaman accepted him as their chief. (T. Then `Atawda cried: :"Atawda you see, of an evil company; parentless in nobility', meaning that Abraha's slave had killed Aryat. Al-Ashram asked what he wanted, for though he had killed him blood-money must be paid. He asked and obtained from him the right of primae nootis in Yaman.) Abraha paid blood-money for killing Aryat. (T. All this happened without the knowledge of the Negus.)

When the news of this affair reached the Negus he was filled with rage and said: `Had he attacked my amir and killed him without any order from me?' Then he swore an oath that he would not leave Abraha alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forlock. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with the earth of the Yaman and sent it to the Negus with the following letter: `O King, Aryat was only thy slave and I too am thy slave. We disputed about your orders; everyone must obey you; but I was stronger, firmer, and more skilful in managing the affairs of the Abyssinians. Now when I was told of the King's oath I shaved the whole of my head and I sent it to you with a bag of the dust of my land that you may put it beneath your feet and thus keep your oath concerning me.' When this message reached the Negus he was reconciled to him and wrote to him that he was to stay in the Yaman until further orders; so Abraha remained in the Yaman. (T. When Abraha perceived that the Negus was reconciled and had made him viceregent of the Yaman, he sent to Abu Murra b. Dhu Yazan and took away from him his wife Rayhana d. `Alqama b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlan. Abu Murra who is Dhu Jadan had a son by her-Ma`di Karib. Afterwards she bore to Abraha a son Masruq and a daughter Basbasa. Abu Murra took to flight. His slave `Atawda went on exercising his right in Yaman until a man of Himyar of Khath`am attacked and killed him; and when the news reached Abraha, who was a lenient noble character, a Christian of temperate habits, he told the people that it was high time that they had an official with due self-control and that had he known that `Atawada would have chosen such a reward for his services he would not have allowed him to choose his reward. Further no bloodwit would be exacted and he would not take any action against them for killing `Atawda.)

12 - THE HISTORY OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE STORY OF THE INTERCALATORS

Then Abraha built the cathedral (al-Qullays. The Arab commentators derive this word from an Arabic root, but it is simply the Greek ekklesia.) in San`a', such a church as could not be seen elsewhere in any part of the world at that time. He wrote to the Negus saying: `I have built a church for you, O King, such as has not been built for any king before you. I shall not rest until I have diverted the Arabs' pilgrimage to it.' When the Arabs were talking about this letter of his, one of the calendar intercalators was enraged. He was of the B. Fuqaym b. `Adiy b. `Amir b. Tha`laba b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kinana b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. The intercalators are those who used to adjust the months for the Arabs in the time of ignorance. They would make one of the hold months profane, and make one of the profane months holy to balance the calender. It was about this that Allah sent down: `Postponement (of a sacred month) is but added infidelity by which those who disbelieve are misled. They make it (the month) profane one year and make it sacred the next year, that they may make up the number of the months which Allah has made sacred (33)(Sura 9.37.).

The first to impost this system of intercalation on the Arabs was al-Qalammas who was Hudhayfa b. `Abd b. Fuqaym b. `Adiy b. `Amir b. Tha`laba b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Kinana b. Khuzayma; his son `Abbad followed him; then his descendants Qala`, Umayya, `Auf, and Abu Thumama Junada b. `Auf who was the last of them, for he was overtaken by Islam. When the Arabs had finished pilgrimage, it used to be their practice to gather round him and he would declare the four sacred months Rajab, Dhu'l-Qa`da, Dhu'l-Hijja, and al-Muharram. If he wanted to free a period he would free al-Muharram and they would declare it free and ban Safar in its place so as to make up the number of the four sacred months. When they wanted to return from Mecca (It by this time a sacred month was due, raiding and blood-revenge would be taboo; hence the need to declare the month profane.), he got up and said: `O Allah, I have made one of the Safars free for them, the first Safar, and I have postponed the other till next year.'

About this `Umayr b. Qays Jadhlu's-Ti`an, one of the B. Firas b. Ghanm b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. Kinana, boasting of this determining of the months, improvised:

Ma`add knows that my people are the most honourable of men and have noble ancestors.

Who had escaped us when we seek vengeance and whom have we not made to champ the bit?

Are we not Ma'add's calendar-makers, making profane months sacred? (34).

The Kinanite went forth until he came to the cathedral and defiled it (35). Then he returned to his own country. Hearing of the matter Abraha made inquiries and learned that the outrage had been committed by an Arab who came from the temple in Mecca where the Arabs went on pirgrimage, and that he had done this in anger at his threat to divert the Arabs' pilgrimage to the cathedral, showing thereby that it was unworthy of reverence.

Abraha was enraged and swore that he would go to this temple and T.934 destroy it. (T. with Abraha there were some Arabs who had come to seek his bounty, among them Muhammad b. Khuza`i b. Khuzaba al-Dhak-wani, al-Sulami, with a number of his tribesmen including a brother of his called Qays. While they were with him a fease of Abraha occurred and he sent to invite them to the feast. Now he used to eat an animal's testicles, so when the invitation was brought they said, `by Allah, if we eat this the Arabs will hold it against us as long as we live.' Thereupon Muhammad got up and went to Abraha and said, `O King, this is a festival of ours in which we eat only the loins and shoulders.' Abraha replied that he would send them what they liked, because his sole purpose in inviting them was to show that he honoured them. Then he crowned Muhammad and made him amir of Mudar and ordered him to go among the people to invite them to pilgrimage at his cathedral which he had built. When Muhammad got as far as the land of Kinana the people of the lowland knowing what he had come for sent a man of Hudhayl called `Urwa b. Hayyad al-Milasi who shot him with an arrow, killing him. His brother Qays who was with him fled to Abraha and told him the news, which increased his rage and fury and he swore to raid the B. Kinana and destroy the temple.) So he commanded the Abyssinians of prepare and make ready, and sallied forth with the elephant. News of this plunged the Arabs into alarm and anxiety and they decided that it was incumbent on them to fight against him when they heard that he meant to destroy the Ka`ba, Allah's hold house.

A member of one of the ruling families in the Yaman, Dhu Nafr by name, summoned his people and such of the Arabs as would follow him to fight Abraha and stop him from attacking and destroying Allah's holy house. A certain number supported him, but after a battle Dhu Nafr and his followers were put to flight and he himself was taken prisoner and brought to Abraha. When he was about to put him to death Dhu Nafr pleaded for his life on the ground that he would be more useful to him alive than dead. Abraha then gave him his life but kept him in fetters. He was a merciful man.

Abraha continued on his road to Mecca until in the country of Khath`am he was opposed by Nufayl b. Habib al-Khath`ami with their two tribes Shahran and Nahis and such of the Arab tribes as followed him. After an engagement he was defeated and taken prisoner. When Abraha thought of killing him, Nufayl said; `Don't kill me, O King, for I will be your guide in the Arab country. Here are my two hands as surety that the two tribes of Khath`am, Shahran and Nahis, will obey you.' So Abraha let him go.

He continued with him as a guide until they reached Ta'if when Mas`ud b. Mu`attib b. Malik b. Ka`b b. `Amr b. Sa`d b. `Auf b. Thaqif came out to him with the men of Thaqif. Thaqif's name was Qasiy b. al-Nabit b. Munabbih b. Mansur b. Yaqdum b. Afsa b. Du`mi b. Iyad b. Nizar b. Ma`add b. `Adnan. Umayya b. Abu Salt al-Thaqafi said:

My people are Iyad, would that they were near

Or would that they had stayed (here) though their camels might be thin (The camels are thin because they are always overmilked to supply the wants of guests. Schulthess, Umayya, 15, reads fatujzara, `might be slaughtered'.).

When on the march Iraq's wide plain
Is theirs-moreover they read and write (36).

He also said:

If you ask me who I am, Lubayna, and of my line
I will tell you the certain truth.
We belong to al-Nabit the father of Qasiy
To Mansur son of yaqdum (our) forefathers (37).

They said to him: O king, we are thy servants attentive and obedient to you. We have no quarrel with you and our temple-meaning that of al-Lat-is not the one you seek. You want only the temple in Mecca, and we will send with you a man to guide you there. He therefore passed on leaving them unmolested.

As to al-Lat it was a temple of theirs in al-Ta'if which they used to venerate as the Ka`ba is venerated (38). So they sent with him Abu Righal to guide him on the way to Mecca, and when he had brought him as far as al-Mughammis (Also written al-Mughammas, a place `two thirds of a parasang' (roughly two miles) from Mecca.) Abu Righal died there and the Arabs stoned his grave. This is the grave which people in al-Mughammis still stone (The practice survives to this day.).

Arrived here, Abraha sent an Abyssinian called al-Aswad b. Mafsud (Other authorities write Maqsud. Mafsud means `slssh-faced'.) with some cavalry as far as Mecca and the latter sent off to him the plunder of the people of Tihama, the Quraysh and others, among it two hundred camels belonging to `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim, who at that time was the leading shaykh of Quraysh. At first Quraysh, Kinana, and Hudhayl and others who were in the holy place meditated battle, but seeing that they had not the power to offer resistance they gave up he idea.

Abraha sent Hunata the Himyarite to Mecca instructing him to inquire who was the chief notable of the country and to tell him that the king's message was that he had not come to fight them, but only to destroy the temple. If they offered no resistance there was no cause for bloodshed, and if he wished to avoid war he should return with him. On reaching Mecca Hunata was told that `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim b. `Abd Manaf b. Qusayy was the leading notable, so he went to him and delivered Abraha's message. `Abdu'l-Muttalib replied: `Allah knows that we do not wish to fight him for we have not the power to do so. This is Allah's sanctuary and the temple of His friend Abraham-or words to that effect-If He defends it against him it is His temple and His sanctuary; and if he lets him have it by Allah we cannot defent it!' Hunata replied that he must come with him to Abraha, for he was ordered to bring him back with him.

So accompanied by one of his sons `Abdu'l-Muttalib came to the camp and inquired for Dhu Nafr, for he was a friend of his. He went in to see him as he was in confinement and asked him if he could do anything to help them in their trouble. Dhu Nafr replied: `What use is a man held a prisoner in the hands of a king, expecting to be killed at any

moment? I can do nothing to help you except that Unays the keeper of the elephant being a friend of mine, I will send to him and commend your case to him as strongly as possible asking him to try to get you permission to see the king. So speak as you think fit, and he will intercede for you with the king if he is able to do so'. So Dhu Nafr sent to Unays saying, `The king has taken two hundred camels belonging to `Abdu'l-Muttalib, lord of Quraysh and master of the Meccan (C. has `ir, `caravan'.) well who feeds men in the plain and wild creatures on the top of the mountains, and is now here. So ask permission for him to see the king and help him as far as you can.' He said he would do so and repeated these words to the king, adding that `Abdu'l-Muttalib wished to see him and talk to him about a pressing matter. Abraha agreed to see him. Now `Abdu'l-Muttalib was a most impressive, handsome, and dignified man, and when Abraha saw him he treated him with the greatest respect so that he would not let him sit beneath him. He could not let the Abyssinians see him sitting beside him on his royal throne, so he got off his throne and sat upon his carpet and made `Abdu'l-Muttalib sit beside him there. Then he told his interpreter to inquire what he wanted, and the reply was that he wanted the king to return two hundred camels of his which he had taken. Abraha replied through the interpreter, `You pleased me much when I saw you; then I was much displeased with you when I heard what you said. Do you wish to talk to me about two hundred camels of yours which I have taken, and say nothing about your religion and the religion of your forefathers which I have come to destroy?' `Abdu'l-Muttalib replied, `I am the owner of the camels and the temple has an owner who will defend it.' When the king replied that he could not defend it against him he said,` That remains to be seen.' (`Give me back my camels.')

Some learned people allege that when `Abdu'l-Muttalib went to Abraha when he sent Hunata to him, there accompanied him Ya`mur b. Nufatha b. `Adiy b. al-Du'il b. Bakr b. `Abd Manat b. Kinana, at that time chief of B.Bakr, and Khuwaylid b. Wathila, then chief of Hudhayl. They offered to give Abraha a third of the cattle of the lowland on condition that he would withdraw from them and not destroy the temple, but he refused their request; but Allah knows whether this was so or not. At any rate Abraha restored to `Abdu'l-Muttalib the camels which he had taken.

When they left him, `Abdu'l-Muttalib went back to Quraysh and having given them the news ordered them to withdraw from Mecca and take up defensive positions on the peaks and in the passes of the mountains for fear of the excesses of the soldiers. `Abdu'l-Muttalib took hold of the metal knocker of the Ka`ba, and a number of Quraysh stood with him praying to Allah and imploring his help against Abraha and his army. As he was holding the knocker of the temple door, `Abdu'l-Muttalib said:

O Allah, a man protects his dwelling so protect Thy dwellings (Hilal, the plural of hilla, means a collection of houses and also the people who live therein. For rahlahu al-Shahrastani,Milal, has hillahu `his neighbour', and for ghadwan `tomorrow' `adwan, which could be rendered `hostile' here. For qiblatana he has Ka`batana.).

Let not their cross and their craft tomorrow overcome Thy craft (39)(mihal here is said by C. and Abu Dharr to mean strength and power; but it really means `guile', `strategy accompanied by force'. `Craft', cf. Kraft, appears to be the best rendering. The passage is

a reminiscence ot Sura 13.14, and the idea may be found in the Quranic saying of Allah: Khayru l-makirin,3.47. T. has preserved four lines of no poetic merit which I.H. preferred to excise.)

`Ikrima b. `Amir b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf b. `Abd al-Dar b. Qusayy said:

O Allah, humiliate al-Aswad b. Mafsud
Who took a hundred camels wearing their collars;
Between Hira' and Thabir and the deserts,
He shut them in when they should be pasturing freely,
And delivered them to the black barbarians,
Withdraw from him thine aid, O Lord, for Thou art worthy to be praised (40).

`Abdu'l-Muttalib then let go the knocker of the door of the Ka`ba and went off with his Quraysh companions to the mountain tops where they took up defensive positions waiting to see what Abraha would do when he occupied Mecca. In the morning Abraha prepared to enter the town and made his elephant ready for battle and drew up his troops. His intention was to destroy the temple and then return to the Yaman. When they made the elephant (its name was Mahmud) face Mecca, Nufayl b. Habib came up to its flank and taking hold of its ear said: `Kneel, Mahmud, or go straight back whence you came, for you are in Allah's holy land!' He let go of its ear and the elephant knelt, and Nufayl made off at top speed for the top of the mountain. The troops beat the elephant to make it get up but it would not; they beat its head with iron bars; they stuck hooks into its underbelly and scarified it; but it would not get up. Then they made it face the Yaman and immediately it got upand started off. When they set it towards the north and the east it did likewise, but as soon as they directed it towards Mecca it knelt down.

Then Allah sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and starlings; each bird carried three stones, like peas and lentiles, one in its beak and two between its claws. Everyone who was hit died but not all were hit. They withdrew in flight by the way they came, crying out for Nufayl b. Habib to guide them on the way to the Yaman. When he saw the punishment which Allah had brought down on them Nufayl said:

Where can one flee when Allah pursueth?
Al-Ashram is the conquered not the conqueror (41).

Nufayl also said:

Our greetings, Rudayna!
You rejoice our eyes this morning!
[Your fuel-seeker came to us last night,
But we had naught to give him.]
If you had seen, but you will not see, Rudayna,
What we saw on al-Muhassab's side (A place between Mecca and Mina in the valley of Mecca. See Yaqut.)
You would have forgiven me and praised my action

And not have been vexed at what has passed and gone (Possibly bayna is a poetical form of baynana, `between us'. The line is based on Sura 57.23.).

I praised Allah when I saw the birds,
And I feared the stones that might fall upon us.
Everyone was asking for Nufayl
As though I owed the Abyssinians a debt.

As they withdrew they were continually falling by the wayside dying miserably by every waterhole. Abraha was smitten in his boby, and as they took him away his fingers fell off one by one. Where the finger had been, there arose an evil sore exuding pus and blood, so that when they brought him to San`a' he was like a young fledgeling. They allege that as he died his heart burst from his body. (A. Deserters from the army, labourers, and campfollowers remained in Mecca and became workers and shepherds for the population.)

Ya`qub b. `Utba told me that he was informed that that year was the first time that measles and smallpox had been seen in Arabia;; and, too, that it was the first time that bitter herbs like rue, colocynth, and Asclepias gigantea were seen.

When Allah sent Muhammad he specially recounted to the Quraysh his goodness and favour in turning back the Abyssinians in order to preserve their state and permanence. `Did you not see how your Lord dealt with the owners of the elephant? Did He not reduce their guile to sheer terror? And sent upon them flocks of birds, throwing hard clay stones upon them, making them as blades of corn that have been devoured.' (Sura 105.).

And again: `For the uniting of Quraysh, their uniting the caravans to ply summer and winter. Then let them worship the Lord of this temple, who has fed them so that they hunger not, and made them safe from fear' (Sura 106. A good discussion of this difficult passage will be found in Lane's Lexicon, p.79b and c. There are three rival readings: ilaf (adopted by our author), ilaf, and ilf. According to all three the meaning is said to be `for their keeping to the journey etc.' Other authorities say that the first reading means `for the preparing and fitting out'. Others say that according to the third reading the meaning is `the protecting'. According to Ibn al-A`rabi the point of this is that the four sons of `Abdu Manaf were given freedom to travel by the Byzantines, Persian, Abyssinians, and Himyaris respectively and so were able to go and bring corn from neighbouring territories. There may be a sound historical kernel to this tradition. The four brothers gave this protection (ilaf) to those journeying to the several countries. Thus for ilaf the meanings of covenant protection, and responsibility for safety are illustraned.) i.e. so that their status should remain unaltered because of Allah's good purpose towards them if they would receive it (42).

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr via 'Amra daughter of 'Abdu'l-Rahman Sa'd b. Zurara told me that 'A'isha said: 'I saw the leader of the elephent and its groom walking about Mecca blind and crippled begging for food.' (Azr. i.92 reports from I.I. that envoys from the tribes went to congratulates Sayf b. Dhu Yazan on his restoration to kingship. He singled out Quraysh for special treatment.)

13 - REFERENCES IN POETRY TO THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

When Allah turned back the Abyssinians from Mecca and executed His vengeanance upon them, the Arabs held the Quraysh in great honour, saying, 'They are the people of Allah: Allah fought for them and thwarted the attack of their enemies.' On this theme they composed many poems. Thus 'Abdullah b.al-Zibra'ra b.'Adiy b. Qays b.'Adiy b.Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Husays b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr said:

Withdraw from the vale of Mecca for
From of old its sanctuary has not been violated.
When it was sanctified, Sirius had not been created.
No mighty man has ever attacked it.
Ask the commander of the Abyssinians
(I prefer the reading hubshi (W.) to the jayashi of C.) what he saw.

He who knows what happened will tell the ignorant.
Sixty thousand men returned not home,
Nor did their sick recover after their return.
'Ad and Jurhum were (in Mecca) before them.
Allah has set it above all creatures.

The words 'nor did their sick recover after their return' refer to Abraha whom they carried with them when he was smitten, until he died in San'a'.

Abu Qays b. al-Aslat al-Ansari al-Khatmi, Sayfi by name (43) said:

His work it was on the day of the Abyssinian elephant.
Whenever they urged it forward it held its ground,
(They drove) their hooks beneath its flanks,
They split its nose and it was torn.
They used a knife as a whip.
When they applied it to its back it made a wound.
It turned and faced the way it had come
Those there bore the burden of their injustice.
Allah sent a wind bringing pebbles from above them
And they huddled together like lambs.
(With some hesitation I read this line: falaffuhum...al-qaram. W. reads yaluffuhum; C.inserts no vowels to the form I have read as indicated. Both W. and C. read al-quzum which means 'small bodies'. Abu Dharr (Bronnle, 21) read al-qaram, which he explained by sigharu'l-ghanam. The line that follows seems to require a reference to sheep here.)

Their priests urged them to endure,
But they bleated like sheep (44).

Abu Qays b. al-Aslat also said:

Rise and pray to your Lord and stroke

The corners of this temple between the mountains. (The term akhashib refers to the mountains of Mecca.)

He gave you a convincing test
On the day of Abu Yaksum leader of the squadrons.
His cavalry was in the plain, his infantry
Upon the passes of the distant hills.
When the help of the Lord of the Throne reached you,
His armies repulsed them, (i.e. the angels.) pelting them and covering them with dust.
Quickly they turned tail in flight, and none
But a few returned to his people from the army (45). (Or, 'from the Abyssinians'. See n.2, p.28. These lines occur again in W., p.180.)

Talib b. Abu Talib b. 'Abdu l-Muttalib said:

Know you not what happened in the war of Dahis (Dahis is the name of a horse. Foul play during a race led to a long and bloody feudbetween the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubysan, See Nicholson , L.H.A. 61-62.)
And Abu Yaksum's army when it filled the pass?
But for the help of Allah the Sole Existent One
You would have been unable to save your lives (46). (Or, 'property'.

Abu al-Salt b. Abu Rabi'a al-Thaqafi referring to the elephant and to the Hanafi religion being that of Abrahim said (47):

The signs of our Lord are illuminating. (Reading thaqibatun with C.)
None but infidels doubt them.
Night and Day were created and all
Is abundantly plain, its reckoning is fixed.
Then the merciful Lord revealed the day
By the sun whose rays are see everywhere.
He held the elephant fast in al-Mughammas unil
It sank to the ground as though it were hamstrung. (laziman, Jahiz, Hayawan, Cairo, 1945./i364, vii. 198, reads wadi'an, but the received text is better. I owe this explanation of halqa to my colleague Dr. el-Tayeb. Commentators and translators have missed the point.)

Its trunk curled ring-wise; it lay motionless as;
A boulder flung down from Kabkab's rocks.
Round it Kinda's kings, warriors,
Mighty hawks in war.
They abandoned it and departed headlong
All of them; the shank of each one of them was broken.
In Allah's sight at the Resurrection every religion
But that of the hanif is doomed to perdition (48).

When Abraha died his son Yaksum became king of the Abyssinians. (T. Himyar and the tribes of Yaman were humiliated under the heel of the Abyssinians. They tooks their women and killed their men and seized their young men to act as interprecters.) When Yaksum b. Abraha died his brother Masruq b. Abraha reigned over the Abyssinians in the Yaman.

14 - THE JOURNEY OF SAYF B. DHU YAZAN AND THE RULE OF WAHRIZ IN THE YAMAN

When the people of the Yaman had long endured oppression, Sayf b. Dhu Yazan the Himyarite, who was known as Abu Murra went to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of his troubles, asking him to drive out the Abyssinians and take over the country. He asked him to send what forces he pleased and promised him the kingdom of the Yaman.

The emperor paid no attention to his request, so he went to al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroes' governor at al-Hira and the surrounding country of Iraq. When he complained of the Abyssininas, al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir told him that he paid a formal visit every year to Chosroes and he asked him to stay with him until then. Accordingly he took him with him and introduced him to Chosroes. Now he used to sit in his audience chamber which contained his crown. According to reports, his crown was like a huge grain-measure with rubies, pearls, and topazes set in gold and silver, suspended by a golden chain from the top of the dome in his hall of audience. Such was the weight of the crown that his neck could not bear it. He was hidden behind a robe until he sat on his throne; then his head was inserted into the crown, and when he was settled comfortably on his throne the robes were taken from him. Everyone who saw him for the first time fell to his knees in awe. When Sayf b. Dhu Yazan entered his presence he fell to his knees (49).

He said: 'O King, revens (i.e. 'blacks'.) have taken possession of our country.' Chosroes asked, 'What ravens, Abyssinians or Sindians?' 'Abyssinians,' he replied, 'and I have come to you for help and that you may assume the kingship of my country.' He answered, 'Your country is far distant and has little to attract me; I cannot endanger a Persian army in Arabia and there is no reason why I should do so.' Then he made him a present of 10,000 drachmae sterling and invested him in a fine robe. Sayf went out with the silver and began to scatter it among the people; (T. Boys and slaves of both sexes scrambled for the coins). When the king was told of this he though it very extraordinary and sent for him and said, 'You mean to throw away a royal gift!' He answered: 'What use is silver to me? The mountains of my country from which I come are nothing but gold and silver.' This he said to excite his cupidity. Chosroes thereupon gathered his advisers together and asked their opinion about the man and his project. One of them reminded the king that in his prisons there were men who were condemned to death. If he were to send them with him and they were killed, that would merely be the fate that he had determined for them; on the other hand, if they conquered the country he would have added to his empire. Thereupon Chosroes sent those who were confined in his prisons to the number of eight hundred men.

He put in command of them a man called Wahriz who was of mature age and of excellent family and lineage. They set out in eight ships, two of which foundered, so that only six reached the shores of Aden. Sayf brought all the people that he could to Wahriz saying, 'My foot is with your foot, we die or conquer together.' 'Right,' said Wahriz. Masruq b. Abraha the king of Yaman came out against him with his army, and Wahriz sent one of his sons to fight them so as to get experience in their way of fighting. His son was killed and he was filled with rage against them. When the men were drawn up in their ranks Wahriz said, 'Show me their king.' They said, 'Do you see a man on an elephant with a crown on his head and a red ruby on his forehead? That is their king.' 'Let him be,' he said, and they waited a long time and then he said, 'What is he riding now?' They said: 'He is now bestride a horse'; again they waited. He asked the same question and they said he was bestride a mule. Said Wahriz: 'An ass's filly! A weak creature, and so is his kingdom. I will shoot him. If you see that his followers have not moved, then stand fast until I give you permission to advance, for I shall have missed the felow. But if you see the people flocking round him I shall have hit him, so fall upon them.' He then bent his bow (the story goes that it was so tough that no one but he could bend it) and ordered that his eyebrows be fastened back, (His eyes were half closed from age. then he shot Masruq and split the ruby in his forehead and the arrow pierced his head and came out at the back of his neck. He fell off his mount and the Abyssinians gathered round him. When the Persians fell upon them, they fled and were killed as they bolted in all directions. Wahriz advanced to enter into San'a', and when he reached its gate he said that his standard should never be lowered and he ordered them to destroy the gate and went in with his flag flying.

Sayf b. Dhu Yazan al-Himyari said:

Men thought the two kings had made peace
And those who heard of their reconciliation found the matter was very grave.
We slew the prince Masruq and reddened the sands with blood.
The new prince, the people's prince,
Wahriz swore an oath that
He would drink no wine until he had captured prisoners and spoil (50).

Abu al-Salt b. Abu Rabi`a al-Thaqafi (51) said:

Let those seek vengeance who are like Ibn Dhu yazan
Who spent long years at sea because of his enemies,
When the time for his journey cam he went to Caesar
But did not attain what he sought.
Then he turned to Chosroes after ten years,
Counting his life and money cheap,
Until he came bringing the Persians with him.
By my life you were swift in action,
What a noble band came out:
Never were their like seen among men!

Nobles, princes, mighty men, archers,
Lions who train their cubs in the jungle!
From curved bows they shot arrows
Stout as the poles of the howdah
Bringing the victim a speedy death.
You sent lions against black dogs,
Their fugitives are scattered all over the earth.
So drink your fill, wearing your crown,
On Ghumdan's top reclining in a house you have chosen.
Drink your fill, for they are dead,
And walk proudly today in your flowing robes.
Such are noble deeds! not two pails of milk mingled with water
Which afterwards become urine (53).

`Adiy b. Zayd al-Hiri, one of B. Tamim, said:

What is there after San`a' in which once lived
Rulers of a kingdom whose gifts were lavish?
Its builter raised it to the flying clouds,
Its lofty chambers gave forth musk.
Protected by mountains against the attacks of enemies (Ka`id here I take to mean a resourceful foe. The Cairo editors prefer to find a reference to Allah),
Its lofty heights unscalable.
Pleasant was the voice of the night owl there,
Answered at even by a flute player.
Fate brought to it the Persian army
With their knights in their train;
They travelled on mules laden with death,
While the asses' foals ran beside them
Until the princes saw from the top of the fortress
Their squadrons shining with steel,
The day that they called to the barbarians and al-Yaksum
`Cursed be he who runs away!'
"Twas a day of which the story remains,
But a people of long established (Reading umma for C.'s imma.)
Persians (Fayj, the reading of C. (against W.'s fayh) is a Persian word for a crowd of men. I.K. has hayj.) replaced the native born,
The days were dark (A variant is khum, `treacherous'.) and mysterious.
After noble sons of Tubba`,
Persian generals were firmly settled tere (54).

(T. When Wahriz had conquered the Yaman and driven out the Abyssinians he wrote to Chosroes telling him of what had been done and sending him captured treasure. In his reply the king told him to appoint Sayf king of the Yaman. He also gave Sayf instructions to collect takes every year and to remit them to him. He summoned Wahriz to his presence and Sayf became king, he being the son of Dhu Yazan of the Kings of the

Yaman. This is what Ibn Humayd told me from Salama on the authority of Ibn Ishaq (In this chapter T.'s version is much more vivid and detailed and reads much more like the lively style of Ibn Ishaq. No doubt Ibn Hisham cut down this to him unimportant chapter as much as he could.).)

(When Wahriz had gone to Chosroes and made Sayf king of the Yaman, the latter began to attack the Abyssinians, Killing them and slaying the women with child until he exterminated all but an insignificant number of miserable creatures whom he employed as slaves and runners to go before him with their lances. Before very long he was out with these armed slaves when suddenly they surrounded him and stabbed him to death. One of them established himself as leader and they went through the Yaman slaying and laying waste the country. When the Persian king heard of this he sent Wahriz with 4,000 Persians and ordered him to kill every Abyssinian or child of an Abyssinian and an Arab woman, great or small, and not leave alive a single man with crisp curly hair. Wahriz arrived and in due course carried out these instructions and wrote to tell the kind that he had done so. The king then gave him viceregal authority and he ruled under Chosroes until his death.)

15 - THE END OF THE PERSIAN AUTHORITY IN THE YAMAN

Wahriz and the Persians dwelt in the Yaman, and the Abna' who are in the Yaman today are descended from the survivors of that Persian army. The period of Abyssinian domination from the entry of Aryat to the death of Masruq ibn Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the expulsion of the Abyssinians was seventy-two years. The successive princes were four, Aryat, Abraha, Yaksum, and Masruq (55).

It is said that on a rock in the Yaman there was an inscripation dating from olden times:

To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To Himyar the righteous.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To the evil Abyssinians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To the free Persians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimar?
To Quraysh the merchants (56).

Dhimar means the Yaman or San'a.

Al-A'sha of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said when the words of Satih and his companion were fulfilled:

'No woman has ever sen, as She saw, the truth like the truth of al-Dhi'bi when he prophesied.' (Legend says that the woman in question was able to see people a three days'

journey distant.) The Arabs called him al-Dhi'bi because he was the son of Rabi'a b. Mas'ud b. Mazin b. Dhi'b (57).

16 - THE DESCENDANTS OF NIZAR B. MA'ADD

Nizar b. Ma'add begat three sons: Mudar, Rabi'a, and Anmar (58).

Anmar was the father of Khath'am and Bajila. Jarir b. 'Abdullah al-Bajali who was chief of the Bajila (of whom someone said: 'But for Jarir, Bajila would have perished. A fine man and a poor tribe') and when he was appealing against al-Furafisa al- Kalbi to al-Aqra'b. Habis al-Tamimi b. 'Iqal b. Mujashi'b. Darim b. Malik b. Hanzala b.Malik b. Zayd Manat:

O Aqra' b. Habis, O Aqra',
If thy brother is overthrown thou wilt be overthrown.

and said:

Ye two sons of Nizar help your brother.
My father I wot is your father.
A brother who is your ally will not be worsted this day.

The went to the Yaman and remained there (59).

Mudar b. Nizar begat two sons: Ilyas and 'Aylan (60). Ilyas begat three sons: Mudrika, Tabikha, and Qam'a. Their mother was Khindif, a Yamanite woman (61). (But see Tabari.) The name of Mudrika was 'Amir and the name of Tabikha was 'Amr. There is a story that when they were pasturing their camels they hunted some game and sat down to cook it, when some raides swooped upon their camels. 'Amir said to 'Amr: 'will you go after the camels or will you cook this game?' 'Amr replied that he would go on cooking, so 'Amir went afer the camels and brought them back. When they returned and told their father he said to 'Amir: 'You are Mudrika' (the one who overtakes), and to 'Amr he said 'Your are Tabikha' (the cook). When their mother heard the news she came hurriedly from her tent and he said: 'You are trotting!' (khandafa) (This word is explained in the Mufaddaliyat, 763, by harwala, a quick, ambling, halfrunning gait. The story there is told at greater length.)and so she was called Khindif.

As to Qam'a the genealogists of Mudar assert that Khuza'a was one of the sons of 'Amr b. Luhayy b. Qam'a b. Ilyas.

17 - THE STORY OF 'AMR B. LUHAYY AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE IDOLS OF THE ARABS

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakar b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazam on the authority of his father told me as follows: I was told that the apostle of Allah said: 'I saw 'Amar b. Luhayy

dragging his intestines in hell, and when I asked him about those who had lived between his time and mine he said that they had perished.'

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Tamimi told me that Abu Salih al-Samman told him that he heard Abu Hurayra (62) say: I heard the apostle of Allah saying to Aktham b. al-Jaun al-Khuza'i, 'A Aktham I saw 'Amr b. Luhayy b. Qam'a b. Khaindif dragging his intestines in hell, and never did I see two men so much alike as you and he!' 'Will this resembalance injure me?' asked Aktham. 'No,' said the apostle, 'for you are a believer and he is a infidel. He was the first to chanvge the religion of Ishmael, to set up idols, and institute the custom of the bahira, sa'iba wasila, and hami (63). (A story similar to these two will be found in Ibn al-Kalbi's K. al-Asnam, ed. Ahmad Zakity Pasha, Cairo, 1924, p.58. These terms are explained in the next chapter.)

They say that the beginning of stone worship among the sons of Ishmael was when Mecca became too small for them and they wanted more room in the country. Everyone who left the town took with him a stone from the sacred area to do honour to it. Whereever they settled they set it up and walked round it as they went round the Ka'ba. This led them to worship what stones they pleased and those which made an impression on them. Thus as generations passed they forgot their primitive faith and adopted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael. They worshipped idols and adopted the same erros as the peoples before them. Yet they retained and held fast practieces going back to the time of Abraham, such as honouring the temple and going round it, the great and little pilgrimage, and the standing on 'Arafa and Muzadlifa, sacrificing the victims, and the pilgrim cry at the great and little pilgrimage, while introducint elements which had no place in the religion of Abraham. Thus, Kinana and Quraysh used the pilgrim cry: 'At Thy service, O Allah, at Thy service! At Thy service, Thou without an associate but the associate Thou hast. Thou ownest him and what he owns.' They used to acknowledge his unity in their cry and then include their idols with Allah, putting the ownership of them in His hand. Allah said to Muhammad: (Sura 12.106.) 'Most of them do not believe in Allah without associating others with Him,' i.e they do not acknowledge My oneness with knowledge of My reality, but they associate with Me one of My creatures.(While the whole of this section is worth comparing with I. al-Kalbi's K. al-Asnam, this passage is important fior the light it throws on I.I.'s soucres. Where he writes yaz'umun I.K. says 'I was told by my father and others'. It seems clear that I.I has borrowed from l.K.'s statements. Where I.K. writes 'their gods' I.I. says 'their idols', and his language tends to follow that of the Quran.)

The people of Noah had images to which they were devote. Allah told His apostle about them when He said: 'And they said, "Forsake not your gods' forsake not Wudd and Suwa' and Yaghuth and Ya'uq and Nasr." And they had led many astray.' (Sura 71.23.)

Among those who has chosen those idols and used their names as compounds (e.g. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza.) when they forsook the religion of Ishmael-both Ishmaelites and others-was Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Mudar. They adopted Suwa' and they had him in Ruhat; (A place near Yunbu'.) and Kalb b. Wabra of Quda'a who adopted Wudd in Dumatu'l-Jandal.

Ka'b b. Malik al-Ansari said:

We forsook al-Lat and al-'Uzza and Wudd.
We stripped off their necklaces and earrings (64).

An'um of Tayyi' and the people of Jurash of Madhhij adopted Yaghuth in Jurash. (Jurash is a provine in the Yaman.) (65).

18 - THE BAHIRA, SA'IBA, WASILA, AND HAMI

The Bahira is the filly of the Sa'iba: the Sa'iba is the she camel which gives birth to ten fillies without an intervening colt. She is set free, is never ridden, her hair is not shorn, and only a guest is allowed to drink her milk. If she gives birth to a filly after that its ear is spilt and it is allowed to go its way with its mother, not ridden, hair unshorn, and only a guest may drink her milk as in the case of her mother. Such is the Bahira, the filly of the Sa'iba. The Wasila is an awe which has ten twin ewes in successive births without a male lamb intervening. She is made a Wasila. They use the expression wasalat. Any ewes which she gives birth to after that belong to the males, except that if one of them dies all share in eating it, both males and females (78).

The Hami is a stallion who is the sire of ten successive fillies without an intervending clot. His back is taboo and he is not ridden; his hair is not shorn and he is left to run among the camels to mount them. Beyond that no use is made of him (79).

When Allah sent his apostle Muhammad he revealed to him: 'Allah has not made Bahira, or Sa'iba or Wasila or Hami, but those who disbelieve invent a lie against Allah, though most of them do not know it.' (Sura 5.102) And again: 'They say, What is in the wombs of these sheep is reserved for our males and prohibited to our wives; but if it is (born) dead they share in it. He will repay them for such division, verily He is knowing and wise.' (Sura 6.140.) Again: 'Say, have you considered what provision Allah has sent down to you and you have made some of it taboo and some of it permitted? Say, has Allah given permission or do you invent lies against Allah?' (Sura 10.60.) And again: 'Of the sheep two and of the goats two. Say, has He prohibited the two males or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? Inform the cattle two. Say, has He prohibited to you the two males or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain, or were you witnesses when Allah enjoined this upon you? Who is more sinful than those who invent a lie against Allah to make men err without knowledge? Verily Allah will not guide the wrong-doing people' (80). (Sura 6.144.5.)

19 - CONTINUATION OF THE GENEALOGES

Khuza`say: We are the sons of `Amr b. `Amir from the Yaman (81).

Mudrika b. al-Ya's had two sons, Khuzayma and Hudhayl, their mother being a women of Quda`a. Khuzayma had four sons: Kinana, Asad, Asada, and al-Hun. Kinana's mother was `Uwana d. Sa`d b. Qays b. `Aylan b. Mudar(82).

Kinana had four sons: al-Nadr, Malik,`Abdu Manat, and Milkan. Nadr's mother was Barra d. Murr b. Udd b. Tabikha b. al-Ya's b. Mudar; the other sons were by another women(83).

It is said that Quraysh got their name from their gathering together after they had been separated, for gathering together may be expressed by taqarrush(The text is at fault somewhere. I.I.'s comment follows follows naturally on what has gone before, but has nothing to do with what he is last reported as having written. The significant words are `al-Nadr is Quraysh'; but these are attributed to I.H. and neither W. nor C. make any mention of a variant reading qala bnu Ishaq. We can at least be certain that what I.I. had to tell us about the origin or 'Quraysh' is not to be found in the Sira as it stands, thouth Tab. makes another attempt in his quotation from the lost passages of I.I. They were named after Quraysh b.Badr b.Yakhlud b.al- Harith b.al-Nadr b.Kinana who was called Quraysh because he put to shame the B. al-Nadr. Whenever they appeared the Arabs said, 'The shame of Quraysh has come.' T. goes on (1104) to give the right explanation that the name means 'shark'. Doubtless it is a totem name like so many of the old tribal names in Arabia.)

Al-Nadr b. Kinana had two sons, Malik and Yakhlud. Malik's mother was 'Atika d. 'Adwan b. 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylan, but I do not know whether was 'Atika d. 'Adwan b. 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylan, but I not know whether she was Yakhlud's mother or not (84).

Malik b. al-Nadr begat Fihr b. Malik, his mother being Jandala d. al-Harith b. Mudad al-Jurhumi (85). (T. there was war between Fihr and Hassan b. 'Abdu Kalal b. Mathub Dhu Hurath al-Himayari who had come from the Yaman with the tribesmen meaning to take stones of the Ka'ba so as to divert the pilgrimage to the Yaman. He got as far as Nakhla,raided cattle and closed the roads but he was afraid to enter Mecca. When Quraysh ,Kinana Khuzayma ,Asad, and Judham and other unknown elements of Mudar percieved this they marched against them under the leadership of Fihr b.Malik. A sharp engagement followed in which Himyar were defeated and Hassan was taken prisoner by Fihr's son al-Harith. AMong those killed in battle was his grandson Qays b.Ghalib b.Fihr. Hassan remained as a prisoner for two years until he paid his ransom. He was then released and died on the way to the Yaman.)

Fihr begat four sons: Ghalib, Muharib, al-Harith, and Asad, their mother being Layla d. Sa`d b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika (86).

Ghalib b. Fihr had two sons, Lu'ayy and Taym, their mothers being Salmad. 'Amr al-Khuza'i. Taym were called the Banu'l- Adram (87).

Lu'ayy b. Ghalib had four sons: Ka'b. 'Amir, Sama, and 'Auf; the mother of the first three was Mawiya d. Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Jasr of Quda'a (88).

20 - THE STORY OF SAMA

Sama b. Lu'ayy went forth to 'Uman and remained there. It is said that 'Amir b. Lu'ayy drove him our because there was a quarrel between them and sama knocked out 'Amir's eye. In fear of 'Amir he went to 'Uman. The story goes that while Sama was riding on his she-camel she lowered her head to graze and a snake seized her by the lip and forced her downwards until she fell on her side. Then the snake bit Sama so that he died. The story goes that when Sama felt death upon him he said:

Eye, weep for Sama b. Lu'ayy.
The clinging snake has clung to Sama's leg. (So C. following al-Aghani.)
never have I seen such a victim of a camel
As Sama b. Lu'ayy when they came upon him.
Send word to 'Amir and Ka'b,
That my soul yearneth for them.

Though my home be in 'Uman
I am a Ghalibi, I came forth not driven by poverty.
Many a cup hast thou spilt, O b. Lu'ayy,
For fear of feath, which otherwise would not have been spilt.
Thou didst wish to avoid death, O b. Lu'ayy,
But none has power to avoid death.
Many a camel silent on night journeys didst thou leave prostrate (The dour, plodding beast that treads on through the night withoug uttering a sound.)
After its prodigious exertion (89).

21 - THE MIGRATION OF 'AUF B. LU'AYY

It is alledged that 'Auf b. Lu'ayy went out with a caravan of Quraysh as far as the district of Ghatafan b. Sa'd. Qays b. 'Aylan when he was left behind and his tribesmen went on without him. Tha'laba b. Sa'd (he being his brother according to the kindred reckoning of B. Dhubyan, Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyan b. Rayth b. Ghatafan) came to him, bound him to himself, give him a wife, and took him into his tribe as a blood-brother. His relationship became well known among B. Dhubyan. It was Tha'laba, they say, who said to 'Auf when he lagged behind and his tribe abandoned him:

Tether y our camel by me, O Ibn Lu'ayy.
Your tribe has left you and you have no home. (reading manzil with Tab. and MS. D in W.'s numeration. This is the best MS. used by W., and it is strange that he should have abandoned it for the reading matrak' outht not to be left' of the majority of inferior texts. However, the latter is supported by Mufadd, p.101.)

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, or it may have been Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahamn b. 'Abdullah b. Husayn, told me that 'Umar b. al-Khattab said: 'If I were to claim to belong to any tribe of the Arabs or to want to attach them to us I would claim to belong to B. Murra b. 'Auf. We know that among them there are men like ourselves. We know,

too, where that man went,' meaning 'Auf b. Lu'ayy. In the genelogory of Ghatafan he is Nurra b. 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyan b. Baghid b. Rayth b. Ghatfan. If this genealogy is mentioned to them they themselves say, 'We do not deny or contest it; it is our most prized genealogy.'

Al-Harith b. Zalim b. Jadhima b. Yarbu'- one of B. Murra b. 'Auf-when he fled from al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir and clave to Quraysh said:

My tribe is not Tha'laba b. Sa'd
Nor Fazara the long-haired.
My tribe if you must ask is the Banu Lu'ayy.
In Mecca they taught Mudara to fight.
We were foolish in following the Banu Baghid
And leaving our next-of-kin and family.
'Taws the folly of the water-seeker who, his fill drunk,
Throws away the water and goes after a mirage.
'Od's life if I had my way I should be with them.
And not be found seeking pasture from place to place.
Rawaha the Qurayshite mounted me on his camel
And sought no reward for it (90).

Al-Husayn b. al-Humam al-Murri, one of B. Sahm b. Murra, said, refuting al-Harith b. Zalim and claiming to belong to Ghatafan:

Lo, you are not of us and we have nought to do with you.
We repudiate relationship with Lu'ayy b. Ghalib.
We dwell on the proud heights of al-Hijaz while you
Are in the verdant (Or contested'.) plain between the two mountains,

meaning Quraysh. Afterwards al-Husayn repented of what he had said and recognized the truth of the words of al-Harith b. Zalim. He claimed to belong to Quraysh and, accusing himself of falsehood, he said:

I repent of what I said before:
I ralize that it was the speech of a liar.
Would that my tongue were in two,
Half of it dumb and the other half singing your praise. (Lit. 'in the course of the stars'.) Our father a Kinani, in Mecca is his grave,
In the verdant (Or 'contested'.) plain of al-Batha' between the mountains.
We own a fourth of the sanctuary as an inheritance
And a fourth of the plains by the house of Ibn Hatib,

meaning that the B. Lu'ayy were four: Ka'b, 'Amir, Sama, and 'Aur.

A person whom I cannot suspect told me that 'Umar b. al-Khattab said to men of B. Murra: 'If you sish to return to your kindred do so.' (The impoortance of the genealogical

tables is bound up with the control of pay and pensions. It was 'Umar who ordered that registers should be compiled. She sprenger, Das Leben d. Mohammad, III, cxx ff.)

The tribe were nobles among Ghatfan; they were their chiefs and leaders. Of them were Harim b. Sinan b. Abu Haritha b. Murra b. Nushba; Kharija b. sinan b. Abu Haritha; al-Harith b. 'Auf; al-Husayn b. al-Humam; and Hashim b. Harmala of whom someone has said:

Hashim b. Haramal revived his father (He bought him to life as it were by taking revenge on his slayers.)
On the day of al-Haba'at and the day of al-Ya'mala (Two famous battles.)
You could see the king salin beside him
As he slew the guilty and the innocent (91). (e.he was not afraid of incurring a blood feud.)

The were a people of a lively repulation among Ghatafan and Qays, and they retained their relationship with them. Among them the practice of Basl obtained. (I have removed the chapter heading 'The Basl' becaue it is a mere paragraph interpolted in the genealogy which has no heading to indicate where it is resumed.)

According to reports Basl in the name given to eight months of the year the Arabs unreservedly regard as sacred. During those months they may go whereever they like without fear of violence. Zuhayr b. abu Sulma said with reference to B. Murra (92):

Think! If they are not in al-Mururat in their dwellings
Then they will be in Nakhal. (Either a place in Nejd, belonging to Ghatafan, or a place two nights' journey from Medina. Sharah Diwan Zuhary, Cairo, 1944, 100.)
A place where I have enjoyed their fellowship.
If they are in neither then they will be at large during the Basl.

He means that they will be travelling during the holy period.
al-A'sha of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said: (ed. Geyer, p.123, 1.14.)

Is your women guest to be taboo to us
While our woman guest and her husband are open to you?

Ka'b b.Lu'ayy had three sons: Murra, 'Adiy, and Husays, their mother being Washiya d. Shayban b. Muharib b. Fihr b. Malik b. Nadr.

Murra b. Ka'b had three sons: Kilab, Taym, and Yaqaza. Kilab's mother was Hind d. Surayr b. Tha'laba b. al-Harith b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana b. Khuzayma; Yaqaza's mother was al-Bariqiya, a woman of Bariq of the Asd of Yaman. Some say she was the mother of Taym; others say Taym's mother was Hind d. Surayr the mother of Kilab (93).

Kilab b. Murra had two sons: Qusayy and Zuhra, their mother being Fatima d. Sa'd b. Sayal one of B. Jadara of Ju'thuma of al-Azd of Yaman allies of B. Dil b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana (94).

Of Sa'd b. Sayal the poet says:

Never among men whom we know have we seen
A man like Sa'd b. Sayal.
Weapon in either hand full of vigour he rode
Dismounting to fight the dismounted on foot;
Charging he carried the enemy's horsemen with him
As the swooping hawk carries the parttidge in its claws (95).

Qusayy b. Kilab has four sons and two daughters: 'Abdu Manafa, 'Abdu'l-Dar, 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, and 'Abdu Qusayy; and Takhmur and Barra. Their mother was Hubba d. Hulayal b. Habashiya b. Salul b. K'b b. 'Amr al-Khuza'i (96).

'Abdu Manaf whose name was al-Mughira b. Qusayy had four sons: Hashim, 'Abdu Shams, al-Muttalib, their mothers being 'Atika d. Mura b. Hilal b. Falij b. Dhakwan b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym b. Munsur b. 'Ikrima; and Naufa, whose mother was Waqida d. 'Amr al-Maziniya, i.e. Mazin b. Mansur b. 'Ikrima (97).

22 - THE DIGGING OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

While 'Abdu'l-Muttalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure he had a vision in which he was ordered to dig Zamzam which is a depression between the two idols of Quraysh, Isaf and na'ila, at the slaughter-place of Quraysh. Jurhum and filled it in at the time they left Mecca. It is the well of Ishmael the son of Abraham where Allah gave him water when he was thirsty as a little child. His mother went to seek water for him and could not find it, so she went up to al-Safa praying to Allah and imploring aid for Ishmael; then she went to al-Marwa and did the same. Allah sent Gabriel, who hollowed out a place in the earth with his heel where water appeared. His mother heard the cries of wild beasts which terrified her on his account, and she came hurrying towards him and found him sacrabbling with his hand at the water beneath his cheek the while he drank, and she made h im a small hole.(The narrative is continued on p.91.)

23 - JURHUM AND THE FILLING IN OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

The story of Jurhum, of their filling in Zamzam, of their leaving Mecca, and of those who ruled Mecca after them until 'Abdu'l-Mutalib dug Zam-zam, according to what Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i told me on the authority of Muhammed b. Ishaq al- Muttalibi, is that when Ishamel the son of Abraham died, his son Nabit was in charge of the temple as long as Allah willed, then it was in charge of Mudad b. 'Amr al-Jurhumi (98). The sons of Ishmael and the sons of Nabit were with their grandfather Mudad b. 'Amr and their maternal uncles of Jurhum-Jurhum and Qatura' who were cousins being at that time the people of Mecca. They had come forth from the Yaman and travelled together and

Mudad was over Jurhum and Sumayda', one of their men, over Qatura'. When they left the Yaman, they refused to go unless they had a king to order their affairs. When they came to Mecca they saw a town blessed with water and trees and, delighted with it, they settled there. Mudad b. 'amr with the men of Jurhum settled in the upper part of Mecca in Qur'ayqi'an and went no father. Samayda' with qatura' settled in the lower part of Mecca in Ajyad the lower part of Mecca, and went no father. Mudad used to take a thithe from those who entered Mecca from above, while Samayda' did the same to those who entered from below. Each kept to his own people, neither entering the other's territory.

Then Jurhuman and Qatura' quarrelled and contended for the supremacy in Mecca; at that time Mudad had with him the sons of Ishmale and Nabit, and he had the oversight of the temple as against Samayda'. They went out to fight each otehr, Mudad from Qu'ayqi'an with his horsemen making for Samyayda' eqipped with spears, leather shidels, swords and quivers, rattling as they charged. It is said that Qu'ayqi'an was so named for that reason. Samayda' went out from Ajyad with horse and foot, and it is said Ajyad got its name from the fine horses (jiyad) that formed Samayda's cavalary. (The Cairo editors rightly reject this etymology: ajayad is the plural of jid, neck.) The two parties met in Fadih, and after a severe battle Samayda' was killed and Qatura' humiliated. It is said that the name Fadih was given for this reason. Then the people clamoured for peace and went on until they reached al-Matabikh, a ravine above Mecca; there they made peace and surrendered authority to Mudad. When he was in power and held soverignty he slaughtered beasts for the people and gave them as food. The people cooked and ate, and that is why the place is called Matabikh. Some learned people allege that the name was given becaue Tubba' had slaughtered there and given the good away and it was his base. The dispute between Mudad and Samayda' was the first open wrong committed in Mecca, at least so some allege.

Then Allah multiplied the offspring of Ishmael in Mecca and their uncless from Jurhum were relers of the temple and judges in Mecca. The sons of Ishmael did not dispute their authority because of their ties of kindred and their respect for the sancturary lest their should be quarrelling or fighting therien. When Mecca became too confined for the sons of Ishmael they spread abroad in the land, and whenever they had to fight a people, Allah gave them the victory though their religion and they subdued them.

24 - THE TRIBES OF KINANA AND KHUZA'A GET POSSESSION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXPEL JURHUM

Afterwards Jurhum behaved hith-handedly in Mecca and made lawful that which was taboo. Those who entered the town who were not of their tribe they treated badly and they appropriated gifts which had been made to the Ka'ba so that their authority weakened. When B. Bakr b.'Abdu Manat b. Kinana and Ghubshan of Khuza'a perceived that, they came together to do battle and drive them out of Mecca. War was declared and in the fighting B. Bakr and Ghubshan goty the upper hand and expelled them form Mecca. Now in the time of pagansim Mecca did not tolerate injustice and wrong within its borders and if anyone did wrong therien it expelled him; therefore it was called 'the Scorcher', (al-Nassa.) and any kind who came to profane its sancity died on the spot. It is

said that it was called Bakka because it used to break (From the verb bakka , he broke) the necks of tyrants when they introduced innovations therein (99).

'Amr b. al-Harith b. Mudad al-Jurhami brought out the two gazelles of the Ka'ba and the corner-stone and buried them in the well Zamzam, going away with the men of Jurhum to the Yaman. They were bitterly grived at losing the kingship of Mecca, and the above-named 'Amr said:

Many a woman crying bitterly,
Her eyes swollen with weeping, said
'Tis as though between al-Hajun (A mountain above Mecca) and al-Safa there was
No fried and none to beduile the night's long house in Mecca.
I said to her, while my heart within me palpiated
As though a bird fluttered bewteen my ribs:
'Of a surety we were its people,
And grievous misfortunes have brough us to nought;
We were the lords of the temple after Nabit,
We used to go round the temple
Our prosperity plain to see.
We were in charge of the temple after Nabit in gloty
And the man of plenty did not count with us. We reigned in power, how great was our rule!
No other tribe there could boast.
Did you not marry a daughter to the best man I know?(i.e Ishmael.)
His sons are ours, we being brothers by marriage.'
If the world turned against us
The world ever brings painful changes.
Allah (al-malik presumably refers to the divine King.)
Does destiny pursue its way.
I say when the carefree sleep, and I do not sleep,
'Lord of the throne, let not Suhayl and 'Amir perish!'
I was forced to look upon faces I do not like:
The tribes of Himyar and Yuhabit.
We became a legend after having been in prosperity.
That is what the passing years did to us.
The tears flow, weeping for a town
Wherein is a sure sancturary and the sacred places.
Weeping for a tample whose doves unharmed,
Dwell safely there, with flocks of sparrows.
Wild creatures there are tames, unharried,
But leaving its sanctuary are hunted freely (100).

'Amr b. al-Harith, remambering Bark and Ghubshan and the townsmen of Mecca whom they had lift behind there, said also:

Journey forth, O men; the time will come

When one day you will not be able to leave.
Hasten your beasts and lossen their reins,
Before death comes; and do what you must do.
We were men like you; fate changed us
And you will be as we once were (101).

25 - THE DESPOTISM OF KHUZA'A IN THEIR CUSTODY OF THE TEMPLE

Then Ghubshan of Khuza'a controlled the temple instead of B.Bakr b. 'Abd Manat, the man who was controlling it being 'Amr b. al-Harith al-Ghubashani. Quraysh at that time were in scattered settlements, and tents (Or'houses'.) dispersed among their people, B. Kinana. So Khuza'a possessed the temple, passing it on from son to son until the last of them, Hulayl b. Habashiya b. Salul b. Ka'b b. 'amr al-Khuza'i (102).

26 - THE MARRIAGE OF QUSAYY B. KILAB WITH HUBBA DAUGHTER OF HULAYL

Qusayy b. Kilab asked Hulayl b. Hubshiya for his daughter Hubba. Hulayl agreed and gave her to him and she bare him 'Abd al-Dar, 'Abd Manaf, Abdu'l-'Uzza, and 'Abd. By the time that the children of Qusayy had spread abroad and increased in wealth and reputation Hulayl died. Now Qusayy thought that he had a better claim than Khuza'a and B. Bakr to control the Ka'ba and Mecca, and that Quraysh were the noblest offspring of Ishmael b. Abraham and the purest descendants of his sons. He spoke to Quraysh and B. Kinana asking them to drive out Khuza'a and B. Bakr from Mecca and they agreed to do so.

Now Rabi'a b. Haram of 'Udhra b. Sa'd b. Zayd had come to Mecca after the death of Kilab and had married Fatima d. Sa'd b. Sayal. (Zhura at that time was a grown man and stayed behind, while Qusayy had just been weaned.) Rabi'a took Fatima away to his land and she carried Qusayy with her, and subsequently gave birth to Rizah. When Qusayy reached man's estate he came to Mecca and dwelt there.

Thus it was that when his people asked him to join them in the war he wrote to his brother Rizah, who shared the same mother, asking him to come and support him. Thereupon Rizah set out accompained by his halfbrothers Hunn, Muhmud, and Julhuma, all sons of Rabi'a but not by Fatima, together with a number of Qada'a among the Arab pilgrims, having agreed to support Qusayy.

Khuza'a allege that Hulayl b. Hubshiya had enjoined this on Qusayy when he saw how his daughter's children had multiplied, saying: 'You have a better right to the Ka'ba and to rule in Mecca than Khuza'a', so that this was the reason why Qusayy acted as he did. But this is a story which we have not heared from any other source, and only Allah knows the truth. (T. When the people had assembled in Mecca and gone to the mauqif, completed the hajj and come down to Mina, Qusayy assembled his possessions and his followers from his own tribe of Quraysh, the B. Kinana, and such of the Quda'a as were with him,

there only remained the ceremony of dismissal.) (T.1095.12-15. The narrative goes on with the words: 'Sufa used to send the people away'- W.76.17.)

27 - AL-GHAUTH'S AUTHORITY OVER MEN ON PILGRIMAGE

Al-Ghauth b. Murr b. Udd b. al-Ya's b. Mudar used to give permission ('It seems possible that the Ijaza or "permission", i.e the word of command that terminates the wocuf, was originally the permission to fall upon the slaughtered victims. In the Meccan pilgrimage tyhe Ijaza which terminated the wocuf at 'Arafa was the signal for a hot race to the neighbouring sanctuary of Mozdalifa, where the sacred fire of the god Cozah burned; it was, in fact, not so much the permission to leave 'Arafa as to draw near to Cozah. The race itself is called Ifada, which may mean "dispersion" or "distribution". It cannot well mean the former, for 'Arafa is not holy ground, but merely the point of assemblage just outside the Haram at which the ceremonies began, and the station at 'Arafa is only the preparation for the vigil at Mozdalifa. On the other hand, if the meaning is "distribution" the Ifada answers to the rush of Nilus's Saracens to partake of the sacrifice.' W.R.S., R.S. 341 f. Cf. Wellh. 82; Gaudfory- Demombynes, 260.) to men on pilgrimage to leave 'Arafa, and this funcation descended to his children after him. He and his sons used to be called Sufa. (The meaning of this name is obscure.) Al-Ghauth used to exercise this function because his mother was a woman of Jurhum who had been barren and vowed to Allah that if she bore a son she would give him to the Ka'ba as a slave to serve it and to look after it. In course of time she gave birth to al-Ghauth and he used to look after the Ka'ba in early times with his Jurhum uncles and presided over the order of departure from 'Arafa because of the office shen he held in the Ka'ba. His sons carried on the practice until they were cut off.

Murr b. Udd, referring to the fulfilment of the mother's oath, said:

O Lord, I have made one of my sons
A devotee in Mecca the exalted.
So bless me for the vow fulfilled,
And make him the best of creatures to my credit.

Al-Ghauth, so they allege, used to say when he sent the people away:

O Allah I am following the example of others.
If that is wrong the fault is Quda'a's.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zabayr from his father 'Abbad said: Sufa used to send the people away from 'Arafa and give them permission to depart when they left Mina. When the day of deparature arrived they used to come to throw pebbles, and a man of Sufa used to throw for the men, none throwing until he had thrown. Those who had urgent business used to come and say to him: 'Get up and throw so that we may throw with you,' and he would say, 'No, by Allah, not until the sun goes down'; and those who wanted to leave quickly used to throw stones at him to hurry him, saying, 'Confound you, get up and throw.' But he refused until the sun went down and then he would get up and throw while the men threw stones with him.

When they had finished the stoning and wanted to leave Mina, Sufa held both sides of the hill and kept the men back. They said: 'Give the order to depart, Sufa.' No one left until they had gone first. When Sufa left and had passed on, men were left to go their own way and followed them. This was the practice until they were cut off. After them the next of kin inherited. They were of B. Sa'd in the family of Safwan b. al-Harith b. Shijna (103). It was Safwan who gave permission to the pilgrims to depart from 'Arafa, and this right was maintained by them up the Islam, the last being Karib b. Safwan.

Aus b. Tamim b. Maghra' al-Sa'di said:

The pilgrims do not quit their halting-place at 'Arafa
Until it is said, 'Give permission O family of Safwan.'

28 - 'ADWAN AND THE DEPARTURE CEREMONY AT MUZDALIFA

Hurthan b. 'Amr the 'Adwanit who was called Dhu'l-Isba' becaue he had a finger missing said:

Bring an excuse for the tribe of 'Adwan. (i.e 'for what they have done the one to the other'. They were rent by civil war. See Caussion de Perceval, Essai sur 'li'histoire des Arabes, ii.262.)
They were the serpents of the earth. (i.e. 'cunning and treacherous.')
Some acted unlawfully against: others
And some spared not others.
Some of them were princes
Who faithfully met their obligations.
Some used to give men the parting signal
By custom and divine command.
Of them was a judge who gave decisions
And his verdict was never annulled.

Since the permission to depart from Muzdalifa was with 'Adwan, as Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishaq, they used to pass it on from father to son until the last of them when Islam came, Abu Sayyara 'Umayla b. al-A'zal, about whom a certain poet said:
We have defended Abu Sayyara
And his clients the Banu Fazara
Until he made his ass pass through safely
As he faced Mecca praying to its Guardian.

Abu Sayyara used to send away the people while sitting upon a she ass of his; that is why he says 'making his ass pass safely'. (In this section the work of I.I and I.H. are not clearly distinguished. Probably the first poem comes from the former and the comments from the latter.)

29 - 'AMIR B. ZARIB B. 'AMR B.'IYADH B. YASHKUR B. 'ADWAN

His words 'a judge who gave decisions' refers to the above-named. The Arabs used to refer every serious and difficult case to him for decision and would accept his verdict. Once it happened that to him. They said, 'Are we to treta it as a man or a woman?' They had brought his such a difficult matter before, so he said, 'Wait awhile until I have looked into the matter, for by Allah you have never brought me a questio like this before.' So they agreed to wait, and he passed a sleepless night turning the matter over and looking at it from all sides without any result. Now he had a slave-girl Sukhayla who used to pasture his flock. It was his habit to tease her when she went out in the morning by saying sarcastically, 'You're early this morning, Sukhayla'; and when she returned at night he would say, 'You're late to-night, Sukhayala, 'because she had gone out late in the morning and come back last in the evening after the others. Now when this girl saw that was. 'Get out and leave me alone, for it is none of your business,' he retorted. However, she was so persistent that he said to himself that it might be that she would provide him with some soultion of his problem, so he said: 'Well then, I was asked to adjudicate on the inheritance of a hermaphrodite. Am I to make him a man or a woman? (The point was important because a male received double as much as a female.) By Allah I do not know what to do and I can see no way out.' She said, 'Good god, merely follow the course of the urinatory process.' 'Be as late as you please henceforth, Sukhayla; you have solved my problem,' said he. The in the morning he went out to the people and gave his decision in the way she had indicated.

30 - HOW QUSAYY B. KILAB GAINED POWER IN MECCA; HOW HE UNITED QURAYSH AND THE HELP WHICH QUDA'A GAVE HIM

In that year Sufa behaved as they were accustomed. The Arabs had borne them patiently since they felt it a duty in the time of Jurhum and Khuza'a when they were in authority. Qusayy came to them with his tribesmen from Quraysh and Kinana and Quda'a at al-'Aqaba saying, 'We have a better right to this authority than you.' (T. They disputed one with another and they tried to kill him.) Severe fighting followed resulting in the defeat of Sufa, and Qusayy assumed their authority.

Thereupon Khuza'a and B. Bakr withdrew from Qusayy knowing that he would impose the same restrictions on them as Sufa had done and that he would come between them and the Ka'ba and the rule of Mecca. When they had withdrawn, Qusayy showed his hostility and gathered his forces to fight them. (T. His brother Rizah b. Rabi'a with his men from Quda'a stood with him.) Khuza'a and B. Bakr came out against him and a severe battle took place in the valley of Mecca and both parties suffered heavily. Thereupon they agreed to make peace and that one of the Arabs should arbitrate between them. They appointed as umpire Ya'mar b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. 'Amir b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana. His verdict was that Qusayy had a better claim to the Ka'ba and to rule Mecca than Khuza'a and that all blood shed by Qusayy was to be cancelled and compensation disregarded, but Khuza'a and B. Bakr must pay bloodwit for the men of Quraysh, Kinana, and Quda'a whom they had killed and that Qusayy should be given a

free hand with the Ka'ba and Mecca. Ya'mar b. 'Auf was immediately called al-Shaddakh because he had cancelled the claim to bloodwit and remitted it (104).

Thus Qusayy gained authority over the temple and Mecca and brought in his people from their dwellings to Mecca. He behaved as a king over his tribe and the people of Mecca, and so they made him king; but the had guaranteed to the Arabs their customary rights because he felt that it was a duty upon himself which he had not the right to alter. Thus he confirmed the family so Safwan and 'Adwan and the intercalators and Murra b. 'Auf in their customary rights which obtained until the coming of Islam when Allah put an end thereby to them all. Qusayy was the first of B. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy to assume kingship and to be obeyed by his people as king. He held the keys of the temple, the right to water the pilgrims from the well of Zamzam,to feed the pilgrims to preside at assemblies, and to hand out the war banners. In his hands lay all the dignities of Mecca; he divided the town into quarters among his people and he settled all the Quraysh into their houses in Mecca which they held.

People assert that the Quraysh were afraid to cut down the trees of the sanctuary in their quarters, but Qusayy cut them down with his own hand or through his assistants. Quraysh called him the `uniter' because he had brought them together and they drew a happy omen from his rule. So far as Quraysh were concerned no woman was given in marriage, no man married, no discussion about public affairs was held, and no banner of war was entrusted to anyone except in his house, where one of his sons would hand it over. When a girl reached marriageable age she had to come to his house to put on her shift. The shift was split over her head in his house, then she put it on and was taken away to her people.(The dir`was a large piece of cloth. Normally a woman cuts an opening thorugh w she can put her head. She then adds sleeves and sews up the two sides.) His authority among the Quraysh during his life and after his death was like a religious law which could not be infringed. He chose for himself the house of meeting and made a door which led to the mosque of the Ka`ba; in it the Quraysh used to settle their affairs (105).

`Abdu'l-Malik b. Rashid told me that his father said that he heard al-Sa'ib b. Khabbab, author of al-Maqsura, reporting that he heard a man telling `Umar b. al-Khattab when he was caliph the story of Qusayy, how he united Quraysh and expelled Khuza`a and B. Bakr from Mecca, and how he gained control of the temple and the affairs of Mecca. Umar mad no attempt to gainsay him. (T. Qusayy's authority in Mecca, where he enjoyed great esteem, remained uncontested. He left the pilgrimage unchanged because he deemed it a religious taboo. The Sufa continued until they were cut off, in the family of Safwan b. al-Harith b. Shijna be right to inheritance. `Adwan, the Nas's of B. Malik b. Kinana, and Mur b.`Auf continued as before until Islam came and Allah destroyed all the offices.)

When Qusayy's war was over his brother Rizah b. Rabi`a went away his own land with his countrymen. Concerning his response to Qusayy composed the following poem:

When a messenger came from Qusayy
And said `Respond to your friend's request,'

We sprang to his aid leading our horses,
Casting from us the half-hearted and slow-moving.
We rode all night until the dawn
Hiding ourselves by day lest we should be attacked.
Our steeds were swift as grouse hurrying to water
Bringing our answer to the call of Qusayy.
We collected tribesmen from Sirr and the two Ashmadhs
(It is disputed whether these are two tribes or two mountains between Medina amd Khaybar.)
From every tribe a clan.
What a fine force of cavalry that night,
More than a thousand, swift, smooth-paced!
When they passed by al-`Asjad
And took the easy road from Mustanakh
And passed by the edge of Wariqan
And passed by al-`Arj, a tribe encamped there,
They passed by the thornbushes without cropping them,(The reading is uncertain; `they passed by water without tasting it', as some MSS. propose, is improbable.)
Running hard the livelong night from Marr.
We brought the colts near their mothers
That their neighing might be gentle,
And when we came to Mecca we
Subdued the men tribe by tribe.
We smote them there with the edge of the sword
And with every stroke we deprived them of their wits.
We trod them down with our horses' hooves
As the strong tread down the weak and helpless.
We killed Khuza`a in their homeland
And Bakr we killed group by group.
We drove them from Allah's land,
We would not let them possess a fertile country.
We kept them bound in iron fetters.(It seems improbable that such a rate and valuable metal would be used for such a purpose at this date.)
On every tribe we quenched our vengeance.

Tha`laba b. `Abdullah b. Dhubyan b. al-Harith b. Sa`d Hudhaym al-Quda`i said concerning Qusayy's invitation and their response:

We urged on our slender high-stepping horses
From the sandhills, the sandhills of al-Jinab
To the lowlands of Tihama, and we met our foe
In a barren depression of a desert.
As for Sufa the effeminate,
They forsook their dwellings in fear of the sword.
But the sons of `Ali when they saw us
Leaped to their swords like camels that yearn for home.

Qusayy b. Kilab said:

I am the son of the protectors, the B. Lu'ayy,
In Mecca is my home where I grew up.
Mine is(Reading wa-li with Azr.i.60 for ila in I.I.) the valley as Ma`add knows,
Its Marwa I delight in.
I should not have conquered had not
The sons of Qaydhar and Nabit settled there.
Rizah was my helper and through him I am great,
I fear no injustice as long as I live.

When Rizah was established in his country Allah increased him and Hunn in numbers. (They are the two tribes of `Udhra today.) Now when he came to hiss country there had been a matter in dispute between Rizah on the one hand and Nahd b. Zayd and Hautaka b. Aslum on the other, they being two clans of Quda`a. He put them in fear so that they clave to the Yaman and left the Quda`a country and remain in the Yaman to this day. Now Qusayy was well disposed to Quda`a and wanted them to increase and be united in their land because of his kinship with Rizah and because of their goodwill to him when they responded to his appeal for help. He disliked what Rizah had gone to them and said:

Who will tell Rizah from me
That I blame him on two accounts,
I blame you for the Banu Nahd b. Zayd
Because you drove a wedge between them and me,
And for Hautaka b. Aslum; of a truth
He who treats them badly has badly treated me (106).

When Qusayy grew old and feeble, he spoke to `Abdu'l-Dar. He was his first born but (T. they say he was weak) `Abdu Manaf had become famous during his father's lifetime and done all that had to be done along with `Abdu'l-`Uzza and `Abd. He said: `By Allah, my son I will put you on a par with the others; though they have a greater reputation than yours; none of them shall enter the Ka`ba until you open it for them; none shall give the Quraysh the war banner but you with your own hand; none shall drink in Mecca except you allow it; and no pilgrim shall eat food unless you provide it; and Quraysh shall not decide any matter except in your house.' He gave him his house, it being the only place where Quraysh could settle their affairs, and he gave him the formal rights mentioned above.

The Rifada was a tax which Quraysh used to pay from their property to Qusayy at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions. Qusayy had laid this as a duty upon Quraysh, saying: `You are Allah's neighbours, the people of his temple and sanctuary. The pilgrims are Allah's guests and the visitors to His temple and have the highest claim on your generosity; so provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage until they depart out of your territory.' Accordingly they used to pay him every year a tax on their flocks and he used

to provide food for the people therefrom, while they were at Mina, and his people carried out this order of his during the time of ignorance until Islam came. To this very day it is the food which the sultan provides every year in Mina until the pilgrimage is over.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar from al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. `Ali b. Abu Talib told me about this affair of Qusayy's and what he said to `Abdu'l-Dar concerning the transfer of his power to him in these words, `I heard him saying this to a man of B. `Abdu'l- Dar called Nubaih b. Wahb b. `Amir b. `Ikrima b. `Amir b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf b. `Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy.' al-Hasan said: `Qusayy gave him all the authority that he had over his people. Qusayy was never contradicted nor was any measure of his overthrown.'

31 - THE RIFT IN QURAYSH AFTER QUSAYY AND THE CONFEDERACY OF THE SCENTED ONES

After the death of Qusayy his sons assumed his authority over the people and marked out Mecca in quarters, after he had allotted space there for his own tribe. They allotted quartters among their people and among other allies, and sold them. Quraysh took part in this with them without any discord or dispute. Then the sons of `Abdu Manaf-`Abdu Shams and Hashim and al-Muttalib and Naufal-agreed to seize the rights that the sons of `Abdu'l-Dar possessed which Qusayy had given to `Abdu'l-Dar himself, namely those mentioned above. They considered that they had a better right to them because of their superiority and their position among their people. This caused dissension among Quraysh, one section siding with B. `Abdu Manaf, and the other with B. `Abdu'l-Dar. The former held that the new claimants had a better right; the latter that rights which Qusayy had given to one branch should not be taken away from them.

The leader of B. `Abdu Manaf was `Abdu Shams, because he was the eldest son of his father; and the leader of B. `Abdu'l-Dar was `Amir b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf b. `Abdu'l-Dar. The B. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy and B. Zuhra b. Kilab and B. Taym b. Murra b. Ka`b and B. al-Harith b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr were with B. `Abdu Manaf, while with B. `Abdu'l-Dar were B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra, and B. Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b and B. Jumah b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b and b. `Adiyy b. Ka`b. The men who remained neutral were `Amir b. Lu'ayy and Muharib. b. Fihr.

They all made a firm agreement that they would not abandon one another and would not betray one another as long as the sea wettted seaweed. The B. `Abdu Manaf brought out a bowl full of Scent (they assert that some of the women of the tribe brought it out to them) and they put it for their allies in the mosque(This is not an anachronism. See E.I., art. `Masdjid'.) beside the Ka`ba; then they dipped their hands into it and they and their allies took a solemn oath. Then they rubbed their hands on the Ka`ba strengthening the solemnity of the oath. For this reason they wer called the Scented Ones.

The other side took a similar oath at the Ka`ba and they were called the Confederates. Then the tribes formed groups and linked up one with another. The B. `Abdu Manaf were ranged against B. Sahm; B. Asad against B. `Abdu'l-Dar; Zuhra against B. Jumah; B.

Taym against B. Makhzum; and B. al-Harith against `Adiyy b. Ka`b. They ordered that each tribe should exterminate the opposint units.

When the people had thus decided on war, suddenly they demanded peace on the condition that B. `Abdu Manaf should be given the rights of watering the pilgrims and collecting the tax; and that access to the Ka`ba, the standard of war, and the assembly house, should belong to the `Abdu'l-Dar as before. The arrangement commended itself to both sides and was carried out, and so war was prevented. This was the state of affairs until Allah brought Islam, when the apostle of Allah said, `Whatever alliance there was in the days of ignorance Islam strengthens it.'

32 - THE CONFEDERACY OF THE FUDUL

(Fudul is explained as meaning that the confederates did not allow wrongdoers to retain any stolen property. Fudul sometimes means `remains of spoil'. Another and somewhat far-fetched explanation is that this covenant was modelled on an older covenant of the same character in which tree men each with the name of Fadl took part.)

Ziyad b. `Abdullah al-Bakka'i related to me the following as from Ibn Ishaq: The tribes of Quraysh decided to make a covenant and assembled for that purpose in the house of `Abdullah b. Jud`an b. `Amr b. Ka`b b. Sa`d b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy because of his seniority and the high reputation he enjoyed. Those party to the agreement with him were B. Hashim, B.'l-Muttalib, Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza, Zuhra b. Kilab, and Taym b. Murra. They bound themselves by a solemn agreement that if they found that anyone, either a native of Mecca or an outsider, had been wronged they would take his part against the aggressor and see that the stolen property was restored to him. Quraysh called that confederacy `The Confederacy of the Fudul'.

Muhammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhajir b. Qunfudh al-Taymi told me that he heard Talha b. `Abdullah b. `Auf al-Zuhri say: The apostle of Allah said, `I witnessed in the house of `Abdullah b. Jud`an a convenant which I would not exchange for any number of fine camels; if I were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so.'

Yazid b. `Abdullah b. Usama b. al-Hadi al-Laythi told me that Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told him that there was a dispute between al-Husayn b. `Ali b. Abu Talib and al-Walid b. `Utba b. Abu Sufyan about some property they held in Dhu'l-Marwa. At that time al-Walid was governor of Medina, his uncle, Mu`awiya b. Abu Sufyan having given him the appointment. All-Walid had defrauded al-Husayn of his rights, for as governor he had the power to do so. Husayn said to him: `By Allah you shall do me justice or I will take my sword and stand in the apostle's mosque and invoke the confederacy of the Fudul!' `Abdullah b. al-Zubayr who was with al-Walid at the time said: `And I swear by Allah that if he invokes it I will take my sword and stand with him until he gets justice, or we will die together.' When the news reached al-Miswar b. Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhri and `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Uthman b. `Ubaydullah al-Taymi they said the same. As soon as he realized what was happening al-Walid gave al-Husayn satisfaction.

This same Yazid, on the same authority, told me that Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mut`im b. `Adiyy b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf, who was the most learned of the Quraysh, met `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan b. al-Hakam when he had killed Ibn al-Zubayr and the people had gathered against `Abdu'l-Malik. When he went in to see him he said: `O Abu Sa`id, were not we and you-meaning B. `Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manaf and b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf-partners in the confederacy of the Fudul?' `You should know best,' he replied. `Abdu'l-Malik said, `No, you tell me, Abu Sa`id, the truth of the matter.' He answered: `No, by Allah, you and we kept out of that!' `You're right,' said `Abdu'l-Malik.

Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf superintended the feeding(The rifada, feeding by means of a levy on Quraysh, has been explained above (p.55) and there the author of the system is said to be Qusayy. Probably for this reason Ibn Ishaq discredits their tradition here by the words `it is alleged'.) and watering of the pilgrims because `Abdu Shams was a great traveller who was seldom to be found in Mecca; moreover,he was a poor man with a large family, while Hashim was a well-to-do man. It is alleged that when the pilgrims were there he got up and addressed Quraysh thus: `You are Allah's neighbours and the people of His temple. At this feast there come to you Allah's visitors and pilgrims to His temple. They are Allah's guests, and His guests have the best claim on your generosity; so get together what food they will need for the time they have to stay here. If my own means were sufficient I would not lay this burden upon you.' Thereupon they taxed themselves each man according to his capacity and used to provide food for the pilgrims until they left Mecca.

It is alleged that Hashim was the first to institute the two caravan journeys of Quraysh, summer and winter, and the first to provide tharid (broth in which bread is broken up) in Mecca. Actually his name was `Amr, but he was called Hashim because he broke up bread in this way for his people in Mecca. A Quraysh poet, or one of the Arabs, composed this poem:

`Amr who made bread-and-broth for his people,
A people in Mecca who suffered lean years.
He it was who started the two journeys,
The winter's caravan and the summer's train (107).

Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf died in Ghazza in the land of Syria while travelling with his merchandise, and al-Muttalib b. `Abdu Manaf assumed the right of feeding and watering the pilgrims. He was younder than `Abdu Shams and Hashim. He was held in high esteem among his people, who called him al-Fayd on account of his liberality and high character.

Hashim had gone to Medina and married Salma d. `Amr, one of B. `Adiyy b. al-Najjar. Before that she had been married to Uhayha b. al-Julah b. al-Harish b. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. `Auf b. `Amr b. `Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus and bore him a son called `Amr. On account of the high position she held among her people she would only marry on condition that she should retain contorl of her own affairs. If she disliked a man she left him.

To Hashim she bore `Abdu'l-Muttalib and called his name Shayba. Hashim left him with her while he was a little boy. Then his uncle al-Muttalib came to take him away and bring him up among his people in his town. But Salma declined to let him go with him. His uncle argued that his nephew was now old enough to travel and was as an exile away from his own tribe who were the people of the temple, of great local reputation, holding much of the government in their hands. Therefore it was better for the boy that he should be among his own family, and therefore he refused to go without him. It is popularly asserted that Shayba refused to leave his mother without her consent; and this she ultimately gave. So his uncle took him away to Mecca, riding behind him on his camel, and the people cried: `It's al-Muttalib's salve whom he has bought' and that is how he got the name of `Abdu'l-Muttalib. His uncle called out: `Rubbish! This is my nephew whom I have brought from Medina.'

Subsequently al-Muttalib died in Radman in the Yaman, and an Arab mourned him in the following lines:

Thirsty are the pilgrims now al-Muttalib is gone.
No more bowls with overflowing brims.
Now that he is gone would that Quraysh were in torment!

Matrud b. Ka`b al-Khuza`i wrote this elegy over al-Muttalib and all the sons of `Abdu Manaf when the news came that Naufal the last of them was dead:

O night! most miserable night,
Distrubing all other nights,
With thoughts of what I suffer
From sorrow and the blows of fate.
When I remember my brother Naufal,
He reminds me of days gone by,
He reminds me of the red waist-sashes,
The fine new yellow robes.
There were four of them, everyone a prince,
Sons and grandsons of princes.
One dead in Radman, one in Salman,
A third lies near Ghazza,
A fourth lies in a grave by the Ka`ba
To the east of the sacred builtings.
`Abdu Manuf brought them up virtuously
Safe from the reproof of all men.
Yea there are none like Mughira's children
Among the living or the dead.

`Abdu Manaf's name was al-Mughira. Hashim was the first of his sons to die at Ghazza in Syria, followed by `Abdu Shams in Mecca, then al-Muttalib in Radman in the Yaman, and lastly Naufal in Salman in Iraq.

It was said to Matrud- at least they assert-`Your lines are very good, but if you had done more justice to the theme they would have been still better.' `Give me a night or two,' he replied, and after a few days he produced the following:

O eye, weep copiously, pour down thy tears,
Weep over Mughira's sons, that noble breed of Ka`b,
O eye, cease not to weep thy gathering tears,
Bewail my heartfelt sorrow in life's misfortunes.
Weep over all those generous trustworthy men,
Lavish in gifts, munificent, bounteous,
Pure in soul, of high intent,
Firm in dispostion, resolute in grave affairs,
Strong in emergency, no churls, not relying on others,
Quick to decide, lavish in generosity.
If Ka`b's line is reckoned, a hawk,
The very heart and summit of their glory,
Weep for generosity and Muttalib the generous,
Release the fountain of thy tears,
Gone from us in Radman today as a foreigner,
My heart grieves for him among the dead.
Woe to you, weep if you can weep,
For `Abdu Shams on the east of the Ka`ba,
For Hashim in the grave in the midst of the desert
Where the wind of Ghazza blows o'er his bones.
Above all for my friend Naufal
Who found in Salman a desert grave.
Never have I known their like, Arab or foreigner,
When their white camels bore them along.
Now their camps know them no more
Who used to be the glory of our troops.
Has time annihilated them or were their swords blunt,
Or is every living thing food for the Fates?
Since their death I have come to be satisfied
With mere smiles and friendly greeeting.
Weep for the father of the women with dishevelled hair
Who weep for him with faces unveiled as camels doomed to die.'
They wourn the noblest man who ever walked,
Bewailing him with floods of tears
They morun a man generous and liberal,
Rejecting injustice, who settled the greatest matters.
They weep for `Amr al-`Ula(`Thelofty one.') when his time came,
Benign was his nature as he smiled at the night's guests.
They weep prostrated by sorrow,
How long was the lamentation and woe!
They mourned him when time exiled them form him,
Their faces pale like camels denied water.

With their loins girded because of fate's hard blows.
I passed the night in pain watching the stars
I wept and my little daughters wept to share my grief.
No prince is their equal or peer,
Among those left behind none are like their offspring.
Their sons are the best of sons,
And they are the best of men in the face of disaster.
How many a smooth running fast horse have they given,
How many a captive mare have they bestowed,
How many a fine mettled Indian sword,
How many a lance as long as a well rope,
How many slaves did they give for the asking,
Lavishing their gifts far and wide.
Were I to count and others count with me
I could not exhaust their generous acts;
They are the foremost in pure descent
Wherever men boast of their forbears,
The ornament of the houses which they left
So that have become solitary and forsaken,
I say while my eye ceases not to weep,
May Allah spare the unfortunate (family)!(108)

By the `father of the women with dishevelled hair' the poet means Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf.

Following his uncle al-Muttalib, `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim took over the duties of watering and feeding the pilgrims and carried on the practices of his forefathers with his people. He attained such eminence as none of his forefathers enjoyed; his people loved him and his reputation was great among them.

While Abdu'l-Muttalib was sleeping in the hijr,(The hijr is the semicircular spot between the wall called Hatim and the Ka`ba, which is said to contain the graves of Hagar and Ishmael. Cf. Azraqi,282 f.) he was ordered in a vision to dig Zamzam. Yazid b. Abu Habib al-Misri from Marthad b. `Abdullah al-Yazani from `Abdullah b. Zurayr al-Ghafiqi told me that he heard `Ali b. Abu Talib telling the story of Zamzam. He said that `Abdu'l-Muttalib
said: `I was sleeping in the hijr when a supernatural visitant came and said, "Dig Tiba". I said "And what is Tiba?"; then he left me. I went to bed again the next day and slept, and he came to me and said "Dig Barra"; when I asked what Barra was he left me. The next day he came and said "Dig al-Madnuna"; when I asked what that was he went away again. The next he came while I was sleeping and said `Dig Zamzam". I said, "Wat is Zamzam?"; he said:

`Twill never fail or ever run dry,
`Twill water the pilgrim company.
It lies `twixt the dung and the flesh bloody,

(The language is characteristic of Arabian oracles composed in doggerel known as Saj`. The words `between the dung and the blood' occur in the Quran, Sura 16, verse 68. `We give you to drink of what is in their bellies between the faeces and the blood, pure milk easily swallowed by the drinkers.' But his thows no light on the meaning of the passage here, which plainly has a local significance. Abu Dharr passed it by without comment. Al-Suhayli, p.98, sees that the term must go with the two following terms, and serve to show exactly where Zamzam was to be found. He therefore repeats a story to the effect that `Abdu`l-Muttalib saw the ants' nest and the ravens' nest when he went to dig the well, but saw neither dung nor blood. At that moment a cow escaped her would-be butcher and entered the haram. There she was slaughtered, and where the dung and blood flowed, `Abdu'l-Muttalib proceeded to dig. This gallant attempt to explain the ancient, oracle cannot be accepted for the reason that it gives no point to the precise reference that the well was to be found between the dung and the blood, which in this story obviously must have occupied pretty much the same space, and indeed would render the following indications superfluous by giving the exact site. Most probably, therefore, we should assume that the sacrificial victims were tethered at a certain spot and there they would void ordure bofore they were led to the foot of the image at which they were slaughtered. A point between these two spots is more closely defined by the ants' and the ravens' nest.)

By the nest where the white-winged ravens fly,
By the nest where the ants to and fro do ply.'

When the exact spot had been indicated to him and he knew that it corresponded with the facts, he took a pick-axe and went with his son al-Harith-for the had no other son at that time-and began to dig. When the top of the well appeared he cried `Allah akbar!' LThus Quraysh knew what he had obtained his object and they came to him and said, "This is the well of our father Ishmael, and we have a right to it, so give us a share in it.' `I will not,' he answered, `I was specially told of it and not you, and I was the one to be given it.' They said: `Do us justice, for we shall not leave you until we have got a judical decision in the matter. He said: `Appoint anyone you like as umpire between us.' He agreed to accept a woman diviner of B. Sa`d Hudhaym, who dwelt in the uplands of Syria. So `Abdu'l-Muttalib, accompained by some of his relations and a representative from all the tribes of Quraysh, rode away. They went on through desolate country between the Hijaz and Syma until `Abdu'l- Muttalib's company ran out of water and they feared that they would die of thirst. They asked the Quraysh bribes to give them water, but they refused, on the ground that if they gave them their water they too would die of thirst. In his desperation `Abdu'l-Muttalib consulted his companions as to what should be done, but all they could do was to say that they would follow his instructions: so he said, `I think that every man should dig a hole for himself with the strength that he has left so that whenever a man dies his companions can thrust him into the hole and bury him until the last man, for it is better that one man should lie unburied than a whole company.' They accepted his advice and every man began to dig a hole for himself. Then they sat down until they should die of thirst. After a time `Abdu'l-Muttalib said to his companions, `By Allah, to abandon ourselves to death in this way and not to scour the country in search of water is sheer incompetence; perhaps Allah will give us water somewhere. To your saddles! So they got their beasts ready while the Quraysh watched them at work. `Abdu'l-Muttalib went to his beast and mounted her and when she got up from her knees

a flow of fresh water broke out from beneath her feet. `Abdu'l- Muttalib and his companions, crying `Allah akbar!', dismounted and drank and filled their water-skins. Then they invited the Quraysh to come to the water which Allah had given them and to drink freely. After they had done so and filled their water-skins they said: `By Allah, the judgement has been given in your favour `Abdu'l-Muttalib. We will never dispute your claim to Zamzam. He who has given you water in this wilderness is He who has given you Zamzam. Return to your office of watering the pilgrims in peace.' So they all went back without going to the diviner.

This is the story which I heard as from `Ali b. Abu Talib about Zamzam and I have heard one report on `Abdu'l-Muttalib's authority that when he was ordered to dig Zamzam it was said to him:

Then pray for much water as crystal clear
To water Allah's pilgrims at the sites they revere
As long as it lasts you've nothing to fear.

On hearing these words he went to the Quraysh and said, `You know that I have been ordered to dig Zamzam for you,' and they asked, `But have you been told where it is?' When he replied that he had not, they told him to go back to his bed where he had the vision and if it really came from Allah it would be made plain to him; but if it had come from a demon, he would not return to him. So `Abdu'l-Muttalib went back to his bed and slept and received the following message:

Dig Zamzam, `twill not to your hopes give lie,
'Tis yours from your father eternally.
'Twill never fail or ever run dry,
'Twill water the pilgrim company
Like an ostrich flock a fraternity,
Their voice Allah hears most graciously.
A pact most sure from days gone by
Nought like it canst thou descry,
It lies 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody (109).(As these lines are in part identical with those mentioned above, clearly this is a rival account of the vision.)

It is alleged that when this was said to him and he inquired where Zamzam was, he was told that it was by the ants' nest where the raven will peck tomorrow, but Allah knows how true this is. The next day `Abdu'l Muttalib with his son al-Harith, who at that time was his only son, went and found the ants' nest and theraven pecking beside it between the two idols Isaf and Na'ila at which Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrifices. He brought a pick-axe and began to dig where he had been commanded. Quraysh seeing him at work came up and refused to allow him to dig between their two idols where they sacrificed. `Abdu'l-Muttalib then told his son to stand by and protect him while he dug, for he was determined to carry out what he had been commanded to do. When they saw that he was not going to stop work they left him severely alone. He had not dug deeply before the stone top of the well appeared and he gave thanks to Allah knowing that he

had been rightly informed. As digging went further, he found the two gazelles of gold which Jurhum had burried there when they left Mecca. He also found some swords and coats of mail from Qal`a(A mountain in Syria, though other sites have been suggested. See Yaqut.) Quraysh claimed that they had a right to share in this find. `Abdu'l-Muttalib denied this, but was willing to submit the matter to the sacred lot. He said that he would make two arrows for the Ka'ba, two for them, and two for himself. The two arrows which came out from the quiver would determine to whom the property belonged. This was agreed, and accordingly he made two yellow arrows for the Ka`ba, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for Quraysh. They were then given to the priest in charge of the divinatory arrows, which were thrown beside Hubal. (Hubal was an image in the middle of the Ka`ba, indeed the greatest of their images. It is that referred to by Abu Sufyan ibn Harb at the battle of Uhud when he cried `Arise Hubal', i.e. Make your religion victorious!) `Abdu'l- Muttalib began to pray to Allah, and when the priest threw the arrows the two yellow ones for the gazelles came out in favour of the Ka`ba. The two black ones allotted the swords and coats to mail to `Abdu'l-Muttalib, and the two arrows of Quraysh remained behind. `Abdu'l-Muttalib made the swords into a door for the Ka`ba and overlaid the door with the gold of the gazelles. This was the first golden ornament of the Ka`ba, at any rate so they allege. Then `Abdu'l-Muttalib took charge of the supply of Zamzam water to the pilgrims.

33 - WELLS BELONGING TO THE CLANE OF QURAYSH IN MECCA

Before the digging of Zamzam Quraysh had already dug wells in Mecca, according to what Ziyad b. `Abdullah al-Bakka`i told me from Muhammad b. Ishaq. He said that `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf dug al-Tawiy which is a well in the upper part of Mecca near al- Bayda', the house of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi.

Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf dug Badhdhar which is near al-Mustandhar, spur of Mount al-Khandama at the mouth of the pass of Abu Talib. They allege that when he had dug it he said: `I will make it a means of subsistence for the people'(110).'

He (The editor has been untidy here. Commentators point out that Hashim did not dig this well, and al-Suhayli quotes a poem beginning `I am Qusayy and I dug Sajla'.) dug Sajla which is a well belonging to al-Mut`im b. `Adiy b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf which is still used today. The B. Naufal allege that al-Mut`im bought it from Asad b. Hashim, while B. Hashim allege that he gave it to him when Zamzam was uncovered and people had no further use for the other wells.

Umayya b. `Abdu Shams dug al-Hafr for himself. The B. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza dug Suqayya (Neither Yaqut(iii.105 and 305) nor the ancients knew whether the well was called Suqayya or Shufayya. Azr.ii.177 names only Shufayys.) which belongs to them. The b. `Abdu'l-Dar dug Umm Ahrad. The B. Jumah dug al-Sunbula which belongs to Khalaf b. Wahb. The B. Sahm dug al-Ghamr which belongs to them.

There were some old wells outside Mecca dating from the time of Murra b. Ka`b and Kilab b. Murra from which the first princes of Quraysh used to draw water, namely

Rumm and Khumm. Rumm was dug by Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy, and Khumm by b. Kilab b. Murra, and so was al-Hafr.(It has just been said that Umayya b. `Abdu Shams dug al-Hafr. Yaqut says `Hafr... belongs to B. Taym b. Murra ... al-Hazimi spelt it Jafr.' This may account for the inconsistency, as it seems that there were two wells, Hafr and Jafr, in Mecca.) There is an old poem of Hudhayfa b. Ghanim, brother of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy (111), which runs:

In the good old days we were long satisfied
To get our water from Khumm or al-Hafr.

Zamzam utterly eclipsed the other wells from which the pilgrims used to get their water, and people went to it because it was in the sacred enclosure and because its water was superior to any other; and, too, because it was the well of Isma'il b. Ibrahim. Because of it B. `Abdu Manaf behaved boastfully towards Quraysh and all other Arabs.

Here are some lines of Musafir b. Abu `Amr b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf boasting over Quraysh that they held the right of watering and feeding the pilgrims, and that they discovered Zamzam, and that B. `Abdu Manaf were one family in which the honour and merit of one belonged to all:

Glory came to us from our fathers.
We have carried it to greater heights.
Do not we give the pilgrims water
And sacrifice the fat milch camels?
When death is at hand we are found
Brave and generous.
Though we perish (for none can live for ever)
A stranger shall not rule our kin.
Zamzam belongs to our tribe.
We will pluck out the eyes of those who look enviously at us.

Hudhayfa b. Ghanim [mentioned above] said:

(Weep for him) who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread(I read khubz with most MSS)
And `Abdu Manaf that Fihri lord.
He laid bare Zamzam by the Maqam,
His control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's (112).

34 - `ABDU'L-MUTTALIB'S VOW TO SACRIFICE HIS SON

It is alleged, and Allah only knows the truth, that when 'Abdu'l-Muttalib encountered the opposition of Quraysh when he was digging Zamzam, he vowed that if he should have ten sons to grow up and protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to Allah at the Ka'ba. Afterwards when he had ten sons who could protect him he gathered them together and told them about his vow and called on them to keep faith with Allah. They agreed to

obey him and asked what they were to do. He said that each one of them must get an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to him: this they did, and he took them before Hubal in the middle of the Ka'ba. (The statue of) Hubal (Cf. p.103. T adds 'Hubal being the greatest (or, most revered) of the idols of Quraysh in Mecca'.) stood by a well there. It was that well in which gifts made to the Ka'ba were stored.

Now beside Hubal there were seven arrows, each of them containing some words. One was marked 'bloodwit'. When they disputed about who should pay the bloodwit they cast lots with the seven arrows and he on whom the lot fell had to pay the money. Another was marked 'yes', and another 'no', and they acted accordingly on the matter on which the oracle had been invoked. Another was marked 'of you'; another mulsaq, (Not a member of the tribe.) another 'not of you'; and the last was marked 'water'. If they wanted to dig for water, they cast lots containing this arrow and wherever it came forth they set to work. If they wanted to circumcise a boy, or make a marriage, or bury a body, or doubted someone's genealogy, they took him to Hubal with a hundred dirhams and as slaughter camel and gave them to the man who cast the lost; the they brouth near the man with whom they were concerned saying, 'O our god this is A the son of B with whom we intend to do so and so; so whow the right course concerning him.' Then they would say to the man who cast the arrows 'Cast!' and if there came out 'of your' then he was a true member of their tribe; and if there came out 'not of you' he was an ally; and if there came out mulsaq he had no blood relation to them and was not an ally. Where 'yes' came out in other matters, they acted accordingly; and if the answer was 'no' they deffered the matter fora year until they could bring it up again. They used to conduct their affairs according to the decision of the arrows.

'Abdu'l-Muttalib said to the man with the arrows, 'Cast the lots for my sons with these arrows', and he told him of the vow which he had made. Each man gave him the arrow on which his name was written. Now 'Abdullah was his father's youngest son, he and al-Zubayr and Abu Talib were born to Fatima d. 'Amr b. 'A'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imran b. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr (113). It is alleged that 'Abdullah was 'Abdu'l-Muttalib's favourite son, and his father thought that if the arrow missed him he would be spared. (he was the father of the apostle of Allah.) When the man took the arrows to cast lots with them, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then the man cast lots and 'Abdullah's arrow came out. His father led him by the hand and took a large knife; then he brought him up to Isaf and Naila (T. two idols of Quraysh at which they slaughtered their sacrifices) to sacrifice him; but Quraysh came out of their assembles and asked what he was intending to do. When he sad that he was going to sacrifice him, they and his sons said 'By Allah! you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. If you do a thing like this there will be no stopping men from coming to sacrifice there sons, and what will become of the people then?' Then said al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Makhzum b. Yaqaza, 'Abdullah's mother being from his tribe, 'By Allah, you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. Though his ransom be all our property we will redeem him.' Quraysh and his sons said that he must not do it, but take him to the Hijaz (The region of which Medina was the centre. See Lammens, L'Arabie Occidentale, 300f.) for there there was a sorceress who had a familiar spirit, and he must consult her.

Then he would have liberty of action. If she told him to sacrifice him, he would be no worse off; and if she gave him a favourable response, he could accept it. So they went off as far as Medina and found that she was in Khaybar, so they allege. So they rode on until they got to her, and when 'Abdu'l-Muttalib aquainted her with the facts who told them to go away until her familiar spirit visited her and she could ask him. When they had left her 'Abdu'l-Muttalib prayed to Allah, and when they visited her the next day she said, `Word has come to me. How much is the blood money among you?' They told her that it was ten camels, as indeed it was. She told them to go back to their country and take the young man and ten camels. Then cast lots for them and for him; if the lot falls against your man, add more camels, until your lord is satisfied. If the lot falls against the camels then sacrifice them in his stead, for your lord will be satisfied and your client escape death. So they returned to Mecca, and when they had agreed to carry out their instructions, `Abdu'l-Muttalib was praying to Allah. Then they brought near `Abdullah and ten camels while Abdu'l-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then they cast lots and the arrow fell against Abdullah. They added ten more camels and the lot fell against Abdullah, and so they went on adding ten at a time, until there were on hundred camels, when finally the lot fell against them. Quraysh and those who were present said, `At last your lord is satisfied `Abdu'l-Muttalib.' `No, by Allah,' he answered (so they say), `not until I cast lots three times.' This they did and each time the arrow fell against the camels. They were duly slaughtered and left there and no man was kept back or hindered (form eating them) (114).

35 - OF THE WOMAN WHO OFFERED HERSELF IN MARRIAGE TO `ABDULLAH B. `ABDU'L-MUTTALIB

Taking `Abdullah by the hand Abdu'l-Muttalib went away and they passed-so it is alleged-a woman of B. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu`ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr who was the sister of Waraqa b. Nauful b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza, who was at the Ka`ba. When she looked at him she asked, `Where are you going Abdullah?' He replied, `With my father.' She said `If you will take me you can have as many camels as were sacrificed in your stead.' `I am with my father and I cannot act against his wishes and leave him', he replied.

`Abdu'l-Muttalib brought him to Wahb b. `Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr who was the leading man of B. Zuhra in birth and honour, and he married him to his daughter Amina, she being the most excellent woman among the Quraysh in birth and position at that time. Her mother was Barra d. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. `Uthman b. `Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Barra's mother was Umm Habib d. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy by Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Ly'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Umm Habib's mother was Barra d. `Auf b. `Ubayd b. `Uwayj b. `Adiy b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

It is alleged that `Abdullah consummated his marriage immediately and his wife conceived the apostle of Allah(T. `Muhammad.'). Then he left her presence and met the woman who had proposed to him. He asked her why she did not make the proposal that she made to him the day before; to which she replied that the light that was with him the

day before had left him, and she no longer had need of him. She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Naufal, who had been a Christian and studied and scriptures, that a prophet would arise among this people.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me that he was told that `Abdullah went in to a woman that he had beside Amina d. Wahb when he had been working in clay and the marks of the clay were on him. She put him off when he made a suggestion to her because of the dirt that was on him. He then left her and washed and bathed himself, and as he made his way to Amina he passed her and she invited him to come to her. He refused and sent to Amina who conceived Muhammad. When he passed the woman again he asked her if she wanted anything and said `No! When you passed me there was a white blaze between your eyes and when I invited you you refused me and went in to Amina, and she has taken it away.'

It is alleged that that woman of his used to say that when he passed by her between his eyes there was a blaze like the blaze of a horse. She said: `I invited him hoping that that would be in me, but he refused me and went to Amina and she conceived that apostle of God.' So the apostle of God was the noblest of his people in birth and the greatest in honour both on his father's and his mother's side. Allah bless and preserve him!

36 - WHAT WAS SAID TO AMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only Allah knows the truth) that Amina d. Wahb, the mother of Allah's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with Allah's apostle that a voice said to her, `You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Muhammad. "' As she was pregnant with him she saw a light come forth from her by which she could see the castles of Busra in Syria. Shortly afterwards `Abdullah the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

37 - THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HIS SUCKLING

The apostle was born on Monday, 12th Rabi`u'l-awwal, in the year of the elephant. Al-Muttalib b. `Abdullah who had it from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama said, `I and the apostle were born at the same time in the year of the elephant.' (T. It is said that he was born in the house known as I. Yusuf's; and it is said that the apostle gave it to `Aqil b. Abu Talib who kept it until he died. His son sold it to Muhammad b. Yusuf, the brother of al-Haffaj, and he incorporated it in the house he built. Later Khayzuran separated it therefrom and made it into a mosque.(Khayzuran was the wife of the caliph al-Mahdi (158-69), and he did not give her her freedom until after his accession and I.I. died a few years before in the reign of Mansur, it would seem unlikely that I.I. should have recorded this tradition.).

Salih b. Ibrahim b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Auf b. Yahya b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sa`d. Zurara al-Ansari said that his tribesmen said that Hassan b. Thabit said: `I was a well-grown boy of seven or eight, understanding all that I heard, when I heard a Jew calling out at the top of his voice from the top of a fort in Yathrib "O company of Jews"

until they all came together and called out "Confound you, what is the matter?" He answered: "Tonight has risen a star under which Ahmad is to be born."'

I asked Sa`id b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Hassan b. Thabit how old Hassan was when the apostle came to Medina and he said he was 60 when the apostle came, he being 53. So Hassan heard this when he was seven years old.

After his birth his mother sent to tell his grandfather `Abdu'l-Muttalib that she had given birth to a boy and asked him to come and look at him. When he came she told him what she had seen when she conceived him and what was said to her and what she was ordered to call him. It is alleged that `Abdu'l-Muttalib took him (T. before Hubal) in the (T. middle of the) Ka`ba, where he stood and prayed to Allah thanking him for this gift. Then he brought him out and delivered him to his mother, and he tried to find foster-mothers for him (115).

Halima d. Abu Dhu'ayb of B. Sa'd b. Bakr was asked to suckle him. Abu Dhu'ayb was `Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Shijna b. Jabir b. Rizam b. Nasira b. Qusayya b. Nasr b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. `Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. `Aylan.

The prophet's foster-father was al-Harith b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Rifa`a b. Mallan b. Nasira b. Qusayya b. Nasr b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawazin(116).

His foster-brother was `Abdullah b. al-Harith; Unaysa and Hudhafa(In W. Judhama. I have followed C. which has the authority of I. Hajar. The name is uncertain.) were his foster-sisters. The latter was called al-Shayma,' her people not using her proper name. These were the children of Halima d. `Abdullah b. al-Harith. It is reported that al-Shayma' used to carry him in her arms to help her mother.

Jahm b. Abu Jahm the client of al-Harith b. Hatib al-Jumahi on the authority of `Abdullah b. Ja`far b. Abu Talib or from one who told him it as from him, informed me that Halima the apostle's foster-mother used to say that she went forth from her country with her husband and little son whom she was nursing, among the women of her tribe, in search of other babies to nurse. This was a year of famine when they were destitute. She was riding a dusky she-donkey of hers with an old she-camel which did not yield a drop of milk. They could not sleep the whole night because of the weeping of her hungry child. She had no milk to give him, nor could their she-camel provide a morning draught, but we were hoping for rain and relief. `I rode upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and emacination so that it was a nuisance to them. When we reached Mecca, we looked out for foster children, and the apostle of Allah was offered to everyone of us, and each woman refused him when she was told he was an orphan, because we hoped to get payment from the child's father. We said, "An orphan! and what will his mother and grandfather do?", and so we spurned him because of that. Every woman who came with me got a suckling except me, and when we decided to depart I said to my husband: "By Allah, I do not like the idea of returning with my friends without a suckling; I will go and take that orphan." Her replied, "Do as you please; perhaps Allah will bless us on his account." So I went and took him for the sole reason

that I could not find anyone else. I took him back to my baggage, and as soon as I put him in my bosom, my breasts overflowed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as also did his foster-brother. Then both of them slept, whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and lo, her udders were full; he milked it and he and I drank of her milk until we were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morning my husband said: "Do you know, Halima, you have taken a blessed creature?" I said, "By Allah, I hope so." Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, "Confound you! stop and wait for us. Isn't this the donkey on which you started?" "Certainly it is," I said. They replied, "By Allah, something extraordinary has happened." Then we came to our dwellings in the Banu Sa`d country and I do not know a country more barran than that.

When we had him with us my flock used to yield milk in abundance. We milked them and drank while other people had not a drop, nor could they find anything in their animals' udders, so that our people wer saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of Abu Dhuayb's shepherd goes." Even so, their flocks came back hungry not yielding a drop of milk, while mine had milk in abundance. We ceased not to recognize this bounty as coming from Allah for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children grew and by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother, though we were most anxious to keep him with us because of the blessing which he brought us. I said to her(T here inserts Ya Zi'ru `O nurse!' implying that Amina was not his mother. A strange reading.): "I should like you to leave my little boy with me until he becomes a big boy, for I am afraid on his account of the pest in Mecca." We persisted until she sent him back with us.

Some months after our return he and his brother were with our lambs behind the tents when his brother came running and said to us, "Two men clothed in white have seized that Qurayshi brother of mine and thrown him down and opened up his belly, and are stirring it up." We ran towards him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and asked him what was the matter. He said,"Two men in while raiment came and threw me down and open up my belly and searched therein for I know not what (Cf. Sura 94.1.)." So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, "I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so take him back to his family before the result appears." So we picked him up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when I had been anxious for his welfare and desirous of keeping him with me. I said to her, "Allah has let my son live so far and I have done my duty. I am afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you wished." She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her. When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with him a light went out from her which illumined the castles of Busra in Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty

imaginable. When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards the heavens. "Leave him then and go in peace," she said.'

Thaur b. Yazid from a learned person who I think was Khalid b. Ma`dan Kala`i told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: `I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (T. my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was suckled among the B. Sa`d b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, "Leave him alone, for by Allah, if you weighed him against all his people he would outweigh them."'

The apostle of Allah used to say, There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock. When they said, `You, too, apostle of Allah?', he said `Yes.'

The apostle of Allah used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of Quraysh, and I was suckled among the B. Sa`d b. Bakr. It is alleged by some, but Allah knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped her among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to `Abdu'l-Muttalib and said: `I brought Muhammad tonight and when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escaped me and I don't know where he is.' So `Abdu'l-Muttalib went to the Ka`ba praying to Allah to restore him. They assert that Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad and another man of Quraysh found him and brought him to `Abdu'l-Muttalib saying ,'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' 'Abdu'l-Muthalib took him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Ka`ba confiding him to Allah's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Amina.

A learned person told me that what urged his foster-mother to return him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, `Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future. We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

38 - AMINA DIES AND THE APOSTLE LIVES WITH HIS GRANDFATHER

The apostle lived with his mother Amina d. Wahb and his grandfather `Abdu'l-Muttalib in Allah's care and keeping like a fine plant, Allah wishing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Amina died.

`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. `Amr b. Hazm told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwa' between Mecca and Medina on her return from a visit with him to his maternal uncles of B. `Adiy b. al-Najjar when he was six years old (117). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Ka`ba. His sons used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it he said: `Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

39 - THE DEATH OF `ABDU'L-MUTTALIB AND THE ELEGIES THEREON

When the apostle was eight years of age, eight years after the `year of the elephant', his grandfather died. This date was given my al-`Abbas b. `Abdullah b. Ma`bad b. al-`Abbas from one of his family.

Muhammad b. Sa`id b. al-Musayyib told me that when `Abdu'l-Muttalib knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Safiya, Barra, `Atika, Umm Hakim al-Bayda', Umayma, and Arwa, and said to them, `Compose elegies over me so that I may hear what you are going to say before I die.'(118)

Safiya d. `Abdu'l-Muttalib said in mourning her father:

I could not sleep for the voices of the keening women,
Bewailing a man on the crown of life's road,
It caused the tears to flow
Down my cheeks like falling pearls
For a noble man, no wretched weaking,
Whose virtue was plain to all.
The generous Shayba, full of merits,
Thy good father inheritor of all virtue,
Truthful at home, no weakling,
Standing firm and self-reliant.
Powerful, fear-inspiring, massive,
Praised any obeyed by his people,
Of lofty lineage, smiling, virtuous,
A very rain when camels had no milk.
Noble was his grandfather without spot of shame,
Surpassing all men, bond or free,
Exceeding mild, of noble stock,
Who were generous, strong as lions,
Could men be immortal through ancient glory,
(Alas immortality is unobtainable!)
He would make his last night endure for ever
Through his surpassing glory and long descent.

His daughter Barra said:

Be generous, O eyes, with your pearly tears,
For the generous nature who never repelled a beggar.
Of glorious race, successful in undertaking,
Of handsome face, of great nobility.
Shayba, the laudable, the noble,
The glorious, the mighty, the renowned,
The clement, decisive in misfortunes,
Full of generosity, lavish in gifts,
Excelling his people in glory,
A light shining like the moon in its splendour.
Death came to him and spared him not,
Change and fortune and fate overtook him.

His daughter `Atika said:

Be generous, O eyes, and not niggardly
With your tears when others sleep,
Weep copiously, O eyes, with your tears,
While you beat your faces in weeping.
Weep, O eyes, long and freely
For one, no dotard weaking,
The strong, generous in time of need,
Noble in purpose, faithful to his word.
Shayba the laudable, successful in undertaking,
The reliable and the steady,
A sharp sword in war
Destroying his enemies in battle,
Easy natured, open handed,
Loyal, stout, pure, good.
His house proudly rooted in high honour
Mounted to glory unobtainable by others.

His daughter Umm Hakim al-Bayda' said:

Weep, O eye, generously, hide not thy tears,
Weep for the liberal and generous one,
Fie upon thee O eye, help me
With fast falling tears!
Weep for the best man who ever rode a beast,
Thy good father, a fountain of sweet water.
Shayba the generous, the virtuous,
Liberal in nature, praised for his gifts,
Lavish to his family, handsome,
Welcome as rain in years of drought.

A lion when the spears engage,
His womenfolk look on him proudly.
Chief of Kinana on whom their hopes rest,
When evil days brought calamity,
Their refuge when war broke out,
In trouble and dire distress.
Weep for him, refrain not from grief,
Make women weep for him as long as you live.

His daughter Umayma said:

Alas, has the shepherd of his people, the generous one, perished,
Who gave the pilgrims their water, the defender of our fame,
Who used to gather the wandering guest into his tents,
When the heavens begrudged their rain.
You have the noblest sons a man could have
And have never ceased to grow infame, O Shayba!
Abu'l Harith, the bountiful, has left his place,
Go not far for every living thing must go far.
I shall weep for him and suffer as long as I live.
His memory deserves that I suffer.
May the Lord of men water thy grave with rain!
I shall weep for him though he lies in the grave.
He was the pride of all his people,
And was praised wherever praise was due.

His daughter Arwa said:

My eye wept and well it did
For the generous modest father,
The pleasant natured man of Mecca's vale,
Noble in ming, lofty in aim,
The bountiful Shayba full of virtues,
Thy good father who has no peer,
Long armed, elegant, tall,
"Twas as though his forehead shone with light,
Lean waisted, handsome, full of virtues,
Glory, rank, and dignity were his,
Resenting wrong, smiling, able,
His ancestral fame could not be hid,
The refuge of Malik, the spiring of Fihr,
When judgement was sought he spoke the last word.
He was a hero, generous, liberal,
And bold when blood was to be shed,
When armed men were afraid of death
So that the hearts of most of them were as air

(Cf Sura 14.44 `and their hearts were airi'.),
Forward he went with gleaming sword,
The cynosure of all eyes.

Muhammad b. Sa'id b. al-Musayyib told me(Za`ama li.) that `Abdu'l-Muttalib made a sign to the effect that he was satisfied with the elegieis, for he could not speak (119).

Hudhayfa b. Ghanim, brother of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b b. Lu`ayy, mentioned his superiority and that of Qusayy and his sons over the Quraysh, because he had been seized for a debt of 4,000 dirhams in Mecca and Abu Lahab Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Abul'l-Muttalib passed by and redeemed him:

O eyes, let the generous tears flow down the breast,
Weary not, may you be washed with falling rain,
Be generous with your tears, every morn
Weeping for a man whom fate did not spare.
Weep floods of tears while life does last,
Over Quraysh's modest hero who concealed his good deeds,
A powerful zealous defender of his dignity,
Handsome of face, no weakling, and no braggart,
The famous prince, generous and liberal,
Spring rain of Lu'ayy in drought and dearth,
Best of all the sons of Ma`add,
Noble in action, in nature and in race,
Their best in root and branch and ancestry.
Most famous in nobility and reputation,
First in glory, kindness and sagacity,
And in virtue when the lean years exact their toll.
Weep over Shayba the praiseworthy, whose face
Illumined the darknest night, like the moon at the full,
Who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread
(Cf.p.66. Or, `then for the good Hashim (lilkhayr for lilkhubz).)
And `Abdu Manaf that Fihri lord,
Who uncovered Zamzam by the Sanctuary,
Whose control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's.
Let every captive in his misery weep for him
And the family of Qusayy, poor and rich alike.
Noble are his sons, both young and old,
They have sprung from the egg of a hawk,
Qusayy who opposed Kinana all of them,
And guarded the temple in weal and woe.
Though fate and its changes bore him away,
He lived happy in successful achievement,
He left behind well armed men
Bold in attack, like very spears.
Abu `Utba who gave me his gift,

White blood camels of the purest white.
Hamza like the moon at the full rejoicing to give,
Chaste and free from treachery,
And `Abdu Manaf the glorious, defender of his honour,
Kind to his kindred, gentle to his relatives.
Their men are the best of men,
Their young men like the offspring of kings who neither perish nor dimish.
Whenever you meet one of their scions
You will find him going in the path of his forefathers.
They filled the vale with fame and glory
When rivalry and good works had long been practised
(Cf. Sura 2.143 `Vie with one another in good words', and cf.5.53 for this use of the verb istabaqa.),
Among them are great builders and buildings,
`Abdu Manaf their grandfather being the repairer of their fortunes,
When he married `Auf to his daughter to give us protection
From our enemies when the Banu Fihr betrayed us,
We went through the land high the low under his protection,
Until our camels could plunge into the sea.
They lived as townsmen while some were nomads
None but the sheikhs of Banu `Amr
(The sons of Hashim are meant: his name was `Amr. So Cairo editors.)
They build many houses and dug wells
Whose waters flowed as though from the great sea
That pilgrims and others might drink to them,
When they hastened to them on the morrow of the sacrifice, Three days their camels lay
Quietly between the mountains and the hijr.
Of old we had lived in plenty,
Drawing our water from Khumm or al-Hafr.
They forgot wrongs normally avenged,
And overlooked foolish slander,
They collected all the allied tribesmen,
And turned from us the evil of Banu Bakr.
O Kharija(i.e. Kharija b. Hudhafa.), when I die cease not to thank them
Until you are laid in the grave,
And forget not Ibn Lubna's kindness,
A kindness that merits thy gratitude.
And thou Ibn Lubna art from Qusayy when genealogies are sought
Where man's highest hope is attained,
Thyself has gained the height of glory
And joined it to its root in valour.
Surpassing and exceeding thy people in generosity
As a boy thou wast superior to every liberal chief.
Thy mother will be a pure pearl of Khuza`a,
When experienced genealogists one day compile a roll.

To the heroes of Sheba she can be traced and belongs.
How noble her ancestry in the summit of splendour!
Abu Shamir is of them and `Amr b. Malik
And Dhu Jadan and Abu'l-Jabr are of her people, and
As`ad who led the people for twenty years
Assuring victory in those lands (120).

Matrud b. Ka`b the Khuza`ite bewailing `Abdu'l-Muttalib and the sons of `Abdu Manaf said:

O wanderer ever changing thy direction,
Why hast thou not asked of the family of `Abdu Manaf?
Good Allah, if you had lived in their homeland
They would have saved you from injury and unworthy marriages;
Their rich mingle with their poor
So that their poor are as their wealthy.
Munificent when times were bad,
Who travel with the caravans of Quraysh
Who feed men when the winds are stormy
Until the sun sinks into the sea.
Since you have perished, O man of great deeds,
Never has the necklace of a woman drooped over your like
(i.e. `never has your equal been born'. The figure is that of a woman nursing a baby while her necklace falls over the child at her breast. The correct reading would seem to be `iqd not `aqd; dhat nitaf means `possessor of pendant earrings', i.e. a woman. Dr. Arafat suggests that `aqd `girdle' should be read and the line would then run: `Never has the knot of a woman's girdle run over your like'. The general sense would be the same, but the particular reference would be to a pregnant woman.
Save your father alone, that generous man, and
The bountiful Muttalib, father of his guests.

When `Abdu'l-Muttalib died his son al-`Abbas took charge of Zamzam and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest of his father's sons. When Islam came it was still in his hands and the apostle confirmed his right to it and so it remains with the family of al-`Abbas to this day.

40 - ABU TALIB BECOMES GUARDIAN OF THE APOSTLE

After the death of `Abdu'l-Muttalib the apostle lived with his uncle Abu Talib, for (so they allege) the former had confided him to his care because he and `Abdullah, the apostle's father, were brothers by the same mother, Fatima d. `A'idh b. `Abd b. `Abd b. `Imran b. Makhzum (121). It was Abu Talib who used to look after the apostle after the death of his grandfather and he became one of his family.

Yahya b. `Abbad b. `Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father told him that there was a man of Lihb (122) who was a seer. Whenever he came to Mecca to Quraysh used

to bring their boys to him so that he could look at them and tell their fortunes. So Abu Talib brought him along with the others while he was still a boy. The seer looked at him and then something claimed his attention. That disposed of he cried, `Bring me that boy.' When Abu Talib saw his eagerness he hid him and the seer began to say, `Woe to you, bring me that boy I saw just now, for by Allah he has a great future.' But Abu Talib went away.

41 - THE STORY OF BAHIRA

Abu Talib had planned to go in a merchant caravan to Syria, and when all preparations had been made for the journey, the apostle of Allah, so they allege, attached himself closely to him so that he took pity on him and said that he would take him with him, and that the two of them should never part; or words to that effect. When the caravan reached Busra in Syria, there was a monk there in his cell by the name of Bahira, who was well versed in the knowledge of Christians. A monk had always occupied that cell. There he gained his knowledge from a book that was in the cell, so they allege, handed on from generation to generation. They had often passed by him in the past and he never spoke to them or took any notice of them until this year, and when they stopped near his cell he made a great feast for them. It is alleged that that was because of something he saw while in his cell. They allege that while he was in his cell he saw the apostle of Allah in the caravan when they approached, with a cloud overshadowing him among the people. Then they came and stopped in the shadow of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it overshadoweed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the apostle of Allah until he was in the shadow beneath it. When Bahira saw that, he came out of his cell and sent word to them, (T. `sent word to invite them all' and omits passage ending `people'.) `I have prepared food for you, O men of Quraysh, and I should like you all to come both great and small, bond and free.' One of them said to him, `By Allah, Bahira! something extraordinary has happened today, you used not to treat us so, and we have often passed by you. What has befallen you today?' He answered, `You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to honour you and give you food so that you may eat.' So they gathered together with him, leaving the apostle of Allah behind with the baggage under the tree, on account of his extreme youth. When Bahir a looked at the people he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his books, (Lit. `with him') so he said, `Do not let one of you remain behind and n ot come to my feast.' They told him that no one who ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them and had stayed with their baggage. Thereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them. One of the men of Quraysh said, `By al-Lat and al-`Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib.' Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people.(T. `sent word to invite them all' and omits passage ending `people') When Bahira saw him he stared at him closely, looking at his body and finding traces of his description (in the Christian books). When the people had finished eating and gone away, (T. om) Bahira got up and said to him, `Boy, I ask you by al-Lat and al-`Uzza to answer my question.' Now Bahira said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of Allah said to him, `Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-`Uzza, for by Allah nothing is more hateful to me than these two.' Bahira answered `Then by Allah,

tell me what I ask'; he replied, `Ask me what you like'; so (T. om) he began to ask him about what happened in his (T. waking and in his) sleep, and his habits, (hay'a, perhaps `his body'.) and his affairs generally, and what the apostle of Allah told him coincided with what Bahira knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders (T. om)in the very place described in his book (123). (T. om) When he had finished he went to his uncle Abu Talib and asked him what relation this boy was to him, and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for it could not be that the father of this boy was alive. `He is my nephew,' he said, and when he asked what ha become of his father he told him that he had died before the child was born. `You have told the truth,' said Bahira. `Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, for by Allah! if they see him and know about him what i know, they will do him evil; a great future lies before this nephew of yours, so take him home quickly.'

So his uncle took him off quickly and brought him back to Mecca when he had finished his trading in Syria. People allege that Zurayr and Tammam and Daris, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in the apostle of Allah what Bahira had seen during that journey which he took with his uncle, and they tried to get at him, but Bahira kept them away and reminded them of Allah and the mention of the description of him which they would find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at him they would not succeed. He gave them no peace until they recognized the truth of what he said and left him and went away. The apostle of Allah grew up, Allah protecting him and keeping him from the vileness of heathenism because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be the finest of his people in manliness, the best in character, most noble in lineage, the best neighbour, the most kind, truthful, reliable, the furthest removed from filthiness and corrupt morals, through loftiness and nobility, so that he was known among his people as `The trustworthy' because of the good qualities which Allah had implanted in him. The apostle, so I was told, used to tell how Allah protected him in his childhood during the period of heathenism, saying, `I found myself among the boys of Quraysh carrying stones such as boys play with; we had all uncovered ourselves, each taking his shirt (Properly a wrapper which covered the lower part of the body) and putting it round his neck as he carried the stones. I was going to and fro in the same way, when an unseen figure slapped me most painfully saying, "Put your shirt on"; so I took it and fastened it on me and then began to carry the stones upon my neck wearing my shirt alone among my fellows.'(Suhayli, 120, after pointing out that a somewhat similar story is told of the prophet's modesty and its preservation by supernatural means, at the time that the rebuilding of the Ka`ba was undertaken when Muhammad was a grown man, says significantly that if the account here is correct divine intervention must have occurred twice. It may well be that he was led to make this comment by the fact that T. omits the story altogether and it its place (T. 1126.10) writes: `I. Hamid said that Salama tol him that I.I. related from Muhammad b. `Abdullah b Qays b. Makhrama from al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. `Ali b. Abu Talib from his father Muhammad b. `Ali from his grandfather `Ali b. Abu Talib: I heard the apostle say, "I never gave a thought to what the people of the pagan era used to do but twice, because Allah came between me and my desires. Afterwards I never thought of evil when Allah honoured me with apostleship. Once I said to a young Qurayshi who was shepherding with me on the high ground of

Mecca, `I should like you to look after my beasts for me while I go and spend the night in Mecca as young men do.' He agreed and I went off with that intent, and when I came to the first house in Mecca I heard the sound of tambouriness and flutes and was told that a marriage had just taken place. I sat down to look at them when Allah smote my ear and I fell asleep until I was woken by the sun. I came to my friend and in reply to his questions told him what had happened. Exactly the same thing occurred on another occasion. Afterwards I never thought of evil until Allah honoured me with his apostleship.'")

42 - THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kinana and Qays `Aylan, fought in the sacred month. The chief of Quraysh and Kinana was Harb b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kinana(125).

43 - THE APOSTLE OF ALLAH MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraysh were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of Allah accepted the proposal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Maysara and asked who the man was who was resting beneath the tree. He told him that he was of Quraysh, the people who held the sacturary; and the monk exclaimed: `None but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sod the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or thereabouts. Maysara for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which Allah willed to honour her. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of Allah and -so the story goes- said: `O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in Quraysh, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.

Khadija was the daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Fatima d. Za'ida b. al-Asamm b. Rawaha b. Hajar b. `Abd b. Ma`is b. `Amir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her

mother was Hala d. `Abdu Manaf b. al-Harith b. `Amr b. Munqidh b. `Amr b. Ma`is b. `Amir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Hala's mother was Qilabad. Su`ayd b. Sa`d b. Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

The apostle of Allah told his uncles of Khadija's proposal, and his uncle Hamza b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib went with him to Khuwaylid b. Asad and asked for her hand and he married her (127).

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrahim, namely al-Qasim (Whereby he was known as Abu'l-Qasim); al-T^ahir, al-Tayyib,(Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets (The Pure, The Good) applied to the one son `Abdullah.) Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthum, and Fatima(128).

Al-Qasim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tahir died in p[aganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian ho had studied the scriptures and was a scholar, what her slave Maysara had told her that the monk had said and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, `If this is true, Khadija, verily Muhammad is the prophet of this people. I knew that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come,' or words to that effect. Waraqa was finding the time of waiting wearisome and used to say `How long?' Some lines of his on the theme are:

I persevered and was persistent in remembering
An anxiety which often evoked tears. And
Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija.
Long have I had to wait, O Khadija,
In the vale of Mecca in spite of my hope
That I might see the outcome of thy words.
I could not bear that the words of the monk
You told me of should prove false:
That Muhammad should rule over us
Overcoming those who would oppose him.
And that a glorious light should appear in the land
To preserve men from disorders.
His enemies shall meet disaster
And his friends shall be victorious.
Would that I might be there then to see,
For I should be the first of his supporters,
Joining in that which Quraysh hate
However loud they shout in the Mecca of theirs.
I hope to ascend through him whom they all dislike
To the Lord of the Throne though they are cast down.
Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him
Who chose him Who raised the starry heights?

If they and I live, things will be done
Which will throw the unbelievers into confusion.
And if I did, 'tis but the fate of mortals
To suffer death and dissolution

44 - THE REBUILDING OF THE KA`BA WHEN THE APOSTLE ACTED AS UMPIRE

Quraysh decided to rebuild the Ka`ba when the apostle was thirty-five years of age (T. fifteen years after the sacrilegious war). They were planing to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Ka`ba which used to be in a wel in the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayk a freedman of B. Mulayh b. `Amr of Khuza`a (130). Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk.

(T. Among those suspected were al-Harith b. `Amir b. Naufal, and Abu Ihab b. `Aziz b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamimi who shared the same mother, and Abu Lahab b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib. Quraysh alleged that it was they who took the Ka`ba's treasure and deposited it with Duwayk, a freedman of B. Mulayh, and when Quraysh suspected them they informed against Dyuwayk and so his hand was cut off. It was said that they had left it with him, and people say that when Quraysh felt certain that the treasure had been with al-Harith they took him to an Arab sorceress and in her rhymed utterances she decreed that he should not enter Mecca for ten years because he had profaned the sanctity of the Ka`ba. They allege that he was drriven out and lived in the surrounding country for ten years.)

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Judda and became a total wreck. they took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Ka`ba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter, so everything they needed was ready to hand. Now a snake used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Ka'ba. It was an object of terror because whenever any one came near it it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was thus sunning itself one day, Allah sent a bird which seized it and flew off with it. Thereupon Quraysh said, `Now we may hope that Allah is pleased with what we proposed to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and Allah has rid us of the snake.' When they had decided to pull it down and rebuild it Abu Wahb b. `Amr b. `A'idh b. `Abd b. `Imran b. Makhzum (131) got up and took a stone from the Ka`ba and it leapt out of his hand so that it returned to its place. He said, `O Quraysh, do not bring into this building ill-gotten gains, the hire of a harlot, nor money taken in usury, nor anything resulting from wrong and violence.' People ascribe this saying to al-Walid b. al-Mughira b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih al-Makki told me that he was told on the authority of `Abdullah b. Safwan b. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. jumah b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy that he saw a son of Ja`da b. Hubayra b. Abu Wahb b. `amr

circumambulating he temple, and when he inquired about him he was told who he was. `Abdullah b. Safwan said, `It was the grandfather of this man (meaning Abu Wahb), who took the stone from the Ka`ba when Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abu Wahb was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said:

If I made my camel kneel at Abu Wahb's door,
It would start the morrow's journey with well filled saddle-bags
He was the noblest of the two branches of Lu`ayy b. Ghalib,
When noble lineage is reckoned.
Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving,
His ancestors were of the noblest stock.
A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,
He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.

(Professor Affifi reminds me that the second half of this verse is reminiscent of Imru'u'l-Qays (i.12) where the fine fat flesh of the camel is compared with white silk finely woven.

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. `Abdu Manaf and Zuhra. the space between the black stone and the southern corner, to B. Makhzum and the Qurayshite tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Ka'ba to B. Jumah and Sahm, the two sons of `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy. The side of the hijr to B. `Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy and to B. Asad b. al-`Uzza b. Qusayy, and to B. `Adiy b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy which is the Hatim.

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira said, `I will begin the demolition.' So he took a pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, `O Allah, do not be afraid (The feminine form indicates that the Ka`ba itself is addressed.) (132), O Allah, we intend only what is best.' Then he demolished the part at the two corners.(Or `two sacred stones') That night the people watched, saying, `We will look out; if he is smitten we won't destroy any more of it and will restore is as it was;but if nothing happens to him then Allah is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In the morning al-Walid returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation (...Not in T) of Abraham.(...Not in T.) They came on green stones like camel's humps joined one to another.

A certain traditionist told me that a man of Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out, and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone. (T. so they had reached the foundation.)

I was told that Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: `I am Allah the Lord of

Bakka, I created it on the day that I created heaven and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. it will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water,' and I was told that they found in the maqam a writing, `Mecca is Allah's hold house, its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.'

Layth b. Abu Sulaym alleged that they found a stone in the Ka`ba forty years before the prophet's mission, if what they say is true, containing the inscription `He that soweth good shall reap joy; he that soweth evil shall reap sorrow; can you do evil and be rewarded with good? Nay, as grapes cannot be gathered from thorns.'(A strange place in which to find a quotation from the Gospel; cf. Mt. 7.16.)

The tribes of Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances, and got ready for battle. The B. `Abdu'l-Dar brought a bowl full of blood; then they and the B. `Adiy b. Ka`b b. Lu' ayy pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason theyh were called the blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abu Umayya b. al-Mugthira b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum who was at that time the oldest man of Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpire in the matter in dispute. They did so and the first to come in was the apostle of Allah. When they saw him they said, `This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Muhammad.' When he came to them and they informed him of the matter he said, `Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought to him he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it.

Quraysh used to call the apostle of Allah before revelation came to him, `the trustworthy one'; and when they had finished the building, according to their desire, al-Zubayr the son of `Abdu'l-Muttalib said about the sanke which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Ka`ba:

I was amazed that the eagle went straight
To the snake when it was excited.
It used to rustle ominously
And sometimes it would dart forth.
When we planed to rebuild the Ka`ba
It terrified us for it was fearsome.
When we feared its attack, down came the eagle,
Deadly straight in its swoop,
It bore it away, thus leaving us free
To work without further hindrance.
We attacked the building together,
We had its foundations(Qawa`id perhaps= and the earth`uprights').

On the morrow we raised the foundation,
None of our workers wore clothes.
Through it did Allah honour the sons of Lu'ayy,
Its foundation was ever associated with them,
Banu `Adiy and Murra had gathered there,
Kilab having preceded them.
For this the King settled us there in power,
For reward is to be sought them Allah (133).

45 - THE HUMS

I do not know whether it was before or after the year of the elephant that Quraysh invented the idea of Hums and put it into practice. They said, `We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory, the guardians of the temple and the citizens of Mecca. No other Arabs have rights like ours or a position like ours. The Arabs recognize none as they recognize us, so do not attach the same importance to the outside country as you do the sanctuary, for if you do the Arabs will despise your taboo and will say, "They have given the same importance to the outside land as to the sacred territory."' So they gave up the halt at `Arafa and the departure from it, while they recognized that these were institutions of the pilgrimage and the religion of Abraham. They considered that other Arabs should halt there and depart from the place; but they said, `We are the people of the sanctuary, so it is not fitting that we should go out from the sacred territory and honour other places as we, the Hums, honour that; for the Hums are the people of the sanctuary.' They then proceeded to deal in the same way with Arabs who were born within and without the sacred territory. Kinana and Khuza`a joined with them in this(134).

The Hums went on to introduce innovations for which they had no warrant. They thought it wrong that they should eat cheese made of sour milk or clarify butter while they were in a state of taboo. They would not enter tents of camel-hair of seek shelter from the sun except in leather tents while they were in this state. They went further and refused to allow those outside the haram to bring food in with them when they came on the great or little pilgrimage. Nor could they circumambulate the house except in the garments of the Hums. If they had no such garments they had to go round naked. If any man or woman felt scruples when they had no hums garments, then they could go round in their ordinary clothes; but they had to throw them away afterwards so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them(The survival of the idea of contagious `holiness' which on the one hand prohibited the introduction of profane food into the sanctuary, and when it could not prevent the introduction of profane clothes, forbade their use for common purposes after they had come in contact with taboo, would seem to indicate an antiquity far greater than that ascribed to these practices here.).

The Arabs called these clothes `the cast-off'. They imposed all these restrictions on the Arabs, who accepted them and halted at `Arafat, hastened from it, and circumambulated the house naked. The men at least went naked while the women laid aside all their clothes except a shift wide open back or front. An Arab woman who was going round the house thus said:

Today some or all of it can be seen,
But what can be seen I do not make common property!

Those who went round in the clothes in which they came from outside threw them away so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them. An Arab mentioning some clothes which he had discarded and could not get again and yet wanted, said:

It's grief enough that I should return to her
As though she were a tabooed cast-off in front of the pilgrims.

i.e. she could not be touched.

This state of affairs lasted until Allah sent Muhammad and revealed to him when He gave him the laws of His religion and the customs of the pilgrimage: `Then hasten onward from the place whence men hasten onwards, and ask pardon of Allah, for Allah is forgiving, merciful(Sura 2.195.)'. The words are addressed to Quraysh and `men' refer to the Arabs. So in the rule of the hajj he hastened them up to `Arafat and ordered them to halt there and to hasten thence.

In reference to their prohibition of food and clothes at the temple such as had been brought from outside the sacred territory Allah revealed to him: `O Sons of Adam, wear your clothes at every mosque and eat and drink and be not prodigal, for He loves not the prodigal. Say, Who has forbidden the clothes which Allah has brought forth for His servants and the good things which He has provided? Say, They on the day of resurrection will be only for those who in this life believed. Thus do we explain the signs for people who have knowledge(Sura 7,29.).' Thus Allah set aside the restrictions of the Hums and the innovations of Quraysh against men's interests when He sent His apostle with Islam.

`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. `Amr b. Hazm from `Uthman b. Abu Sulayman b. Jubayr b. Mut`im from his uncle Nafi` b. Jubayr from his father Jubayr b. Mut`im said: `I saw Allah's apostle before revelation came to him and lo he was halting on his beast in `Arafat with men in the midst of his tribe until he quitted it with them-a special grace from Allah to him.'

`Uthman b. Saj from Muhammad b. Ishaq from al-Kalbi from Abu Salih, freedman of Umm Hani from Ibn `Abbas: The Hums were Quraysh, Kinana, Khuza`a, al-Aus and al-Khazraj, Jutham, B. Rabi`a b. `Amir b. Sa`sa`a. Azd Shanu'a, Judham, Zubayd, B. Dhakwan of B. Salim, `Amr al-Lat, Thaqif, Ghatafan, Ghauth, `Adwan, `Allaf, and Quda`a. When Quraysh let an Arab marry one of their women they stipulated that the offspring should be an Ahmasi following their religion. Al-Adram Taym b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana married his son Majd to the daughter of Taym Rabi`a b. `Amir b. Sa`sa`a stipulating that his children from her should follow the sunna of Quraysh. It is in reference to her that Labid b. Rabi`a b. Ja`far al-Kilabi said:

My people watered the sons of Majd and I
Water Numayr and the tribes of Hilal.

Mansur b. `Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. `Aylan married Salma d. Dubay`a b. `Ali b. Ya`sur b. Sa`d b. Qays b. `Aylan and she bore to him Hawazin. When he fell seriously ill she vowed that if he recovered she would make him a Hums, and when he recovered she fulfilled her vow....The Hums strictly observed the sacred months and never wronged their proteges therein nor wronged anyone therein. They went round the Ka`ba wearing their clothes. If one of them before and at the beginning of Islam was in a state of taboo if he happened to be one of the housedwellers, i.e. living in houses or villages, he would dig a hole at the back of his house and go in and out by it and not enter by the door. The Hums used to say, `Do not respect anything profane and do not go outside the sacred area during the hajj,' so they cut short the rites of the pilgrimage and the halt at `Arafa, it being in the profane area, and would not halt at it or go forth from it. They made their stopping-place at the extreme end of the sacred territory at Namira at the open space of al-Ma'ziman, stopping there the night of `Arafa and sheltering by day in the trees of Namira and starting from it to al-Muzdalifa. When the sun turbaned the tops of the mountains they set forth. They were called Hums because of their strictness in their religion....The year of Hudaybiya and prophet entered his house. One of the Ansar was with him and he stopped at the door, explaining that he was an Ahmasi. The apostle said, `I am an Ahmasi too. My religion and yours are the same', so the Ansari went into the house by door as he saw the apostle do.

Outsiders used to circumambulate the temple naked, both men and women. The B. `Amir b. Sa`sa`a and `Akk were among those who did thus. When a woman went round naked she would put one hand behind her and the other in front(A great deal more follows in the name of I. `Abbas. It is doubtful whether it comes from I.I., because though there is new matter in it, some statements which occur in the foregoing are repeated, so that it is probable that they reached Azraqi from another source. In the foregoing I have translated only passages which provide additional information.).

46 - REPORTS OF ARAB SOOTHSAYERS, JEWISH RABBIS, AND CHRISTIAN MONKS

Jewish rabbis, Christian monks, and Arab soothsayers had spoken about the apostle of Allah before his mission when his time drew near. As to the rabbis and monks, it was about his description and the description of his time which they found in their scriptures and what their prophets had enjoined upon them. As to the Arab soothsayers they had been visited by satans from the jinn with reports which they had secretly overheard before they were prevented from hearing by being pelted with stars. Male and famale soothsayers continued to let fall mention of some of these matters to which the Arabs paid no attention until Allah sent him and these things which had been mentioned happened and they recognized them. When the prophet's mission came the satans were prevented from listening and they could not occupy the seats in which they used to sit and steal the heavenly tidings for they were pelted with stars, and the jinn knew that that was due to an order which Allah had commanded concerning mankind. Allah said to His

prophet Muhammad when He sent him as he was telling him about the jinn when they were prevented from listening and knew what they knew and did not deny what they saw; `Say, It has been revealed to me that a number of the jinn listened and said "We have heard a wonderful Quran which guides to the right path, and we believe in it and we will not associate anyone with our Lord and that He(exalted be the glory of our Lord) hath not chosen a wife or a son. A foolish one among us used to speak lies against Allah, and we had thought men and jinn would not speak a lie against Allah and that when men took refuge with the jinn, they increased them in revolt," ending with the words: "We used to sit on places therein to listen; he who listens now finds a flame waiting for him. We do not know whether evil is intended against those that are on earth or whether their lord wishes to guide them in the right path(Sura 72.1 ff.)".' When the jinn heard the Quran they knew that they had been prevented from listening before that so that revealation should not be mingled with news from heaven so that men would be confused with the tidings which came from Allah about it when the proof came and doubt was removed; so they believed and acknowledged the truth. Then `They returned to their people warning them, saying, O our people we have heard a book which was revealed after Moses confirming what went before it, guiding to the truth and to the upright path(Sura 46.28.).'

In reference to the saying of the jinn, `that men took refuge with them and they increased them in revolt', Arabs of the Quraysh and others when they were journeying and stopped at the bottom of a vale of pass a night therein used to say, `I take refuge in the lord of this valled of the jinn tonight from the evil that is therein'(135).

Ya`qub b. `Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was informed that the first Arabs to be afraid of falling stars when they were pelted with them were this clan of Thaqif, and that they came to one of their tribesmen called `Amr b. Umayya, one of B. `Ilaj who was a most astute and shrewd man, and asked him if he had noticed this pelting with stars. He said: `Yes, but wait, for if they are the well-known stars which guide travellers by land and sea, by which the seasons of summer and winter are known to help men in their daily life, which are being thrown, then by Allah! it means the end of the world and the destruction of all that is in it. But if they remain constant and other stars are being thrown, then it is for some purpose which Allah intends towards mankind.'

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri on the authority of `Ali b. al-Husayn b. `Ali b. Abu Talib from `Abdullah b. al-`Abbas from a number of the Ansar mentioned that the apostle of Allah said to them, `What were you saying about this shooting star?' They replied, `We were saying, a king is dead, a king has been appointed, a child is born, a child has died.' He replied, `It is not so, but when Allah has decreed something concerning His creation the bearers of the throne hear it and praise Him, and those below them praise Him, and those lower still praise Him because they have praised, and this goes on until the praise descends to the lowest heaven where they praise. Then they ask each other why, and are told that it is because those above them have done so and they say, "Why don't you ask those above you the reason?", and so it goes on until they reach the bearers of the throne who say that Allah has decreed so-and-so concerning His creation and the news descends from heaven to heaven to the lowest heaven where they discuss it, and the satans steal it by listening, mingling it with conjecture and false

intelligence. Then they convey it to the soothsayers and tell them of it, sometimes being wrong and sometimes right, and so the soothsayers and sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Then Allah shut off the satants by these stars with which they were pelted, so smooth saying has been cut off today and no longer exists.'

`Amr b. Abu Ja`far from Muhammad b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Labiba from `Ali b. al-Husayn b. `Ali told me the same tradition as that of Ibn Shihab.

A learned person told me that a woman of B. Sahm called al-Ghaytala who was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance was visited by her familiar spirit one night. He chirped beneath her(The reading here varies; the word anqada means the shriek of birds or the creaking noise of a door, and can be applied to a man's voice. If we read inqadda, it means the fall or the swoop of a bird. In view of the chirping and muttering of soothsayers all the world over, the first reading seems preferable.), then he said,

I know what I know,
The day of wounding and slaughter.

When the Quraysh heard of this they asked what he meant. The spirit came to her another night and chirped beneath her saying,

Death, what is death?
In it bones are thrown here and there(This ominous oracle can vie with any oracle from Delphi in obscurity. We can render, `Glens what are glens?', and this, as the sequel shows, is the way Ibn Ishaq understood the enigma when the battles of Badr and Uhud took place in glens. But such a translation ignores the fact that the antecedent fihi (not fiha) must be a singular, and no form shu`ub is known in the singular. This translation carries with it the necessity of rendering the following line thus, `Wherein Ka`b is lying prostrate', and commentators are unanimous that `Ka`b' refers to the tribe of Ka`b b. Lu'ayy, who provided most of the slain in the battles of Badr and Uhud and so were found `Thrown on their sides'. (I can find no authority for translating ka`b by `heels'-Fersen-as do Weil and G. Holscher, Die Profeten, Leipzig, 1914,p.88. `Ankle' in the singular is the meaning, and this can hardly be right.) In view of the proof text cited by Lane, 1616b, where sha`b (people) and Ka`b (the tribe) and ki`ab (bones used as dice like our knuckle bones) are all found in a single couplet, I am inclined to think that the oracle is still further complicated and that a possible translation iis that given above. This, at any rate, has the merit of correct syntax since it requires us to read sha`ub. The selection of a word susceptible of so many meanings which contains the name of a well-known tribe provides an excellent example or oracular prophency.).

When Quraysh heard of this they could not understand it and decided to wait until the future should reveal its meaning. When the battle of Badr and Uhud took place in a glen, they knew that this was the meaning of the spirit's message(136).

`Ali b. Nafi` al-Jurashi told me that Janb, a tribe from the Yaman, had a soothsayer in the time of ignorance, and when the news of the apostle of Allah was blazed aborad among the Arabs, they said to him, `Look into the matter of this man for us', and they

gathered at the bottom of the mountain where he lived. He came down to them when the sun rose and stood leaning on his bow. He raised his head toward heaven for a long time and began to leap about and say:

O men, Allah has honoured and chosen Muhammad,
Purified his heart and bowels.
His stay among you, O men, will be short.

Then he turned and climbed up the mountain whence he had come.

A person beyond suspicion told me on the authority of `Abdullah b. Ka`b freedman of `Uthman b. `Affan that he was told that when `Umar b. al-Khattab was sitting with the people in the apostle's mosque, and Arab came in to visit him. When `Umar saw him he said, `This fellow is still a polytheist, he has not given up his old religion yet,(or, he said), he was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance.' The man greeted him and sat down and `Umar asked him if he was a Muslim; he said that he was. He said, `But were you a soothsayer in the time of ignorance?' The man replied, `Good Allah, commander of the faithful, you have thought ill of me and have greeted me in a way that I never heard you speak to anyone of your subjects since you came into power.' `Umar said, `I ask Allah's pardon. In the time of ignorance we did worse than this; we worshipped idols and images until Allah honoured us with his apostle and Not in T 1145 with Islam.' The man replied, `Yes, by Allah, I was a soothsayer.' `Umzr said, `Then tell me what (T. was the most amazing thing) your familiar spirit communicated to you.' He said, `He came to me a month or so before Islam and said:

Have you considered the jinn and their confusion,
Their religion a despair and a delusion,
Clinging to their camels' saddle cloths in profusion?'(137).

`Abdullah b. Ka`b said, Thereupon `Umar said, `I was standing by an idol with a number of the Quraysh in the time of ignorance when an Arab sacrificed a calf. We were standing by expecting to get a part of it, when I heard a voice more penetrating than I have ever heard coming out of the belly of the calf (this was a month or so before Islam), saying:

O blood red one,
The deed is done,
A man will cry
Beside Allah none.'(138)

Such is what I have been told about soothsayers among the Arabs(A much longer account is given by S.135-40.)

47 - THE JEWISH WARNING ABOUT THE APOSTLE OF ALLAH

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada told me that some of his tribesmen said: `What induced us to accept Islam, apart from Allah's mercy and guidance, was what we used to hear the Jews say. We were polytheists worshipping idols, while they were people of the scriptures with knowledge which we did not possess. There was continual enmity between us, and when we got the better of them and excited their hate, they said, "The time of a prophet who is to be sent has now come. We will kill you with his aid as `Ad and Iram perished(If this report is ture it indicates that the messianic hope was still alive among the Arabian Jews.)". We often used to hear them say this. When Allah sent His apostle we accepted him when he called us to Allah and we realized what their threat meant and joined him before them. We believed in him but they denied him. Concerning us and them, Allah revealed the verse in the chapter of the Cow: "And when a book from Allah came to them confirming what they already had (and they were formerly asking for victory over the unbelievers), when what they knew came to them, they disbelieved it. The curse of Allah is on the unbelievers."'(139)(Sura 2.83.)

Salih b. Ibrahim b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf from Mahmud b. Labid, brother of B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal, from Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh (Salama was present at Badr) said: `We had a Jewish neighbour among B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal, who came out to us one day from his house. (At that time I was the youngest person in my house, wearing a small robe and lying in the courtyear.) He spoke of the resurrection, the reckoning, the scales, paradise, and hell. When he spoke of these things to the polytheists who thought that there could be no rising after death, they said to him, "Good gracious man! Do you think that such things could be that men can be raised from the dead to a place where there is a garden and a fire in which they will be recompensed for their deeds?" "Yes," he said, "and by Him whom men swear by, he would wish that he might be in the largest oven in his house rather than in that fire: that they would heat it and thrust him into it and plaster it over if he could get out from that fire on the following day." When they asked for a sign that this would be, he said, pointing with his hand to Mecca and the Yaman, "A prophet will be sent from the direction of this land." When they asked when he would appear, he looked at me, the youngest person, and said: "This boy, if he lives his natural term, will see him," and by Allah, a night and a day did not pass before Allah sent Muhammad his apostle and he was living among us. We believed in him, but he denied him in his wickedness and envy. When we asked, "Aren't you the man who said these things?" he said, "Certainly, but this is not the man."'

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada on the authority of a shaykh of the B. Qurayza said to me, `Do you know how Tha`laba b. Sa`ya and Asid b. Sa`ya and Asad b. `Ubayd of B. Hadl, brothers of B. Qurayza, became Muslims? They were with them during the days of ignorance; then they became their masters in Islam.' When I said that I did not know, he told me that a Jew from Syria, Ibnu'l-Hayyaban, came to us some years before Islam and dwelt among us. `I have never seen a better man than he who was not a Muslim. When we were living in the time of drought we asked him to come with us and pray for rain. He declined to do so unless we paid him something, and when we asked how much he wanted, he said, "A bushel of dates or two bushels of barley." When we had duly paid up he went outside our harra and prayed for rain for us; and by Allah, hardly had he left his place when clouds passed over us and it rained. Not once nor twice did he do this. Later

when he knew that he was about to die he said,"O Jews, whatt do you think made me leave a land of bread and wine to come to a land of hardship and hunger?" When we said that we could not think why, he said that he had come to this country expecting to see the emergence of a prophet whose time was at hand. This was the town where he would migrate and he was hoping that he would be sent so that he could follow him. "His time has come," he said, "and don't let anyone get to him before you, O Jews; for he will be sent to shed blood and to take captive the women and children of those who oppose him. Let not that keep you back from him."'

When the apostle of Allah was sent and besieged B. Qurayza, those young men were growing youths said, `This is the prophet of whom Ibnu'l-Hayyaban testified to you.' They said that he was not; but the others asserted that he had been accurately described, so they went and became Muslims and saved their lives, their property, and their families. Such is what I have been told about the Jewish reports.(So C., but the beginning of the story suggests that we should read ahbar `from the Jewish rabbis'.)

48 - HOW SALMAN BECAME A MUSLIM

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari told me on the authority of Mahmud b. Labid from `Abdullah b. `Abbas as follows: Salman said while I listened to his words: `I am a Persian from Ispahan from a village called Jayy. My father was the principal landowner in his village and I was dearer to him than the whole world. His love for me went to such lengths that he shut me in his house as though I were a slave girl. I was such a zealous Magian that I became keeper of the sacred fire, replenishing it and not letting it go out for a moment. Now my father owned a large farm, and one day when he could not attend to his farm he told me to go to it and learn about it, giving me certain instructions. "Do not let yourself be detained," he said, "because you are more important to me than my farm and worrying about you will prevent me going about my business." So I started out for the farm, and when I passed by a Christian church I heard the voices of the men praying. I knew nothing about them because my father kept me shut up in his house. When I heard their voices I went to see what they were doing; their prayers pleased me and I felt drawn to their worship and thought that it was better than our religion, and I decided that I would not leave them until sunset. So I did not go to the farm. When I asked them where their religion originated, they said "Syria". I returned to my father who had sent after me because anxiety on my account had interrupted all his work. He asked me where I had been and reproached me for not obeying his instructions. I told him that I had passed by some men who were praying in their church and was so pleased with what I saw of their religion that I stayed with them until sunset. He said, "My son, there is no good in that religion; the religion of your fathers is better than that." "No," I said, "It is better than our religion." My father was afraid of what I would do, so he bound me in fetters and imprisoned me in his house.

`I sent to the Christians and asked them if they would tell me when a caravan of Christian merchants came from Syria. They told me, and I said to them: "When they have finished their business and want to go back to their own country, ask them if they will take me." They did so and I cast off the fetters from my feet and went with them to

Syria. Arrived there I asked for the most learned person in their religion and they directed me to the bishop. I went to him and told him that I liked his religion and should like to be with him and serve him in his church, to learn from him and to pray with him. He invited me to come in and I did so. Now he was a bad man who used to command people to giive alms and induced them to do so and when they brought him money he put it in his own coffers and did not give it to the poor, until he had collected seven jars of gold and silver. I conceived a violent hatred for the man when I saw what he was doing. Sometime later when he died and the Christians came together to bury him I told them that he was a bad man who exhorted them and persuaded them to give alms, and when they brought money put it in his coffers and gave nothing to the poor. They asked how I could possibly know this, so I led them to his treasure and when I showed them the place they brought out seven jars full of gold and silver. As soon as they saw them they said, "By Allah, we will never bury the fellow," so they crucified him and stoned him and appointed another in his place.

`I have never seen any non-Muslim whom I consider more virtuous, more ascetic, more devoted to the next life, and more consistent night and day than he. I loved him as I had never loved anyone before. I stayed with him a long time until when he was about to die I told him how I loved him and asked him to whom he would confide me and what orders he would give me now that he was about to die. He said, "My dear son, I do not know anyone who is as I am. Men have died and have either altered or abandoned most of their true relilgion, except a man in Mausil; he follows my faith, so join yourself to him. So when he died and was buried, I attached myself to the bishop of Mausil telling him that so-and-so had confided me to him when he died and told me that he followed the same path. I stayed with him and found him just as he had been described, but it was not long before he died and I asked him to do for me what his predecesor had done. He replied that he knew of only one man, in Nasibin, who followed the same path and he recommended me to go to him.(I have abbreviated the repetitive style of the narrative which is that of popular stories all the world over. The same words, and the same details, occur in each paragraph with the change of names: Mausil, Nasibin, `Ammuriya, leading up to the obvious climax, Muhammad.)

`I stayed with this good man in Nasibin for some time and when he died he recommended me to go to a colleague in `Ammuriya. I stayed with him for some titme and laboured until I possessed some cows and a small flock of sheep; then when he was about to die I asked him to recommend me to someone else. He told me that he knew of no one who followed his way of life, but that a prophet was about to arise who would be sent with the religion of Abraham; he would come forth in Arabia and would migrate to a country between two lava belts, between which were palms. He has unmistakable marks. He will eat what is given to him but not things given as alms. Between his shoulders is the seal of prophecy. "If you are able to go to that country, do so." Then he died and was buried and I stayed in `Ammuriya as long as Allah willed. Then a party of Kalbite merchants passed by and I asked them to take me to Arabia and I would give them those cows and sheep of mine. They accepted the offer and took me with them until we reached Wadi'l-Qura, when they sold me a Jew as a slave. I saw the palm-trees and I hoped that this would be the town which my master had described to me, for I was not

certain. Then a cousin of his from B. Qurayza of Medina came and bought me and carried me away to Medina, and, by Allah, as soon as I saw it I recognized it from my master's description. I dwelt there and the apostle of Allah was sent and lived in Mecca; but I did not hear him mentioned because I was fully occupied as a slave. Then he migrated to Medina and as I was in the top of a palm-tree belonging to my master, carrying out my work while my master sat below, suddenly a cousin of his came up to him and said: "Allah smite the B. Qayla! They are gathering at this moment in Quba' round a man who has come to them from Mecca today asserting that he is a prophet."(140)

`When I heard this I was seized with trembling(141), so that I thought I should fall on my master; so I came down from the palm and began to say to his cousin, "What did you say? What did you say?" My master was angered and gave me a smart blow, saying, "What do you mean by this? Get back to your work." I said, "Never mind, I only wanted to find out the truth of his report." Now I had a little food which I had gathered, and I took it that evening to the apostle to Allah who was in Quba' and said, "I have heard that you are an honest man and that your companions are strangers in want; here is something for alms, for I think that you have more right to it than others." So I gave it to him. The apostle said to his companions, "Eat!" but he did not old out his own hand and did not eat. I said to myself, "That is one;" then I left him and collected some food and the apostle went to Medina. Then I brought it to him and said, "I see that you do not eat food given as alms, here is a present which I freely give you." The apostle ate it and gave his companions some. I said, "That's two;" then I came to the apostle when he was in Baqi`u-'l-Gharqad(The cemetery of Medina which lies outside the town.) where he had followed the bier of one of his companions. Now I had two cloaks, and as he was sitting with his companions, I saluted him and went round to look at his back so that I could see whether the seal which my master had described to me was there. When the apostle saw me looking at his back he knew that I was trying to find out the truth of what had been described to me, so he threw off his cloack laying bare his back and I looked at the seal and recognized it. Then I bent over him (Or `it') kissing him (Or `it') and weeping. The apostle said, "Come here;" so I came and sat before him and told him my story as I have told you. O b. `Abbas. The apostle wanted his companions to hear my story.' Then servitude occupied Salman so that he could not be at Badr and Uhud with the apostle.

Salman continued: `Then the apostle said to me, "Write an agreement;" so I wrote to my master agreeing to plant three hundred palm-trees for him, digging out the base, and to pay forty okes of gold. The apostle called on his companions to help me, which they did; one with thirty little palms, another with twenty, another with fifteen, and another with ten, each helping as much as he could until the three hundred were complete. The apostle told me to go and dig the holes for them, saying that when I had done so he would put them in with his own hand. Helped by my companions I dug the holes and came and told him; so we all went out together, and as we brought him the palm shoots he planted them with his own hand; and by Allah, not one of them died. Thus I had delivered the palm-trees, but the money was still owing. Now the apostle had been given a piece of gold as large as a hen's egg from one of the mines(for an interesting account of the reopening of an ancient mine in the Wajh-Yanbu` area of the Hijaz see K.S. Twitchell,

Saudi Arabia, Princeton, 1947,pp.159 f. Kufic inscriptions, said to date from A.D. 750, were found there, and this may well have been one of `King Solomon's mines'.) and he summoned me and told me to take it and pay me debt with it. "How far will this relieve me of my debt, O Apostle of Allah?" I said. "Take it," he replied, "for Allah will pay your debt with it." So I took it and weighed it out to them, and by Allah, it weighed forty okes, and so I paid my debt with it and Salman was free. I took part with the Apostle in the battle of the Ditch as a free man and thereafter I was at every other battle.'

Yazid b. Abu Habib from a man of `Abdu'l-Qays from Salman told me that the latter said: `When I said, "How far will this relieve me of my debt?" the apostle took it and turned it over upon his tongue, then he said, "`Take it and pay them in full"; so I paid them in full, forty okes.'(The oke being roughly announce, a miracle is implied.)

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada on the authority of a trustworthy informant from `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz b. Marwan said that he was told that Salman the Persian told the apostle that his master in `Ammuriya told him to go to a certain place in Syria where there was a man who lived between two thickets. Every year as he used to go from one to the other, the sick used to stand in his way and everyone he prayed for was healed. He said, `Ask him about this religion which you seek, for he can tell you of it.' So I went on until I came to the place I had been told of, and I found that people had gathered there with their sick until he came out to them that night passing from one thicket to the other. The people came to him with their sick and everyone he prayed for was healed. They prevented me from getting to him so that I could not approach him until he entered the thicket he was making for, but I look hold of his shoulder. He asked me who I was as he turned to me and I said, `Allah have mercy on you, tell me about the Hanifiya, the religion of Abrhama.' He replied, `You are asking about something men do not inquire of today; the time has come near when a prophet will be sent with this religion from the people of the haram. Go to him, for he will bring you to it.' Then he went into the thicket. The apostle said to Salman, `If you have told me the truth, you me Jesus the son of Mary.'

49 - FOUR MEN WHO BROKE WITH POLYTHEISM

One day when the Quraysh had assembled on a feast day to venerate and cicrcumambulate the idol to which they offered sacrifices, this being a feast which they held annually, four men drew apart secretly and agreed to keep their counsel in the bonds of friendship. They were (i) Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy; (ii) `Ubaydullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. ya`mar b. Sabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Umayma d. `Abdu'l-Muttalib; (iii) `Uthman b. al-Huwayrith b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy; (iv) Zayd b. `Amr b. Nufayl b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. `Abdullah b. Qurt b. Riyah(So C.) b. Razah b. diyy b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy. They were of the opinion that their people had corrupted the religion of their father Abraham, and that the stone they went round was of no account; it could neither hear, nor see, nor hurt, nor help. `Find for yourselves a religion,' they said; `for by Allah you have none.' So they went their several ways in the lands, seeking the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.

Waraqa attached himself to Christianity and studied its scriptures until he had thoroughly mastered them. `Ubaydullah went on searching until Islam came; then he migrated with the Muslims to Abyssinia taking with him his wife who was a Muslim, Umm Habiba, d. Abu Sufyan. When he arrived there he adoped Christianity, parted from Islam, and died a Christian in Abyssina.

Muhammed b. Ja`far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he had become a Christian `Ubaydullah as he passed the prophet's companions who were there used to say: `We see clearly, but you eyes are only half open,' i.e. `We see, but you are only trying to see and cannot see yet.' He used the word sa`sa' because when a puppy tries to open its eyes to see, it only half sees. The other word faqqaha means to open the eyes. After his death the apostle married his widow Umm Habiba. Muhammad b. `Ali b. Husayn told me that the apostle sent `Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus to ask forh er and he married him to her. He gave her as a dowry, on the apostle's behalf, four hundred dinars. Muhammad b. `Ali said, `We think that `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan fixed the maximum dowry of women at four hundred dinars because of this precedent.' The man who handed her over to the prophet was Khalid b. Sa`id a. al-`As.

`Uthman b. al-Huwayrith went to the Byzantine emperor and became a Christian. He was given high office here(142).

Zayd b. `Amr stayed as he was: he accepted neither Judaism nor Christiianity. He abandoned the religion of his people and abstained from idols, animals that had died, blood, and things offered to idols(The influence of the Jewish formulla, taken over by early Christianity (Acts 15.29) is clear.). He forbade the killing of infant daughters, saying that he worshipped the Allah of Abraham, and he publicly rebuked his people for their practices.

Hisham b. `Urwa from his father on the authority of his mother Asma' d. Abu Bakr said that she saw Zayd as a very old man leaning his back on the Ka`ba and saying, `O Quraysh, By Him in whose hand is the soul of Zayd, not of you follows the religion of Abraham but I.' Then he said one: `O Allah, if I knew how you wished to be worshipped I would so worship you; but I do not know.' Then he prostrated himself on the palms of his hands.

I was told that his son, Sa`id b. Zayd, and `Umar b. al-Khattab, who was his nepnew, said to the apostle, `Ought we to ask Allah's pardon for Zayd b. `Amr?' He replied, `Yes, for he will be raised for the dead as the sole representative of a whole people.'

Zayd b. `Amr. b. Nufayl composed the following poem about leaving his people and the treatment he received from them:

Am I to worship one lord or a thousand?
If there are as many as you claim,
I renounce al-Lat and al-`Uzza both of them

As any strong-minded person would.
I will not worship al-`Uzza and her two daughters,
Nor will I visit the two images of the Banu `Amr.
I will not worship Hubal
(This is the reading of al-Kalbi, but all MSS. have Ghanm, a deity unknown, Cf. also Yaq. iii.665.8.) though he was our lord
In the days when I had little sense.
I wondered (for in the night much is strange
Which in daylight is plain to the discerning),
That Allah had annihilated many men
Whose deeds were thoroughly evil
And spared others through the piety of a people
So that a little child could grow to manhood.
A man may languish for a time and then recover
As the branch of a tree revives after rain.
I serve my Lord the compassionate
That the forgiving Lord may pardon my sin,
So keep to the fear of Allah your Lord;
While you hold to that you will not perish.
You will see the pious living in gardens,
While for the infidels hell fire is burning.
Shamed in life, when they die.
Their breasts will contract in anguish.

Zady also said: (143)

To Allah I give my praise and thanksgiving,
A sure word that will not fail as long as time lasts,
To the heavenly King- there is no Allah beyond Him
And no lord can draw near to Him.
Beware, O men, of what follows death!
You can hide nothing from Allah.
Beware of putting another beside Allah,
For the uprightway has become clear.
Mercy I implore, others trust in the jinn,
But thou, my Allah, art our Lord and our hope.
I am satisfied with thee, O Allah, as a Lord,
And will not worship another Allah beside thee.
Thou of thy goodness and mercy
Didst send a messenger to Moses as a herald.
Thou saidst to him, Go thou and Aaron,
And summon Pharaoh the tyrant to turn to Allah
And say to him, `Did you spread out this (earth) without a support,
Until it stood fast as it does?'
Say to him `Did you raise this (heaven) without support?
What a fine builder then you were!'

Say to him `Did you set the moon in the middle thereof
As a light to guide when night covered it?'
Say to him, `Who sent forth the sun by day
So that the earth it touched reflected its splendour?'
Say to him, `Who planted seeds in the dust
That herbage might grow and wax great?
And brought forth its seeds in the head of the plant?'
Therein are signs for the understanding.
Thou in thy kindness did deliver Jonah
Who spent nights in the belly of the fish.
Though I glorify thy name, I often repeat
`O Lord forgive me sins.'(Or `I should add to my sins unless thou forgavest me'.)
O Lord of creatures, bestow thy gifts and mercy upon me
And bless my sons and property.

Zayd b. `Amr in reproaching his wife Safiya, d. al-Hadrami (144) said:(What he said is reserved till the circumstances which gave rise to the poem have been described.)

Now Zayd had determined to leave Mecca to travel about in search of the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, and whenever Safiya saw that he had got ready to travel she told al-Khattab b. Nufayl, who was his uncle and his brother by the same mother. (This was because his mother was first married to Nufayl and gave birth to al-Khattab; then she married her stepson `Amr and gave birth to Zayd: thus the double relationship came into being.) He used to reproach him for forsaking the religion of his people. He had instructed Safiya to tell him if she saw him getting ready to depart; and then Zayd said:

Don't keep me back in humiliation,
O Safiya. It is not my way at all.
When I fear humiliation
I am a brave man whose steed is submissive. (So A.Dh. Perhaps mushayy' means 'quick to take leave'.)
A man who persistently frequents the gates of kings
Whose camel crosses the desert;
One who severs ties with others
Whose difficulties can be overcome without (the aid of) friends.
A donkey only accepts humiliation
When its coat is worn out.
It says, 'I will never give in
Because the load chafes my sides.
'(So A.Dh., but one would expect silabuh to mean 'his tough ones'.
My brother, (my mothers's son and then my uncle),
Uses words which do not please me.
When he reproaches me I say,
'I have no answer for him.'
Yet if I wished I could say things
Of which I hold the keys and door.

I was told by one of the family of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl that when Zayd faced the Ka'ba iside the mosque he used to say, 'Labbayka in truth, in worship and in service (i.e. 'Here I am as a sincere worshipper'.)

I take refuge in what Abraham took refuge
When he stood and faced the qibla.'

Then he said:

A humble prisoner, O Allah, my face in the dust,
Whatever thy commandament do I must.
Pride I seek not, but piety's boon.
The traveller at midday is not as he who sleeps at noon (145).

And Zayd said:

I submit myself to him to whom
The earth which bears mighty rocks is subject.
He spread it out and when He saw it was settled
Upon the waters, H fixed the mountains on it.
I submit myself to Him to whom clouds which bear
Sweet water are subject.
When they are borne along to a land
They obediently pour copious rain upon it.

Now al-Khattab had so harassed Zayd that he forced him to withdraw to the upper part of Mecca, and he stopped in the mountain of Hira' facing the town. Al-Khattab gave instructions to the young irresponsible men of Quraysh that they should not let him enter Mecca and he was able to do so is secret only. When they got to know of that they told al-Khattab and drove him out and harassed him because of their fear that he would show their religion in its true colurs and that some would join him in seceding from it. He said, making much of its sancity against those of his people who treated it as ordinary:

O Allah, I am of the holy land, no outsider,
My house is in the centre of the place
Hard by al-Safa.
It is no home of error. (One would expet mizalla for madalla in view of what has been said about the Hums.)

Then he went forth seeking the religion of Abraham, questioning monks and Rabbis until he had traversed al-Mausil and the whole of Mesopotamia; then he went through the whole of Syria until he came to a monk in the high ground of Balqa. (The district of which 'Amman was the capital.) This man, it is alleged, was well instructed in Christianity. He asked him about the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are seeking a religion to which no one today can guide you, but the time of a prophet who will come forth from your own country which you have just left has drawn near. He will be sent with the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham, so stick to it, for he is

about to be sent now and this is his time.' Now Zayd had sampled Judaism and Christianity and was not satisfied with either of them; so at these words he went away at once making for Mecca; but when he was well inside the country of Lakhm he was attacked and killed.

Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad composed this elegy over him:

You were altogether on the right path Ibn 'Amr,
You have escaped hell's burning oven
By serving the one and only Allah
And abandoning vain idols.
And by attaining the religion which you sought
Not being unmindful of the unity of your Lord
You have reached a noble dwelling
Wherein you will rejoince in your generous treatment.
You will meet there the friend of Allah, (i.e. Abraham.)
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,
For the mercy of Allah reaches men,
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth (146).

50 - THE WORD APPLIED TO THE APOSTLE OF ALLAH IN THE GOSPEL

Among the thing which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of Allah, is the following. It is extracted from what John the Apostle set down for them when he wrote the Gospel for them from the Testament of Jesus Son of Mary: 'He that hateth me hath hated the Lord. And if I had not done in their presence works which none other before me did, they had not had sin: but from now they are puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me and also the Lord. But the word that is in the law must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (i.e. without reason). But when the Comforter has come whom Allah will send to you from the Lord's presence, and the spirit of truth which will have gone forth from the Lord's presence he (shall bear) witness of me and ye also, because y e have been with me from the beginning. I have spoken unto you about this that ye should not be in doubt.' (The passage quoted in John 15.23 ff. It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places; e.g the pharse 'puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me'. Batiru is an obvious corruption of nazaru, which agrees with the Syriac and underlying Greek. Wazannu seems to be another attempt to make sense of the passage. The next word I am unable to explain. The most interesting word is that rendred 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'paracleter', following the Greek. This word was well established the Hebrew and Aramaic speaking world. The menahhemana in Syriac meansthe life in giver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum. It ought to be pointed out that by the omission of the words 'that is

written' before 'in the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be the world that concerns the Namus must be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Namus was the angel gabriel. Furtermore, the last words are translated as the ordinary Arab reader would understand tashukku; but in Syrian Arabic it could bear the meaning of the Gospel text 'stumble'. See further my article in Al-Andalus, xv, fasc.2 (1950), 289-96.)

The Munahhemana (Allah bless and preserve him!) in Syriac is Muhammad; in Grek he is the paraclete.

51 - THE PROPHET'S MISSION

When Muhammad is apostle of Allah reached the age of forty Allah sent him in compassion to mankind, 'as an evengelist to al men'. (Sura 34.27.) Now Allah had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adverasries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to that respect. Allah said to Muhammad, 'When Allah made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this is the scripture and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know that you may believe in him and help him.' He said, 'Do you accept this and take up my burden?' i.e the burden of my agreement which I have laid upon you. They said, 'We accept it.' He answered, 'Then bear witness and I am a witness with you.' (Sura 3.75.) Thus Allah made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monothestic religions.

(T. One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'id b. Abu 'Aruba from Qatada b. Di'ama al-Saudsi from Abu'l-Jald: 'The Furqan came down on the 14th night of Ramadan. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in support of this they appeal to Allah's word: 'And what we sent down to our port of this they appeal to Allah's word: 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of al-Furqan, the day the two companies met' (Sura 5.42.) which was the meeting of the apostle and the polythesis at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramadan 17th.)

Al-Zuhri related from 'Urwa b. Zubayr that 'A'isha told him that when Allah desired to honour Muhammad and have mercy on His servants by means of him, the first sign of prophethood vouchsafed to the apostle was ture visions, resembling the brightness of daybreak, which were shown to him in his sleep. And Allah, she said, made him love solitude so that he liked nothing better than to be alone.

'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Ubaydullah b. Abu Sufyan b. al-'Ala' b. Jariya the Thaqafite who had a retentive memory related to me from a certain scholar that the apostle at the time when Allah willed to bestow His grace upon him and endow him with prophethood would go forth for his affair and journey far afield until he reached the glens of Mecca and the beds of its valleys where no house was in sight; and not a stone or tree that he passed by but would say, 'Peace unto thee, O apostle of Allah.' And the apostle would turn to his right

and left and look behind him and he would see naught but trees and stones. Thus he stayed seeing and hearing so long as it pleased Allah that he should stay. Then Gabriel came to him with the gift of Allah's grace whilst he was on Hira' in the month of Ramadan.

Wahb b. Kaisan a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr b. Qatada the Laythite, 'O 'Ubayd tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And 'Ubayd in my presence related to 'Abdullah and those with him as follows: The apostle would pray in seclusion on Hira' every yerar for a month to practise tahannuth as was the custom of quraysh in heathen days. Thannuth is religious devotion.
Abu Talib said:

By Thaur and him who made Thabit firm in its place And by those going up to as cended Hira' and coming down (147). (Thaur and Thabir are mountains near Mecca. The poem is given on p.173; cf.Yaq. i.938.)

Wahb b. Kasian told me that 'Ubayd said to him. Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Ka'ba and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased Allah; then he would go back to his house until in the year when Allah sent him, in the month of Ramadan in which Allah willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to Hira' as was his wont, and his family with him. When it was the night on which Allah honoured him with his mission and showed mercy on His servants thereby, Gabriel brought him the command of Allah. 'He came to me,' said the apostle of Allah, 'while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said, "Read!" I said, "Waht shall I read?" He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it again so that I thought it was death then he let me go and said "Read ! I said ,"What shall I read ?" He pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said "Read!" I said, "What then shall I read?"-and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:

"Read in the name of the Lord who created,
Who created and of blood coagulated.
Read! They Lord is the most beneficent,
Who taught by the pen,
Taught that which they knew not unto men." (Sura 96.1-5.)

So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart. (T. Now none of Allah's creatures was more hateful to me than an (ecstatic) poet or a man possessed: I could not even look at them. I thought, Woo is me poet or possessed-Never shall Quraysh say this of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down that I may kill myself and tain rest. So I went forth to do so and then) when I was midway on the mountain, I heard a voice from

heaven saying "O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of Allah and I am Gabriel." I raised my head towards heaven to see (who was speaking), and lo, Gabriel in the form of a man with feet astride the horizion, saying, "O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of Allah and I am Gabriel." I stood gazing at him, (T. and that turned me from my purpose) moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him, but towards whatever region of the sky I looked, I saw him as before. And I contiuned standing there, neither advancing nor turning back, until Khadija sent her messengers in search of me and they gained the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in the same place; then he parted from me and I from him, returning to my family. And I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close ot her. She said, "O Abu'l-Qasim, (The kunya or 'name of honour' of Muhammad.) where hast thou been? By Allah, I sent my messengers in search of three, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me." (T. I said to her, "Woe is me poet or possessed." She said, "I take refuge in Allah from that O Abu'l-Qasim. Allah would not treat you thus since he knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps you did see something." "Yes, I did," I said.) The I told her of what I had sen; and she said, "Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and be of good heart. Verily, by Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I have hope that thou wilt be the prophet of theis people.'" Then she rose and gatheread her garments about her and set forth to her cousin Warada b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l'Uzza b. Qusayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriputers and learned from those that follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she related to him what the apostle of Allah told her he had seen and heard, Waraqa cried, 'Holy! Holy! Verily by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, if thou hast spoken to me the truth, O Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Namus (T. meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses afroetime, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid himd be of good heart.' So Khadija returned to the apostle of Allah and told him what Waraqa had said. (T. and that calmed his fears somewhat.) And when the apostle of Allah had finished his period of seclusion and returned (to Mecca), in the first place he performed the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, as was his wont. While he was doing it, Waraqa met him and said, 'O son of my brother, tell me what thou hast seen and heard.' The apostle told him, and Waraqa said, 'Surely, by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, thou art the prophet of this people. There hath come unto three the greatest Namus, who came unto Moses. Thou wilt be called a liar, and they will use three despitefully and cae thee out and fight against thee. Verily, if I live to see that day, I will help Allah in such wise as He knoweth.' Then he brought his head near to him and kissed his forchead; and the apostle went to his own house. (T. Waraqa's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.)

Isma'il b. Abu Hakim, a freedman of the fakily of al-Zubayr, told me on Khadija's authority that she said to the apostle of Allah, 'O son of my uncle, are you able to tell me about your visitant, when he comes to you?' He replied that he could, and she asked him to tell her when he came. So when Gabriel came to him, as he was wont, the apostle said to Khadija, 'This is Gabriel who has just come to me.' 'Get up, O son of my uncle,' she said, 'and sit by my left thigh'. The apostle did so, and she said, 'Can you see him?' 'Yes.' he said. She said, "The turn round and sit on my right thigh.' He did so, and she said, 'Can y ou see him?' When he said that he could she asked him to move and sit on my

right ' He did so, and she said, 'Can you see him ? When he said that he could she asked him to move and sit in her lap. When he had done this she again asked if he could see him, and when he said yes, she disclosed her form and cast aside her viel while the apostle was sitting in her lep. Then she said, 'Can you see him?' And he replied, 'No.' She said, 'O son of my uncle, rejoince and be of good heart, by Allah he is an angel and not a satan.'

I told 'Abdullah b. Hasan this story and he said, 'I heard my mother Fatima, daughter of Husayn, talking about this tradition from Khadija, but as I heard it she made the apostle of Allah come inside her shief, and thereupon Gabriel departed, and she said to the apostle of Allah, "This verily is an angel and not a satan."'saken him, and did not hate him. Allah said, `By the morning and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee,'(sura 93) meaning that He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved you. `And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning,' (sura 93) i.e. What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honour which I have given you in the world. `And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. `Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided you, found you poor and made you rich?' Allah thus told him of how He had begun to honour him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all that by His compassion (149).

`Do not oppress the orphan and do not reple the beggar.' That is, do not be a tyrant or proud or harsh or mean towards the weakest of God's creatures.

`Speak of the kindness of thy Lord,' i.e. tell about the kindness of Allah in giving you prophecy, mention it and call men to it.

So the apostle began to mention secretly God's kindness to him and to his servants in the matter of prophecy to everyone among his people whom he could trust.

52 - THE PRESCRIPTION OF PRAYER

The apostle was ordered to pray and so he prayed. Salih b. Kaisan from `Urwa b. al-Zubayr from `A'isha told me that she said, `When prayer was first laid on the apostle it was with two prostrations for every prayer: then Allah raised it to four prostrations at home while on a journey the former ordinance of two prostrations held.'

A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablution as the apostle watched him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer. Then the apostle performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with his prayer. Then Gabriel left him. The apostle came to Khadija and performed the ritual for

her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him. Then he prayed with her as Gabriel had prayed with him, and she prayed his prayer.

`Utba b. Muslim freedman of B. Taym from Nafi`b. Jubayr b. Mut`im (who was prolific in relating tradition) from I. `Abbas told me: `When prayer was laid upon the apostle Gabriel came to him and prayed the noon prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow then his shadow equalled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled the hight of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear but the sun was not shining. Then he said, "O Mohammed, prayer is in what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday.'" (Suhayli takes the author to task for saying what he should not. Traditionists are agreed that this story belongs to the morrow of the prophet's night journey (v.i.) some five years later. Opinions differ as to whether this occurred eighteen months or a year before the hijra, but that would have been long after the beginning of revelation.)(T.(1161) Yunus b.Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Ishaq told him that Yahya b. Abu'I-Ash'ath al-Kindi of the people of Kufa said that Ismail b. Iyas b. `Afif from his father from his grandfather said, `When I was a merchant I came to al-`Abbas during the days of pilgrimage; and while we were together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka'ba; then a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out and stood praying with him. I said to `Abbas, "What is their religion? It is some thing new to me." He said, "This is Muhammad b. Abdullah who alleges that Allah has sent him with it and that the treasures of Chosrhoes and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadija who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew' Ali who believes in him." `Afif said, "Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!'"(This may be one of the traditions which I.I.was accused of producting or recording in support of the `Alids. It is certainly open to criticism. See Introducting, pp. xxii f.) (T.(1162)Ibn Hamid said that Salama b. al-Fadl and `Ali b. Mujahid told him. Salama said; Muhammad b. Ishaq told me from Yahya b. Abu'l- Ash`ath--Tabari said, `It is in another place in my book from Yahya b.al-Ash`ath from Ismail b.Iyas b.`Alif al-Kindi, `Afif being the brother of al-Ash`ath b. Qays al-Kindi by the same mother and the son of his uncle--from his father, from his grandfather Afiif:AL-Abbas-Abdu'I-Muttalib was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yaman to buyaromatics and sell them during the fairs. While I was with him in Mina there came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her ablutions and stood up and prayed. Then out came a youth just approaching manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side. When I asked al-`Abbas what was going on, he said that it was his nephew Muhammad b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu'I-Muttalib who alleges (A hit at al-`Abbas.)I-4) that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son `Ali b.Abu Talib who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadija d. Khuwaylid who also follows him in his religion.' `Afif said after he had become a

Muslim and Islam was firmly established in his heart, "Would that I had been a fourth!'" (See Introduction, p. xxii f.)

53 - `ALI B. ABO TALIB THE FIRST MALE TO ACCEPT ISLAM

`Ali was the first male to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was boy of ten. Allah favoured him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih on the authority of Mujahid b. Jabr-Abul- Hajjaj told me that Allah showed His favour and goodwill towards him when a grievous famine overtook Quraysh. Now Abu Talib had a large family, and the prophet approached his uncle, Al-`Abbas, who was one of the richest of B. Hashim, suggesting that in view of his large family and the famine which affected everyone, they should go together and offer to relieve him of the burden of some of his family. Al-`Abbas agreed, and so they went to Abu Talib offering to relieve him from his responsibility of two boys until conditions improved. Abu Talib said, `Do what you like so long as you leave me `Aqil' (150). So the apostle took `Ali and kept him with him and Al-`Abbas took Ja`far. `Ali continued to be with the apostle until Allah sent him forth as a prophet. `Ali followed him, believed him, and declared his truth, while Ja`far remained with Al-`Abbas until he became a Muslim and was independent of him.

A traditionist mentioned that when the time of prayer came the apostle used to go out to the glens of Mecca accompanied by `Ali, who went unbeknown to his father, and his uncles and the rest of his people. There they used to pray the ritual prayers, and return at nightfall. This went on as long as Allah intended that it should, until one day Abu Talib came upon them while they were praying, and said to the apostle, `O nephew, what is this religion which I see you practising?'He replied, `O uncle, this is the religion of God, His angels, His apostles, and the religion of our father Abraham.' Or, as he said, `Allah has sent me as an apostle to mankind, and you, my uncle, most deserve that I should teach you the truth and call you to guidance, and you are the most worthy to respond and help me,' or words to that effect. His uncle replied, `I cannot give up the religion of my fathers which they followed, but by Allah you shall never meet with anything to distress you so long as I live.' They mention that he said to `Ali, `My boy, what is this religion of yours?' He answered, `I believe in Allah and in the apostle of God, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to Allah with him and follow him.' They allege that he said, `He would not call you to anything but what is good so stick to him.'

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after `Ali (151). Then Abu Bakr b. Abu Quhaia whose name was `Atiq became a Muslim. His father's name was `Uthman b. `Amir b. `Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. When he became a Muslim, he showed his faith openly and called others to Allah and his apostle. He was a man whose society was desired, well liked and of easy manners. He knew more about the genealogy of Quraysh than anyone else and of their faults and merits. He was a merchant of high character and kindliness. His people used to come to him to discuss many matters with him because of his wide knowledge,

his experience in commerce, and his sociable nature. He began to call to Allah and to Islam all whom he trusted of those who came to him and sat with him (152).

(I.K. iii, 24. The following day `Ali b.Abu Talib came as the two of them were praying and asked, `What is this, Muhammad?' He replied, `It is God's religion which He has chosen for Himself and sent His apostles with it. I call you to God, the One without an associate, to worship Him and to disavow al-Lat and al-`Uzza.' `Ali said, `This is something that I have never heard of before today. I cannot decide a matter until I have talked about it with Abu Talib.' Now the apostle did not want his secret to be divulged before he applied himself to the publication of his message, so he said, `If you do not accept Islam, then conceal the matter.' `Alitarried that night until Allah put Islam into his heart. Early next morning he went to the apostle and asked him what his orders were. He said, `Bear witness that there is no god but Allah alone without associate, and disavow al-Lat and al-`Uzza, and renounce rivals.' `Ali did so and became a Muslim. He refrained from coming to him out of fear of Abu Talib and concealed his Islam and did not let it be seen.

Zayd b. Haritha became a Muslim and the two of them tarried nearly a month. (Then) `Ali kept coming to the apostle. It was a special favour to `Ali from Allah that he was in the closest association with the apostle before Islam.)

54 - THE COMPANIONS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM AT THE INVITATION OF ABU BAKR

Those who accepted Islam at his invitation according to what I heard were:

`Uthman b. `Affan b. Abu'I-`As b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy ...(I have omitted the intervening names in genealogies which have been given already.) b. Lu'ayy; al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. `Abdul'I-`Uzza b. Qusayy ... b. Lu'ayy; `Abdu I-Rahman b. `Auf b. `Abdu `Auf b. al-Harith b. Zuhra ...b. Lu'ayy; Sa`d b. Abu Waqqas. (The latter was Malik b. Uhayb b. `Abdu Manaf ... b. Lu'ayy); Talha b. `Ubaydullah b. `Uthman b. `Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa`d ... b.Lu'ayy.

He brought them to the apostle when they had accepted his invitation and they accepted Islam and prayed. *...* I have heard that the apostle of Allah used to say: `I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Aub Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate' (153). *...*

These were the first eight men to accept Islam and prayed and believed in the divine inspiration of the apostle.

After them came:

Abu `Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was `Amir b. `Abdullah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Haith b. Fihr. Abu Salama Whose name was `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Asad ... b. Lu'ayy. Al-Arqam b. Abu'l-Arqam. (The latter's name was `Abdu Manaf b.

Asad--and Asad bore the honorific of Abu Jundub--b `Amr ... b.Lu'ayy.) `Uthman b. Mazun b.Habib b. Wahb b.Hudhafa ... b. Lu'ayy. His two brothers Qudama and `Abdullah, sons of Maz`un. `Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib b. `Abdu Manaf ... b. Lu'ayy. Sa`id b. Zayd b. `Amr b. Nufayl b. `Abdu'l b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. `Abdullah b. Qurt ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Fatima d: al Khattab b. Nufayl just mentioned, she being the sister of `Umar b. al-Khattab. Asma' d. Abu Bakr, together with his little daughter `A'isha. Khabbab b. al-Aratt ally of the B.Zuhra (154. `Umayr b.Abu Waqqas, brother of Sa`d. Abdullah b. Mas`ud b. al-Harith b. Shamkh b. Makhzum b.Sahila b.Kahil b.al-Harith b.Tamim b.Sa`d b.Hudhayl, allyif the B.Zuhra, Mas`ud b. al-Qari who was the son of Rabi a b. `Amr b. Sa`d b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Hamala b. Ghalib b. Muhallim b. `A'idha b. Subay` b. al-Hun b. Khuzayma from al-Qara (155). Salit b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Wudd b. Nasr ... b. Lu'ayy. `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a b. al-Mughira b. `Abdullah b. `Amr ... b. Lu'ayy. and his wife Asma'd. Salama b.Mukhariba the Tamimite. Khunays b. Hudhafa b.Qays b. `Adiy b. Sa`b Sa`d b. Sahm b. Amr ... b. Lu'ayy. `Amir b. Rabi'a of `Anz b. Wa'il, ally of the family of al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza (156). `Abdullah b. Jahsh b.Ya`mar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Kabir Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b.Ri'ab b. Khuzayma, and his brother Abu Ahmad, both allies of the B. Umayya. Ja`far b. Abu Talib and his wife Asma' d. `Umays b. Nu`man b. Ka`b b. Malik b. Quhafa of Khath`am. Hatib b. al-Harith b. Ma`mar b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallil b. `Abdullah b. Abu Qays b. `Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik ... b. Lu'ayy. And his brother Hattab (See C.) b. al-Harith and his wife Fukayha d. Yasar. Ma`mar b. al-Harith above. All-Sa'ib b. `Uthman b. Maz`un above. Al-Muttalib b. Azharb Abdu `Auf b. `Abd b. al-Haruth ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Ramla d. Abu `Auf b. Subayra b. Su`ayd ... b. Lu'ayy. Al-Nahham whose name was Nu`aym b. `Abdullah b. Asid ... b. Lu'ayy (157). `Amir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abu Bakr 158). Khalid b. Sa`id b. al`As b. Umayya ... b. Lu'ayy and his wife Umayna (159) d. Khalaf b. As'ad b. `Amir b Bayada b. Subay'... frin Jgyza'a Gatub b `Amr b. `Abdu Shames... b. Lu'ayy; Abu Hudhayfa (160);Waqid b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu Manafb. Arn b. Thalaba b. Yarbu'b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim an ally of B. Adiy b. Ka`b (161); Khalid, `Amir, `Aqil, Iyas, the sons of al-Bukayr b.Abdu Yalil b.Nashib b. Ghiyara b.Sa'd b. Layth b. Bakr b.`Abdu Manat b. Kinana, Nasib b. Ghiyara b. Sa'd b. Layth b. Bakr b. `Abdu Manat b. Kinana allies of B. `Adiy; `Ammar b. Yasir, ally of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza (162); Suhayb b. Sinan one of the Namir b. Qasit, an ally f B. an ally of B.Taym b. Murra (163).

55 - THE APOSTLE'S PUBLIC PREACHING AND THE RESPONSE

People began to accept Islam, both men and women, in large numbers until the fame of it was spread throughout Mecca, and it began to be talked about. Then Allah commanded His apostle to declare the truth of what he had received and to make known His commands to men and to call them to Him. Three years elapsed from the time that the apostle concealed His state until Allah commanded him to publish his religion, according to information which has reached me. Then Allah said `Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn aside from the polytheists.' (Sura 15.94) And again, `Warn thy family, thy nearest relations, and lower thy wing to the followers who follow thee.' (Sura 26. 214, i.e. `deal gently with') And `Say, I am the one who warns plainly' (164). (Sura 15.8,9)

(T. Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from `Abdullah b. al-Ghaffar b. al-Qasim from al-Minhal b. `Amr from `Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal b. al Harith b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib from `Abdullah b. `Abbas from `Ali b. Abu Talib said: When these words `Warn thy family, thy nearest relations' came down to the apostle he called me and said, `Allah has ordered me to warn my family, my nearest relations and the task is beyond my strength. I know that when I made this message known to them I should meet with great unpleasantness so I kept silence until Gabriel came to me and told me that if I did not do as I was ordered my Lord would punish me. So get some food ready with a leg of mutton and fill a cup with milk and then get together the sons of `Abdu'l- Muttalib so that I can address them and tell them what I have been ordered to say. I did what he ordered and summoned them. There were at that time forty men more or less including his uncles Abu Talib, Hamza, al-Abbas and Abu Laha. When they were assembled he told me to bring in the food which I had prepared for them, and when I produced it the apostle took a bit of the meat and split it in his teeth and threw it into the dish. Then he said, `Take it in the name of God.' The men ate till they could eat no more, and all I could see (in the dish) was the place where their hands had been. And as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have eaten what I put before the lot of them. Then he said, `Give the people to drink', so I brought them the cup and they drank until they were all satisfied, and as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have drunk that amount. When the apostle wanted to address them Abu Lahab got in first and said, `Your host has bewitched you'; so they dispersed before the apostle could address them. On the morrow he said to me, `This man spoke before I could, and the people dispersed before I could address them, so do exactly as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, `O Sons of `Abdu'l-Muttalib, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the next. Allah has ordered me to call you to Him. So which of you will co-operate with me in this matter, my brother, my executor, and my successor being among you?' The men remained silent and I, though the youngest, most rheumy-eyed, fattest in body and thinnest in legs, said: `O prophet of God, I will be your helper in this matter.' He laid his hand on the back of my neck and said, "This is my brother, my executor, and my successor among you. Hearken to him and obey him.' The men got up laughing and saying to Abu Talib, `He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!')

(T. 1173. Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from `Amr b. `Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Hasan said: When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vale and said, `O Sons of `Abdu'l-Muttalib; O Sons of `Abdu Manaf; O Sons of Qusayy.'-- Then he named Quraysh tribe by tribe until he came to the end of them--`I call you to Allah and I warn you of his punishment.')

When the apostle's companions prayed they went to the glens so that their people could not see them praying, and while Sa`d b. Abu Waqqas was with a number of the prophet's companions in one of the glens of Mecca, a band of polytheists came upon them while they were praying and rudely interrupted them. They blamed them for what they were doing until they came to blows, and it was on that occasion that Sa`d smote a

polytheist with the jawbone of a camel and wounded him. This was the first blood to be shed in Islam.

When the apostle openly displayed Islam as Allah ordered him his people did not withdraw or turn against him, so far as I have heard, until he spoke disparagingly of their gods. When he did that they took great offence and resolved unanimously to treat him as an enemy, except those whom Allah had protected by Islam from such evil, but they were a despised minority. Abu Talib his uncle treated the apostle kindly and protected him, the latter continuing to obey God's commands, nothing turning him back. When Quraysh saw that he would not yield to them and withdrew from them and insulted their gods and that his uncle treated him kindly and stood up in his defence and would not give him up to them, some of their leading men went to Abu Talib, namely `Utba and Shayba, both sons of Rabi`a b. `Abdu Shams ... and Abu Sufyan (165) b. Harb ... and Abu'l-Bakhtari whose name was al-`As b. Hisham b. al-Harith b. Asad ... and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad ... and Abu Jahl (whose name was `Amr, his title being Abu'l-Hakam) b. Hisham b. al Mughira ... and al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... and Nubayh and Munabbih two sons of al-Hajjaj b. `Amir b. Hudhayfa ... and ai-As b. Wa'il (166). They said, `O Abu Talib, your nephew has cursed our gods, insulted our religion, mocked our way of life (ahlam means the civilization and virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs. See the excellent discussion of jahl and hilm in Goldziher's Muhammedanische Studien, i. 220 f.) and accused our forefathers of error; either you must stop him or you must let us get at him, for you yourself are in the same position as we are in opposition to him and we will rid you of him.' He gave them a conciliatory reply and a soft answer and they went away.

The apostle continued on his way, publishing God's religion and calling men thereto. In consequence his relations with Quraysh deteriorated and men withdrew from him in enmity. They were always talking about him and inciting one another against him. Then they went to Abu Talib a second time and said, `You have a high and lofty position among us, and we have asked you to put a stop to your nephew's activities but you have not done so. By God, we cannot endure that our fathers should be reviled, our customs mocked and our gods insulted. Until you ride us of him we will fight the pair of you until one side perishes,' or words to that effect. Thus saying, they went off. Abu Talib was deeply distressed at the breach with his people and their enmity but he could not desert the apostle and give him up to them.

Ya'qub b. `Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was told that after hearing these words from the Quraysh Abu Talib sent for his nephew and told him what his people had said. `Spare me and yourself,' he said. `Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle thought that his uncle had the idea of abandoning and betraying him, and that he was going to lose his help and support. He answered, `O my uncle, by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I abandoned this course, until Allah has made it victorious, or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into tears, and got up. As the turned away his uncle called him and said, `Come back, my nephew,' and when he came back he said, `Go and say what you please, for by Allah I will never give you up on any account.'

When the Quraysh perceived that Abu Talib had refused to give up the apostle, and that he was resolved to part company with them, they went to him with `Umara b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira and said, according to my information, `O Abu Talib, this is `Umara, the strongest and most handsome young man among Quraysh, so take him and you will have the benefit of his intelligence and support; adopt him as a son and give up to us this nephew of yours, who has opposed your religion and the religion of your fathers, severed the unity of your people, and mocked our way of life, so that we may kill him. This will be man for man.' He answered, `By God, this is an evil thing that you would put upon me, would you give me your son that I should feed him for you, and should I give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be.' Al-Mut`im b. `Adiy said, `Your people have treated you fairly and have taken pains to avoid what you dislike. I do not think that you are willing to accept anything from them.' Abu Talib replied, "They have not treated me fairly, by God, but you have agreed to betray me and help the people against me, so do what you like,' or words to that effect. So the situation worsened, the quarrel became heated and people were sharply divided, and openly showed their animosity to their opponents. Abu Talib wrote the following verses, indirectly attacking Mut`im, and including those who had abandoned him from the `Abdu Manaf, and his enemies among the tribes of Quraysh. He mentions therein what they had asked of him and his estrangement from them.

Say to `Amr and al-Walid and Mut`im
Rather than your protection give me a young camel,
Weak, grumbling and murmuring,
Sprinkling its flanks with its urine
Lagging behind the herd, and not keeping up.
When it goes up the desert ridges, you would call it a weasel.
I see our two brothers, sons of our mother and father,
When they are asked for help, say `It is not our business.'
Nay, it is their affair, but they have fallen away,
As a rock falls from the top of Dhu `Alaq. (A mountain in the Banu Asad country.)
I mean especially `Abdu Shams and Naufal,
Who have flung us aside like a burning coal.
They have slandered their brothers among the people;
Their hands are emptied of them.
They shared their fame with men of low birth,
With men whose fathers were whispered about;
And Taym, and Makhzum, and Zuhra, are of them
Who had been friends of ours when help was sought;
By God, there will always be enmity between us
As long as one of our descendants lives.
Their minds and thoughts were foolish,
They were entirely without judgement (167) (To say that a man's well is demolished is to accuse him of losing all common sense.

Then the Quraysh incited people against the companions of the apostle who had become Muslims. Every tribe fell upon the Muslims among them, beating them and

seducing them from their religion. Allah protected His apostle from them through his uncle, who, when he saw what Quraysh were doing, called upon B. Hashim and B.al-Muttalib to stand with him in protecting the apostle. This they agreed to do, with the exception of Abu Lahab, the accursed enemy of God.

Abu Talib was delighted at the response of his tribe and their kindness, and began to praise them and to bring to men's memory their past. He mentioned the superiority of the apostle among them and his position so that he might strengthen their resolve and than they might extend their kindness to him. He said:

If one day Quraysh gathered together to boast,
`Abdu Manaf would be their heart and soul;
And if the nobles of `Abdu Manaf were reckoned,
Amongst Hashim would be their noblest and chief;
If they boast one day, then Muhammad
Would be the chosen noble and honourable one.
Quraysh summoned everyone against us;
]They were not successful and they were beside themselves.
Of old we have never tolerated injustice;
When people turned away their faces in pride we made them face us.
We protected their sanctuary whenever danger threatened
And drove the assailant from its buildings.
Through us the dry wood becomes green,
Under our protection its roots expand and grow.

56 - AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHIRA

When the fair was due, a number of the Quraysh came to al-Walid b. al-Mughira, who was a man of some standing, and he addressed them in these words: `The time of the fair has come round again and representatives of the Arabs will come to you and they will have heard about this fellow of yours, so agree upon one opinion without dispute so that none will give the lie to the other.' They replied, `You give us your opinion about him.' He said, `No, you speak and I will listen.' They said, `He is a kahin.' He said, `By God, he is not that, for he has not the unintelligent murmuring and rhymed speech of the kahin.' `Then he is possessed,' they said. `No, he is not that,' he said, `we have seen possessed ones, and here is no choking, spasmodic movements and whispering.' `Then he is a poet,' they said. `No, he is no poet, for we know poetry in all its forms and metres.' `Then he is a sorcerer.' `No, we have seen sorcerers and their sorcery, and here is no spitting and no knots.' (Cf. Sura 113.4. Spitting, or perhaps `blowing.') `Then what are we to say, O Abu `Abdu Shams?' they asked. He replied, `By God, his speech is sweet, his root is a palm-tree whose branches are fruitful (168), and everything you have said would be known to be false. The nearest thing to the truth is your saying that he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message by which he separates a man from his father, or from his brother, or from his wife, or from his family.'

At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Muhammad's doings. Allah revealed concerning al-Walid:

Leave to Me him I made,
Giving him wealth and trade,
While sons before him played,
The road for him I laid,
Then he coveted more of My aid,
Ay, Our signs hath he gainsaid (169). (Sura 74.11-25. It is stange that after al-Walid has made the point that Muhammad cannot be a kahin because he does not deliver messages in saj the next quotation from the Quran should be an example (to which I fear I have not done justice) of that very from.

`I shall impose on him a grievous burden; he thought and planned; may he perish how he planned, may he perish how he planned. Then he looked, then he frowned, and showed anger' (170).

`Then he turned his back in pride and said, "This is nothing but ancient sorcery, this is nothing but the speech of a mortal".'

Then Allah revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God, `As we sent down upon the dividers who had split the Quran into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (171). (Sura 15.90.)

So these men began to spread this report about the apostle with everyone they met so that the Arabs went away from that fair knowing about the apostle, and he was talked about in the whole of Arabia. When Abu Talib feared that the multitude would overwhelm him with him family he composed the following ode, in which he claimed protection in the sanctuary of Mecca and by his position therein. He showed his affection for the nobles of his people while, nevertheless, he told them and others in his poetry that he was not going to give up the apostle or surrender him on any account whatever, but he would die in his defence.

When I saw the people had no love for us
And had severed every tie and relationship
And shown us enmity and ill-will,
Obeying the orders of persecuting enemies,
And had allied themselves with treacherous people against us,
Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
I stood firm against them with my pliant spear, And my shining sword, heirloom of princes.
Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
And laid hold of the striped red cloth (This is the meaning which A. Dh. gives to wasail.) that covered it,

Standing together, facing its gates,
Where everyone who takes an oath completes his vow

Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
Where the blood flows between Isaf and Na'ila,
Camels marked on the shoulders or neck,
Tamed ones, between six and nine years old;
You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
And every lying assailant;
From the hater with his hurtful slander,
And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried.
By Thaur and Him who fixed Thabir in his place,
And by him who goes up and down Hira; (Hira, Thaur, and
Thabir where all mountains round Mecca.)
By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
By Allah who is never unmindful;
By the black stone, when they stroke it
When they go round it morning and evening;
By Abraham`s footprint in the rock still fresh,
With both feet bare, without sandals;
By the running between Marwa and Safa
And by the statues and images therein;
By every pilgrim riding to the house of Allah,
And everyone with a vow and everyone on foot;
By Ilal,the furthest sacred spot
(Ilal in the Lisan is said to be a strip of sand where the people halt, but
the lines in Nabigha 17.12 and 19.14 show that it was
the name of a sanctuary (and possibly, as Well hausen,
p.83, says`of Allah of Arafa')to which they go
Where the streamlets open out;
By their halt at even above the mountains
When they help the camels by their hand to rise
(The words suggest the way in which men get a reluctant camel to its feet. One man pushes up the camel`s chest while the other pulls its head up by the reins. Here perhaps the latter action alone is meant as the poet is speaking of a halt; even so, `they raise the breasts of the camels with their hands` is an un natural way to speak of pulling on the reins.
By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Mina,
Are any holy places and stations superior?
By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
As though escaping from a storm of rain;
By the great stone heap,
(The largest of the three heaps of stones at Mina, presumably that known as Jamratu I-Aquba. Cf Hassan b. Thabit`s lament where the pilgrims throw

seven stones. The rite is not mentioned in the Quran, but we
shall meet it again in the Sira on P P.534 and 970 of the
Arabic text. See further Djamar in E. I.
when they make for it
Aiming at its top with stonew;
By Kinda, when they are at al- Hisab at even
When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wail pass by them
Two allies who strengthened the tie between them,
And directed to it all means of unity;
By their breaking the acacias and shrubs of al-Sifah,
(This line is very difficult, as C,s notes show. Unfortnuately
the note of Abu Dharr to the effect that Sifah is a place
name is ommitted. This sems to me to provide the key to the
meaning of the line. Yaqut says that al-sifah lies between
Hunayn and the pillar of the Haram on the left of a man
enterning Mecca form Mushash. As the latter place lies on
the hills of Arafat the rendering given above seems to suit the context. On the site of Hunayan see Yaqut sub
voce. Well evades the difficult, and so, strangely enough
does Suhayli. If al- Sifah is the plural of Safi the
side of a mountain, I cannot see hou the passage can be construed.
And its bushes too, as they galloped like flying ostriches.
Is there any better refuge for one who seeks iQDt?
Is there a righteous god-fearing man who will grant it?
Our aggressors get their way with us, and wish
That the gates of Turk and Kabul (The commentators
say that Turk and KAbul are two mountains, but I can
find no mention of them in yaqut, who under Kaburl
quotes a line from al- A`sha which clearly refers
to Turks and Kabul as people. It looks as if the
two names point to a later forger,
were blocked with our bodies.
You lie, by God`s house, we will not leave Mecca, and go forth,
Unitl your affairs are in confusion.
You lie, by God`s house, Muhammad shall not be maltreated
(I follow the reading of the Lisan The text apparently means We will not be forcibly deprived of M'>
Befor we shoot and thrust in his defence,
We will not give him up till we lie dead around him;
And be unmindful of our wives and children;
Until you see the enemy falling face down in his blood
As camels carying water rise under empty water-skins,
(Or rattling, swishing water-sking If the comparison
refers to the speed of their attack, the simile which
Abu Dharr favours is correct. If not, the simile rests
in the noise which the armed men make.

From the spear thurst weighed down and tottering.
By God, if what I see should become serious
Our swords will mingle with the best of them
In the hands of a young warrior, like a flame,
Trustworthy, defender of the truth, hero,
For days, month, a whole year,
And after next year, yet another,
What people, confound you, would abandon a cheif,
Who protects his dependants? No foul-mouthed weakling,
A noble man, for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
The support of orphans, the defence of windows,
Hashim`s family, ready to perish, resort to him,
There they find pity and kindness,
Asid and his first-born made us hated
And cut us up for others to devour (A figure of ` malicious slander`.
Neither `Uthman nor Qunfudh sympathized with us
But obeyed the command of those tribes.
They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their Abdu Yaguth
And did not observe what others said of us;
So, too were we treated by Subay` and Naufal,
And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly.
If they throw down their arms, or Allah give us the better of them,
We will pay them measure for measure.
That fellow Abu Amr would do naught but hate us,
To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers;
He talks about us confidentially night and morning.
Talk on, Abu Amr, with your guile!
He swears by Allah he won`t deceive us,
Bur we see him openly doing nothing else;
He hates us so much that the hill-tops
Between Mecca`s hills and Syria`s forts
Are too narrow to hold him.
Ask Abul-Walid, what have you done to us with your slander
Turning away like a deceitful friend.
You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives,
And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool.
O`Utba, do not listen to an enemy`s words against us;
Envious, lying, hating and malicious.
Abu Sufyan averted his face from me as he passed,
Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth,
He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters,
Preending that he does not forget us.
He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend,
But he hides evil designs in his heart.
O, Mutim! I did not desert you when you called for help,
Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for,

Nor when they came against you full of enmity,
opponents whose strength matched yours.
O Mutim! the people have given you a task to do,
I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it.
Allah requite `Abdu Shams and Naufal for us
With evil punishment quick and not delayed
With an exact balance, not a grain too little,
The balance its own witness that it is exact
Foolish are the minds of people who exchange us
For Banu Khalaf and the Ghayatil.
(See page 133 of the Arabic text where this line is quoted and explained)
We are the pure stock from the summit of Hashim
And the family of Qusayy in matters of import.
Sahm and Makhzum stirred up against us
Every scoundrel and low-born churl.
`Abdu Manaf, you are the best of your people,
Donot make common cause with every outsider.
You have proved feeble and welk
And done a thing far from right.
You were till lately the sticks under one post
But now you are the sticks under many post and vessels.
Let the Banu `Abdu Manaf get satisfaction from parting from us,
Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters!
If we are men we shall take revenge (or `bear a grudge',according to another reading) for what you have done and you will sufer the full effects of war.
The best men among Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
Every bold chief exiled to us;
The family of Nufayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,
The most contemptible of all the sone of Ma`add.
Tell Qusayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,
And give Qusayy the good news that after us there will be a falling apart (among our enemies).
Yet if calamity befell Qusayy one night,
We should have been the first to protect them;
If they fought bravely in defence of their houses,
We should show them how to protect the monthers of children.
Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to connt
We find useless when put to the test
Except for certain men of Kilab b. Murra
Whom we exempt from the stigma of the deserter;
(We came to them by night, they all scattered.
Every liar and fool disappeared from our sight.
Ours was the watering-place among them,
We are the rock-like defence of Ghalib.
The young men of the scented ones and Hashim Are like sword blades in the hands of the polishers.

They took no revenge, nor shed blood,
Nor do they oppose any but the worst tribes.
In their fighting you see the youths
Like fierce lions quarrelling over lumps of meat;
Sons of a favourite Ethiopian

Hindikiya. Greek and Syrian writers use the term India for South Arabia and Ethoipia and a slave girl from one of those countries is almost certainly indicated here. The suffix k is the Pahlavi suffix. See A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of ther Quaran, Baroda, 1938, pp. 15f.

slave girl, sons of Jumah, `Ubayd Qays b. `Aqil;
But we are the noblest stock of lords
Whose heroic deeds were sung in verse.

These seven verses are not in W.'s text, and as he does not mention them in his critical notes it may be assumed that none of his manuscripts contained them. Further, there is not a note in Abu Dharr's commentary, and it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the extraordinary word hindikiya without a note, if the line containing it were before him. I.H. at the end of the poem indicates that he has cut out some verses, possibly (though I think most improbably) these verses were among them, and even so he says some authorites reject the greater part. It will at once be apparent that the seven lines interrupt the sequence of thought which deals with the honourable exceptions to the general defection. In v.4 I conjecture khalafu for halafu.

Undeniably fine is Zuhayr, our nephew,
A sword loosed from belts,
The proudest of the proudest chiefs,
Belonging to the finest stock in glory
I'faith I am devoted to Ahmad and his brethren,
As a constant lover.

(May he never cease to be an adornment to the people of the world,

An ornament to those whom Allah has befriended .

Not in W. and undoubtedly an interpolation from a pious reader.

For who amaonga men can hope to be lies him
When judges assess rival claim to merit,
Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,
The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.
By God! but that I might create a precedent
(There is much to be said for the commoner reading, 'but that I might bring shame'.

That would be brought against our sheikhs in assemblies,

We would follow him whatever fate might bring,
In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
Ahmad has struck so deep a root among us
That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
I shielded and defended him myself by every means(172).
(C. adds:

The Lord of mankind strengthen him with his help,
And display a religion whose truth holds no falsehood!
Noble men, not swerving from right, whose fathers
Brought them up in the best of ways.
Though Ka'b is near to Lu'ayy
The day must come when they must fall apart.
These verses are lacking in W's version.

The Ghayatil are of B. Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays; Abu Sufyan is I. Harb 177 b. Umayya; Mut'im is I. 'Adiy b. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf' Zuhayr is I. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. "Abdu llah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum, his mother being `Atika d. `Abdu'l-Muttalib. Asid and his firstborn, i.e. "Attab b. Asid b. Abu'l-Is b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf. `Uthman is I. `Ubaydullah the brother of Talha b. `Ubaydullah al-Taymi; Qunfudh is I. `Umayr b. Jud an b. `Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'b b. Taym b. MUrra. Abu'l-Walid is `Utba b.Rabi'a; and Ubayy is al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi ally of B. Zuhra b. KIlab (173). (This and the following paragraph stands under the name of I.H., but the context suggests that they are in part at least from I.I.

Al-Aswad is I. `Abdu Yaghuth b. Wahb b. `Abdul Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilab; Subay` is I. Khalid brother of B. al-Harith b. Fihr; Naufal is I Khuwaylid b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy. He was I. al-`Adawiya, one of the `satans' of Quraysh. He it was who roped together Abu Bakr and Talha b. Ubay dullah when they went over to Islam. They got the name 'the two-tied-together-ones' from this. `Ali killed him at the battle of Badr. Abu `Amr is Quarza b. `Abdu `Amr b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf. The 'treacherous people' are B. Bakr b. `Abdu Manat b. Kinana. These are the Arabs whom Abu Talib enumerated in his verse (174).

When the prophet's fame began to be blazed abroad throughout the land he was mentioned in Medina. There was no tribe among the Arabs who knew more about the apositle when and before he was mentioned than this tribe of Aus and Khazraj. The reason for this was that they were well acquainted with the sayings of Jewish rabbis and they lived side by side with them as allies. When the apostle was talked of in Medina and they heard of the trouble he had with Quraysh, Abu Qays b. al-Aslat, brother pof B. Waqif, composed the verses given below(175)

Abu Qays was warmly attached to Quraysh since he was related to them through his wife Arnab d. Asad b. 'Abdul'i-Uzza b. Qusayy, and he with his wife used to stay with them for years at a time. He composed an ode in which he magnified the sanctity of the

area, forbade Quraysh to fight there, urged them to stand by one another, mentioned their merits and virtues, urged them to protect the apostle, and reminded them of how Allah had dealt with them and saved them in the War of the Elephant.

O rider, when you meet Lu'ayy ibn Ghalib
Give him a message from me,
The tidings of a man who though far from you
Is distressed at what is between you, sad and worried.
I have become the caravanserai of cares,
Because of them I cannot do what I should.
I learn that you are divided into camps,
One party kindles the fire of war, the other provides the fuel.
I pray Allah to protect you from you evil act,
Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of scorpions,
Defamatory reports and secret plots
Like pricking awls which never fail to pierce.
Remind them of God, first of all things, And the sin of breaking the taboo on travel-worn gazelles.

(The killing of game within the sacred area was taboo, and the poet means that if the blood of animals there is sacrosanct, a fortiori abloodshed and war are forbidden by God.)

Say to them,(and Allah will give His judgement)
If you abandon war it will go far from you.
When you stir it up you raise an evil thing;
'Tis a monster devouring everything near and far,
It severs kinship and destroys people;
It cuts the flesh from the hump and the back.
You will give up the finest clothes of Yaman
For a soldier's garb and cost of mail,
Musk and camphor for dust-coloured armour
With buttons like the eyes of a locust.
Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.
War-it first seems fine to men
But afterwards they plainly recognize and old hag.
It scorches unsparingly the weak,
And aims death-dealing blows at the great.
Know you not what happened in the war of Dahis?
Or the war of Hatib? Take a lesson from them!
How many a noble chief it slew,
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
Praised by all,noble in character,his sword
Drawn only in righteous cause;
'Tis as water poured out at random,
As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds;

(If the subject of the metaphor is war the reading dalal is right,and indiscriminate bloodshed is indicated; if the variant salal `porous soil'is adopted,the poet is continuing his description of the generous warrior whose hospitality extends to the most insatiable guest.)

A truthful,knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles

(For real knowledge is the result of experience). So sell your spears to those who love war

And remember the account you must rende,for Allah is the best reckoner.

Man's Lord has chosen a religion,

So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,

Raise up for us a hanifi religion.

You are our object; one is guided in travel by heights,

You are a light and protection to this people,

You lead the way, not lacking virtues.

If men were valued,you would be a jewel,

The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.

You preserve noble,ancient peoples

Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;

You see the needy come to your houses

Wave after wave of starving wights.

The people know that your leaders

Are ever the best people of the stations of Mina,

(See Al-Suhayli,182,who says that 1.1.so explains the word. He is quoting from p.300 of the text. Al-Barqi says it was a well at Mina where the blood of the sacrificial victims was collected.

It was a spot venerated by the Arabs. The word jubjuba apparently means the stomach of a ruminant, and naturally a large number of such skins used for carrying water would be available there;therefore it is possible that the term `people of the stomach skins'simply means Arabs,the people who more then any other used this kind of vessel for carrying food and water,and so the meaning of the poet is that the tribe of Lu'ayy is the finest tribe in Arabia.

Best in counsel,loftiest in custom,

Most truthful amid the assemblies.

Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves

Against the corners of this house between the mountains.

He gave you a convincing test

(For this and the following lines,except the last,see p.39 of the Arabic text.)

On the day of Abu Yaksum,leader of the squadrons,

His cavalry was in the plains,

His infantry upon the passes of the hills.

When the help of the lord of the throne reached you

His armies repulsed them, pelting them,and covering them with dust

Quicly they turned rail in flight

And none but a few returned to his people from the army.

If you perish,we shall perish,and the fairs by which men live.

These are the words of a turthful man (176).

Hakim b.Umayya b.Haritha b.al-Auqas al-Sulami,an ally of B.Umayya who had become a Muslim,composed the following verses to turn his people from their determined enmity to the apostle. He was a man of good birth and authority.

Does one who says what is right stick to it,
And is there one listening who would be angry at the truth?
Does the chief whose tribe hope to profit from him
Gather friends from near and far?
I disown all but Him who controls the wind
And I abandon you for ever
I submit myself utterly to God
Though friends threaten me with terror.

57 - HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostly and those of their people who accepted his teaching,they stirred up against him foolish men who called him a liar,insulted him,and accused him of being a poet,a sorcerer,a diviner,and of being possessed. However,the apostle continued to proclaim what Allah had ordered him to proclaim,concealing nothing,and exciting, their dislike by contemning their religion,forsaking their idols,and leaving them to their unbelief.

Yahya b.`Urwa b. al-Zubayr on the authority of his father from `Abdullah b.`Amr b. al-`As told me that latter was asked what was the worst way in which Quraysh showed their enmity to the apostle. He replied:`Iwas with them one day when the notables had gathered in the Hijr and the apostle was mentioned.They said that they had never known anything like the trouble they had endured from this fellow;he had declared their mode of life foolish,insulted their forefathers,reviled their rgligion, divided the community, and cursed their gods. What they had born was past all bearing, or words to that effect.'

While they were thus discussing him the apostle came towards them and kissed the black stone,then he passed them as he walked round the temple. As he passed they said some injurious things about him. This I could see from his expression. He went on and as he passed them the second time they attacked him similarly. This I could see from his expression. Then he passed the third time,and they did the same. He stoped and said,`Will you listen to me O Quraysh? By him who holds my life in His hand I bring you slaughter.(Dhabh)" This word so struck the people that not one of them but stood silent and still; even one who had hitherto been most violent spoke to him in the kindest way possible,saying,`Depart,O Abu'l Qasim,for by Allah you are not violent.' So the apostle went away,and on the morrow they assembled in the Hijr, I being there too,and they asked one another if they remembered what had taken place between them and the apostle so that when he openly said something unpleasant they let him alone. While they were talking thus the apostle appeared,and they leaped upon him as one man and encircled him,saying,`Are you the one who said so-and -so against our gods and our religion?' The apostle said,`Yes,I am the one who said that.'And I saw one of them sezie

his robe.Then Abu bakr interposed himself weeping and saying,`Would you kill a man for saying Allah is my Lord?' Then they left him. That is the worst that I ever saw Quraysh do to him.

One of the family of Umm Kulthum,Abu bakr's daughter,told me that said,`Abu bakr returned that day with the hair of his head torn. He was a very hairy man and they had dragged him along by his beard'(177).

58 - HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Aslum,who had a good memory,told me that Abu Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Safa,insulted him and behaved most offensively,speaking spitefully of his religion and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman,belonging to Abdullah b.Jud`an b.`Amr b. Ka`b b. Sa`d b. Taym b. Murra,was in her house lestening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of Quraysh at the Ka`ba and sat there. Within a little while Hamza b.`Abdu'l- Muttalib arrived,with his bow hanging from his shoulder,returning from the chase,for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. When he came back from hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Ka`ba, and that done when he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh,and the most unyielding. The apostle had gone back to his house when he passed by this woman,who asked him if he had heard of what Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham had done just recently to his nephew,Muhammad;how he had found him sitting quietly there,and insulted him,and cursed him,and treated him badly,and that Muhammad had answered not a word. Hamza was filled with rage,for Allah purposed to honour him,so he went out at a run and did not stop to greet anyone,meaning to punish Abu Jahl when he met him. When got to the mosque be saw him,when he lifted up his bow and struck him a violent blow with it,saying,`Will you insult him when I follow his religion,and say what he says? Hit me back if you can!' Some of B.Makhzum got up to go to Abu Jahl's help,but he said,`Let Abu `Umara alone for,by God, I insulted his nephew deeply.'Hamza's Islam was complete,and he followed the apostle's commands. When he became a Muslim the Quraysh recognized that the apostle had become strong,and had found a protector in Hamza,and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

59 - WHAT `UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

Yazid b. Ziyad from Muhammad b. Ka`b al-Qurazi told me that he was told that `Utba b. Rabi`a,who was a chief,said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself,`Why should I not goto Muhammad and make some proposals to him which of he accepts inpart, we will give him whatever he wants, and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam and they saw that the prophet's followers were increasing and multiplying. They thought it was a good idea, and `Utba went and sat by the prophet and said, `O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to your people with an important matter, dividing their

community therby and ridiculing their customs, and you have insulted their gods and their religion, and declared that their forefathers were unbelievers, so listen to me and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept one of them.' The apostle agreed, and he went on, `If what you want is money, we will gather for you of our property so that you may be the richest of us; if you want honour, we will make you our chief so that no one can decide anything apart from you; if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if this ghost which ocmes to you, which you see, is such that you cannot get rid of him, we will find a physician for you and exhaust our means in getting you cured, for often a familiar spirit gets possession of a man until he can be cured of it,' or words to that effect. The apostle listened patiently, and then said: `Now listen to me, ``In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful, H.M., a revelation from the compassionate, the merciful, a book whose verses are expounded as an Arabic Quran for a people who understand, as an announcement and warning, though most of them turn aside not listening and say, `Our hearts are veiled from that to which you invite us.' " ' ( (sura 41) Then the apostle continued to recite it to him. When `Utba heard it from him, he listened attentively, putting his hands behind his back and leaning on them as he listened. Then the prophet ended at the prostration (i.e. verse 37 `Prostrate yourselves to God'.) and prostrated himself, and siad, `You have heard what you have heard,Abu'l Walid; the rest remains with you'.When `Utba returned to his companions they noticed that his expression had completely altered, and they asked him what had happed. He said that he had heard words such as he had never heard before, which were neither poetry, spells, nor witchcraft. `Take my advice and do as I do, leave this man entirely alone for, by God, the words which I have heard will be balzed abroad. If (other) Arabs kill him, others will have rid you of him; if he gets the better of the Arabs, his sovereignty will be your sovereignty, his power your power, and you will be prosperous through him.' They said, `He has bewitched you with his tongue.' To which he answered, `You have my opinion, you must do what you think fit.'

60 - NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND THE LEADERS OF QURAYSH AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE SURA OF THE CAVE

Islam began to spread in Mecca among men and women of the tribes of Quraysh, though Quraysh were imprisoning and seducing as many of the Muslims as they could. A traditionist told me from Sa`id b. Jubayr and from `Ikrima, freedman of `Abdullah b. `Abbas, that the leading men of every clan of Quraysh-`Utba b. Rabi`a, and shayba his brother, and Abu Sufyan b.Harb, and al-Nadr b.al-Harith, brother of the Banu Abdu'l-Dar, and Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hisham, and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and Zama`a b. al- Aswad, and al-Walid b. al-Mughira, and Abu Jahl b.Hisham, and `Abdullah b. Abu Umayya, and al-`As b. Wa'il, and Nubayh and Munabbih, the sons of al-Hajjaj, both of Sahm, and Umayya b. Khalaf and possibly others gathered together after sunset outside the Ka`ba. They decided to send for Muhammad and to negotiate and argue with him so that they could not be held to blame on his account in the future. When they sent for him the apostle came quickly because he thought that what he had said to them had made an impression, for he was most zealous for their welfare, and their wicked way of life pained him. When he came and sat down with them, they explained that they had sent for him in order that they could talk together. No Arab had ever treated his tribe as Muhammad had

treated them, and they repeated the charges which have been mentioned on several occasions. If it was money he wanted, they would make him the richest occasions. If it was money he wanted, they would make him the richest of them all; if it was honour, he should be their prince; if it was sovereignty, they would make him kind; if it was a spirit which had got possession of him (they used to call the familiar spirit of the jinn ra'iy),then they would exhaust their means in finding ;medicine to cure him. The apostle replied that he had no such intention. He sought not money, nor honour, nor sovereignty, but Allah had sent him as an apostle, and revealed a book to him, and commanded him to become an announcer and a warner. He had brought them the messages of hi Lord, and given them good advice. If they took it then they would have portion in this world and the next; if they rejected it, he could only patiently await the issue until Allah decided between them, or words to that effect. `Well, Muhammad,' they said, `if you won't accept any of our propositions, you know that no people are more short of land and water, and live a harder life than we, so ask your Lord, who has sent you, to remove for us, and to open up in it rivers like those of Syria and Iraq, and to resurrect for us our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us Qusayy b.Kilab, for he was a true shaikh, so that we may ask them whether what you say is ture or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and you do what we have asked you, we will believe in you, and we shall know what your position with Allah is, and that He has actually sent you as an apostle as you say.' He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgement. They said that if he would not do that for them, let him do something for himself. Ask Allah to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them; to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and silver to satisfy his abvious wants. He stood in the streets as they did, and he sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognize his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, `Then let the heavens be dropped on us in peices, (Cf.Sura 17.94) as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so.' The apostle replied that this was a matter for God; if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, `Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come to you and instruct you how to answer us, and tell you what He was going to do with us, if we did not receive you message? Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yamama, called al-Rahman, and by Allah we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us.' Some said, `We worship the angles, who are the daughters of Allah.' Others said, `We will not believe in you until you come to us with Allah and the angels as a surety.' (Cf.Sura 17.94)

When they said this the apostle got up and left them. `Abdullah b.Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum (who was the son of his aunt `Atika d. of `Abdu'l-Muttalib got up with him and said to him, `O Muhammad, your people have made you certain propositions, which you have rejected; first they asked you things for themselves that they might know that your position with Allah is what you say it is so that they might believe in you and follow you, and you did nothing; then they asked you

to take something for yourself, by which they might know you superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do it; then they asked you to hasten some of the punishment with which you were frightening them, and you did not do it', or words to that effect, `and by God, I will never believe you.' Then he went away, and the apostle went to his family, sad and griecing, because his hope that they had called him to accept his preaching was vain, and because of their estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abu Jagl spoke, making the usual charges against him, and saying, `I call Allah to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can harely lift,' or words to that effect, `and when he prostrates himself in prayer I will split his skull with it. Betray me or defend me, let the B.`Abdu Manaf do what they like after that.' They said that they would never betray him on any account, and he could carry on with his project. When morning came Abu Jahl took a stone and sat in wait for the apostle, who behaved as usual that morning. While he was in Mecca he ffaced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern corner and the black stone, putting the Ka`ba between himself and Syria. The apostle rose to pray while Quraysh sat in their meeting, waiting for what Abu Jahl was to do. When the apostle prostrated himself, Abu Jahl took up the stone and went towards him, until when he got near him, he turned back in flight, pale with terror, and his hand had withered upon the stone, so that he cast the stone from his hand, The Quraysh askked him what had happened, and he replied that when he got near him a camel's stallion got in his way. `By God', he said, `I have never seen anything like his head, shoulders, and teeth on any stallion before, and he made as though he would eat me.'

I was told that the apostle said, `That was Gabriel. If he had come near, he would have seized him.'

When Abu Jahl said that to them, al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalada b. `Alquama b. Abdu Manaf b. Andu'l-Dar b. Qusayy (178) got up and said: `O Quraysh, a situation ahs arisen which you cannot deal with. Muhammad was a young man most liked among you, most truthful in speech, and most trustworthy, until, when you saw grey hairs on his temple, and he brought you his message, you said he was a sorcerer, but he is not, for we have seen such people and their spitting and their knots; you said, a diviner, but we have seen such people and their behaviour, and we have heard their rhymes; and you said a poet, but he is not a poet, for we have heard all kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen the possessed, and he shows no signs of their gasping and whispering and delirium. Ye men of Quraysh, look to your affairs, for by God, a serious thing has befallen you.' Now al-Nadr b. al-Harith was one of the satans of Quraysh; he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of Rustum and Isbandiyar. When the apostle had held a meeting in which he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened to bygone generations as a result of God's vengeance, al-Nadr got up when he sat down, and said, `I can tell a better story than he, come to me.' Then he bagan to tell them about the kings of Persia, Rustum and Isbandiyar and then he would say, 1In what respect is Muhammad a better story- teller than I?' (179).

Ibn Abbas, according to my information, used to say eight verses of the Quran came down in reference to him `When our verses are read to him, he says fairy tales of the ancients'; (Sura 68.15) and all those passages in the Quran in which `fairy tales' are mentioned.

When Al-Nadr said that to them, they sent him and `Uqba b. Abu Mu`ayt to the Jewish rabbis in Medina and said to them, `Ask them about Muhammad; describe him to them and tell them what he says, for they are the first people of the scriptures and have knowledge which we do not possess about the prophets.' They carried out their instructions, and siad to the rabbis, `You are the people of the Taurat, (Properly the Law of Moses, but often used by Muslim writers of the Old Testament as a whole) and we have come to you so that you can tell us how to deal with this tribesman of ours.' The rabbis said, `Ask him about three things of which we will instruct you; if he gives you the right answer then he is an authentic prophet, but if he does not, hten the man is a rogue, so form your own opinion about him. Ask him what happened to the young men who disappeared in ancient days, for they have a marvellous story. Ask him about the mighty traveller who reached the confines of both East and West. Ask him what the spirit is. If he can give you the answer, then follow him, for he is a prophet. If he cannot, then he is a forger and treat him as you will.' The two men returned to Quraysh at Mecca (Mecca is some 180 m. from Medina. The ordinary caravan took 10 or 11 days. The tayyara going via al-Khabt did the journey in 5 days.) and told that they had a decisive wayof dealing with Muhammad, and they told them about the three questions.

They came to the apostle and called upon him to answer these questions. He said to them. `I will give you your answer tomorrow.' but he did not say, `if Allah will.' So they went away; and the apostle, so they say , waited for fifteen days without a revelation from Allah on the matter, nor did Gabriel come to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil reports, saying,'Muhammad promised us an answer on the morrow, and today is the fifteenth day we have remained without an answer.' This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the Chapter of The Cave, in which he reproaches him for his sadness, and told him the answers of their questions, the youths, the mighty traveller, and the spirit.

I was told that the apostle said to Gabriel when he came, "You have shut yourself off from me, Gabriel, so that I became apprehensive.' He answered, 'We descend only by God's command, whose is what lies before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not forget.'(Sura 19.65)

He began the Sura with His own praise, and mentioning (Muhammad's) prophethood and apostolate and their denial thereof, and He said, 'Glory belongs to God, who has revealed the book to His servant,'(Sura 18) meaning Muhammad.

'Verily thou art an apostle from Me,'i.e.confirming what they ask about thy prophethood. 'He hath not made therein crookedness, it is straight,'i.e. it is level, without any difference. 'To warn of a severe punishment from Him,'that is,His immediate judgement in this world. 'And a painful judgement in the next,'that is, from thy Lord, who has sent thee as an apostle. "To give those who believe, who do good works, the good

news that they will have a glorious reward, enjoying it everlastingly, ' i.e. the eternal abode. 'They shall not die therein, ' i.e. those who have accepted your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done the works that you have ordered them to do. 'And to warn those who say Allah has taken a son.' He means the Quraysh when they say, 'We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah. ' They have no knowledge about it, nor had their forefathers', who take hardly your leaving them and shaming their religion. 'Dreadful is the word that proceedeth from their mouth when they say the angels are God's daughters. 'They say nothing but a 194 lie, and it may be that thou wilt destroy thyself, 'O Muhammad. 'In grief over their course if they believe not this saying ,'i.e. because of his sorrow when he was disappointed of his hope of them ;i.e.thou shalt not do it (180). 'Verily We have made that which is upon the earth an ornament to it to try them which of them will behave the best,'i.e. which of them will follow My commandment and act in obedience to Me. 'And verily we will make that which is upon it a barren mound, ' i.e. the earth and what is upon it will perish and pass away, for all must return to Me that I may reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you (18I).

Then comes the story of what they asked him about the young men, and Allah said: 'Have you considered that the dwellers in the Cave and al-Raqim were wonders from our signs ?' i.e. there were still more wonderful signs in the proofs I have given to men (182). Then Allah said: 'When the 195 young men took refuge in the Cave they said, O Lord, show us kindness and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We might know which of the two parties would best calculate the time that they had been there. 'Then He said: 'We will tell you the true account of them; they were young men who believed in their Lord, and We gave them further guidance, and We strengthened their hearts. Then they stood and said, Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth. We will pray to no other god but Him. If we were to say otherwise we should speak blasphemy,'i.e. they did not associate anyone with Me as you have associated with Me what you know nothing about (183). 'These people of ours have chosen gods in addition to Him, though they bring no plain authority for them,' i.e. a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against Allah ? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread for you by His mercy and prepare a pillow for you in your plight. You might see the sun when it rises move away from their Cave towards the right, and when it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a cleft of the 196 Cave'(184). 'That was one of the signs of God',i.e.for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of your prophecy in giving a true account of them. 'Whom Allah guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you would think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would turn them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold'(185). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them' up to the words 'those who gained their point said,'i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them ; they will say,'i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog,

guessing in the dark,'i.e. they know nothing about it, 'and they say seven and their dog the eighth. Say: My Lord knows best about their number; none knows them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open contention,'i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. `And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. `And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If Allah will. And metion your Lord if you have forgotten and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this,' i.e. do not say about anything which they ask you what you said about this, viz. I will tell you tomorrow, and make God's will the contion, and remember Him when you have forgotten to do so and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than what they ask of me in guidance, for you do not know what I am doing about it. `And they remained in their Cave three hundred years and they added nine,' i.e. they will say this. `Say: Yopur Lord knows best how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allos none in His dominion as a partner,' i.e. nothing of what they ask you is hidden from Him.

And He said about what they asked him in regard to the mighty traveller, `And they will ask you about Duh'l-Qarnayn; say, I will recite to you a remembrance of him. VErily We have him power in the earth, and We gave to him every road and he followed it'; so far as the end of his story.

It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Roads were stretched out before him until he traversed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he trod on until he reached the farthest confines of creation

A man who used to purvey stories of the foreigners, (Or `the Persians'.) which were handed down among them, told me that Dhu'l-Qarnayn was an Egyptian, whose name was Marzuban b. Mardhaba, the Greek, descended from Yunan b. Yafith b. Nuh (186).

Thaur b. Yazid from Khalid b. Ma`dan al-Kala i, who was a man who reached Islamic times, told me that the apostle was asked about Dhu'l-Qarnayn, and he siad, `He is an angel who measured the earth beneath by ropes.'

Khalid said, ``Umar heard a man calling someone Dhu'l-Qarnayn, and he said, ``Allah pardon you, are you not satisfied to use the names of the prophets for your children that you must now name them after the angles?" ' Allah knows the truth of the matter, whether the apostle said that or not. If he said it, then what he said was true.

Allah said concerning what they asked him about the Spirit, They will ask you about the Spirit, say the Spirit is a matter for may lord, and you have only little knowledge about it.'(Sura 17.87)

It was told on the authority of Ibn `Abbas that he said, `When the apostle came to Medina, the Jewisdh rabbis said, `When you said, "And you have only a laittle knowledge about it," did you mean us or your own people?' He said, `Both of you'. They

said, `Yet you will read in what you brought that we were given the Taurat in which is an exposition of everything.' He replied that in reference to God's knowledge that was little, but in it there was enough for them if they carried it out. Allah revealed concerning what they asked him about that 'If all the trees in the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the seven seas reinforaced it, the words of Allah would not be exhuasted. Verily Allah is mighty and wise.' (Sura 31.26) i.e. The Taurat compared with GOd's knowledge is little. And Allah revealed to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, namely, removing the mountains, and cutting the earth, and raising their forefathers from the dead, ;'If there were a Quran by which mountains culd be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to Allah the earth split, or the dead spokeana to [it would be this one], but to Allah belongs the disposition of all things,' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind unless I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying,' `Take for yourself', meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles, and treasures, and should send angel with him to confirm what he said, and to defend him. `And they said, "What is this apostle doing, eating food, and walking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to ;be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat [we would not believe]". ; and the evildoers say, "You follow only a man bewitched". See how they have coined proverbs of thee, and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who if He willed, could make for thee something better than that,' i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. `Gardens beneath awhich run rivers, and make for thee castles. (Sura 25.8)

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, `When We sent messengers before thee they did eat and walk in the markets and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, ;and your Lord is looking on', Sura 25.22) i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with ;my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I wouldhave done so.

And he revealed to him concerning what `Abdullah b. Umayya said, `And they said, "We will not believe in thee until fountains burst fgorth for us 199 us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes and make the rivers within it burst forth copiously,or make the heavens fall upon us in fragements as you assert, or bring Allah and the angels as a surety, or you get a house of gold, or mount up to heavean, we will not believe in they ascent until you bring down to us a book which we can read." Say: exalted by my Lord, am I aught but a mortal messenger'(187).(Sura 17.92)

He revealed to him with reference to their saying `We have heard that a man in al-Yamama called al-Rahma teaches you. We will never believe in him.' 'Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Rahman. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other Allah but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return. (Sura13.29).

And He revealed to him concerning what Abu Jahl said and intended: `Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed, have you seen if he was rightly guided or

gave orders in the fear of God, have you seen if he lied and turned his back; does he not know that Allah sees everything? If he does not cease we will drag him by the forelock, the lying sinful forelock; let him call his gang, we will call the guards of hell. Thou shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God' (188).

And Allah revealed concerning what they proposed to him in regard to their money, `Say, I ask no reward of you, it is yours; my reward is God's concern alone and He witnesses everything.' (Sura 34.46). When the apostle brought to them what they knew was the truth so that they recognized his truthfulness and him position as a prophet in bringing them tidings of the unseen when they asked him about it, envy prevented them from admitting his truth, and they became insolent against Allah and openly forsook his commandments and took refuge in their polytheism. One of them said, `Do not listen to this Quran; treat it as nonsense and probably you will get the better of it', i.e. treat it as nonsense and false; and treat him as a mere raver - you will probably get the better of him, whereas if you argue or debate with him any time he will get the better of you.

Abu Jahl, when he was mocking the apostle and his message one day, said: `Muhammad pretends that God's troops who will punish you in hell and imprison you there, are nineteen only, while you have a large population. Can it be that every hundred of you is unequal to one man of them?' In reference to that Allah revealed, `We have made the guardians of hell angels, and We have made the number of them a trial to those who disbelieve', to the end of the passage. (Sura 74..31) Whereupon when the apostle recited the Quran loudly as he was praying, they began to disperse and refused to listen to him. If anyone of them wanted to hear what he was reciting as he prayed, he had to listen stealthily for fear of Quraysh; and if he saw that they knew that he was listening to it, he went away for fear of punishment and listened no more. If the apostle lowered his voice, then the man who was listening thought that they would not listen to any part of the reading, while he himself heard something which they could not hear, by giving all his attention to the words.

Da'ub b. al-Husayn freedman of `Amr b. `Uthman told me that `Ikrima freedman of Ibn `Abbas had told them that `Abdullah b. `Abbas had told them that the verse, `Don't speak loudly in thy prayer and don't be silent; adopt a middle course,' (Sura 17.110.) was revealed because of those people. He said, Don't speak loudly in they prayer' so that they may go away from you, and Don't be silent' so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily, cannot hear; perhaps he will give heed to some of it and profit thereby.

61 - THE FIRST ONE WHO PRONOUNCES THE QURAN LOUDLY

Yahya b. `Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me as from his father that the first man to speak the Quran loudly in Mecca after the apostle was `Abdullah b. Mas`ud. The prophet's companions came together one day and remarked that Quraysh had never heard the Quran distinctly read to them, and who was there who would make them listen to it? When `Abdullah said that he would, they replied that they were afraid on his behalf and they wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied, `Let me alone, for Allah will protect me.' So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while Quraysh were in their conferences, and when he arrived at

the Maqam, he read, `In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,' (Sura 55.1) raising his voice as he did so, `the compassionate who taught the Quran.' Then he turned towards them as he read so that they noticed him, and they said, `What on earth is this son of a slavewoman saying?' And when they realized that he was reading some of what Muhammad prayed, they got up and began to hit him in the face; but he continued to read so far as Allah willed that he should read. Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, `This is just what we feared would happen to you.' He said, `God's enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.' They said, `No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don't want to hear.'

62 - THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET'S READING

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abu Sufyan b. Harb and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. `Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the dawn rose, they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, `Don't do it again, for it one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.' Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then at dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morrow they said to one another, `We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.' This they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Alkhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abu Sufyan, and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Muhammad. He replied, `By God, I heard things that I know, and know what was meant by them, and I heard things whose meaning I don't know, nor what was intended by them.' Al-Akhnas replied, `I feel preciesely the same.' Then he left him and went to Abu Jahl's house, and asked him the same question. He answered, `What did I hear! We and B. `Abdu Manaf have been rivals in honour. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others' burdens, and so have we; they have been generious, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side, (Lit., `until we have squatted on our kness face to face', i.e. as complete equals.) and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said, "We have a prophet to whom revelation comes from heaven", and when shall we attain anyting like that? By God, we will never believe in him and treat him as truthful.' Then al- Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Quran to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, `Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anyting you say. Then Allah revealed, `And when you read the Quran we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil,' (Sura 17.47) as far as the words ` and when you mention your Lord alone in the Quran they turn their backs in aversion', that is, how can they understand thy assertion that thy Lord is one if I have put veils over their hearts

and heaviness in their ears, and between you and them is a curtain as they allege?' i.e. that I have not done it. `We knowbest about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel, the wicked say, "You are only following a man bewitched",' i.e. that is the way they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. `See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray, and cannot find the way,' i.e. they have made nfalse proverbs about you, and cannot find the right path, and what they say is not straightforward. `And they say, when we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation?' i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. `Say, Be ye hard stones or iron, or anyting that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, "who will raise us?" Say, He who created you in the beginning,' i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid from Ibn `Abbas told me that the latter said, `I asked him what was meant by the word of Allah "or something that you think is harder" and he said, "Death." '

63 - THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle; every clan which contained Muslims attacked them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion. Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God.

Bilal, who was afterwards freed by Abu Bakr but at that time belonged to one of B.Jumah, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father's name was Ribah and his mother was Hamama. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Hudhafa b. Jumah used to bring him out at the hottest part of the day and throw him on his back in the open valley and have a great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, `You will stay here till you die or deny Muhammad and worship Al-Lat and al-`Uzza.' He used to say while he was enduring this, `One, one!'

Hisham b. `Urwa told me on the authority of his father: Waraqa b. Naufal was passing him while he was being thus tortured and saying, `One, one,' and he said, `One, one, by God, Bilal.' Then he went to Umayya and those of B. Jumah who had thus maltreated him, and said, `I swear by Allah that if you kill him in this way I will make his tomb a shrine.' One day Abu Bakr passed by while they were thus ill-treating him, for his house was among this clan. He said to Umayya, `Have you no fear of Allah that you treat this poor fellow like this? How long is it to go on?' He replied, `You are the one who corrupted him, so save him from his plight that you see.' `I will do so,' said Abu Bakr; `I have got a black slave, tougher and stronger than he, who is a heathen. I will exchange him for Bilal.' The transaction was carried out, and Abu Bakr took him and freed him.

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilal being the seventh, namely: `Amir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and Uhud and was killed at the battle of Bi'r Ma`una; and Umm `Ubays and Zinnira (she lost her sight when he freed her and Quraysh said, `Al-Lat and al-`Uzza are the ones that have taken away her sight'; but she said, `By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lat and al-`Uzza can neither harm nor heal,' so Allah restored her sight).

And he freed al-Nahdiya and her daughter who belonged to a woman of B. `Abdu'l-Dar; he passed by them when their mistress had sent them about some flour of hers, and she was saying, `By God, I will hever free you.' Abu Bakr said, `Free yourself from your oath.' She said, `It is free; you corrupted them so you free them.' They agreed upon the price, and he said, `I will take them and they are free, Return her flour to her.' They said, `Oughtn't we to finish the grinding and then take it back to her?' He said, `Yes, if you like.'

He passed by a slave girl of B. Mu'ammil, a clan of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b who was a Muslim. `Umar b. al-Khattab was punishing her to make her give up Islam. At that time he was a polytheist. He beat her until he was tired and said, `I have only stopped beating you because I am tired.' She said, `May Allah treat you in the same way.' Abu Bakr bought her and freed her.

Muhammad b. `Abdullah b. Abu `Atiq from `Amir b. `Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from one of his family told me: Abu Quhafa said to his son Abu Bakr, `My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you went to do what you are doing, why don't you free powerful men who could defend you and protect you?' He said, `I am only trying to do what I am attempting for God's sake.' It is said that these verses came down in reference to him and what his father said to him: `As to him who gives and fears Allah and believes in goodness,' up to the divine words, `none is rewarded by Allah with favour but for seeking his Lord's most sublime face and in the end he will be satisfied.' (Sura 92.5.)

The B. Makhzum used to take out `Ammar b. Yasir with his father and mother, who were Muslims, in the heat of the day and expose them to the heat of Mecca, and the Apostle passed by them and said, so I have heard, `Patience, O family of Yasir! Your meeting place will be paradise.' They killed his mother, for she refused to abanden Islam.

It was that evil man Abu Jahl who stirred up the Meccans against them. When he heard that a man had become a Muslim, if he was a man of social importance and had relations to defend him, he reprimanded him and poured scorn on him, saying, `You have forsaken the religion of your father who was better than you. We will declare you a blockhead and brand you as a fool, and destroy your reputation.' If he was a merchant he said, `We will boycott your goods and reduce you to beggary.' If he was a person of no social importance, he beat him and incited people against him.

Hakim b. Jubayr from Sa`id b. Jubayr told me: `I said to Abdullah b. `Abbas, "Were the polytheists treating them so badly that apostasy was excusable?" "Yes, by God, they were," he said, "They used to beat one of them, depriving him of food and drink so that

he could hardly sit upright because of the violence they had used on him, so that in the end he would do whatever they said." If they said to him, " Are al-Lat and al-`Uzza your gods and not Allah?" he would say, "Yes" to the point that if a beetle passed by them they would say to him, "Is this beetle your Allah and not Allah?" he would say yes, in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring.'

Al-Zubayr b. `Ukasha b. `Abdullah b. Abu Ahmad told me that he was told that some men of B. Makhzum went to Hisham b. al-Walid when his brother al-Walid b. al-Walid became a Muslim. They had agreed to seize some young men who had become Muslims, among whom were Salms b. Hisham and `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a. They were afraid of his violent temper and so they said, `We whis to admonish these men becuase of this religion which they have newly introduced; thus we shall be safe in the case of others.' `All right,' he said, `admonish him, but beware that you do not kill him.' Then he began to recite:

My brother `Uyays shall not be killed,
Otherwise there will be war between us for ever. (Lit., `reciprocal ..cursing pagm Arabs.)

`Be careful of his life, for I swear by Allah that if you kill him, I will kill the noblest of you to the last man.' They said, `Allah damn the man. After what he has said who will want to bring trouble on himself, for, by God, if this man were killed while in our hands the best of us would be killed to a man.' So they left him and withdrew, and that was how ...Allah..... him from them.

64 - THE FIRST MIGRATION TO ABYSSINIA

When the apostle saw the affliction of his companions and that though he escaped it because of his standing with Allah and his uncle Abu Talib, he could not protect them, he said to them: `If you were to go to abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress.' Thereupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to Allah with their religion. This was the first hijra in Islam.

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: ...(The dots indicate that the genealogies (which in many cases have been given previously) have been cut short.) `Uthman b. `Affan ... with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.

B. `Abdu'l-Shams:... Abu Hudhayfa b. `Utba ... with his wife Sahla d. Suhay1 b. `Amr one of B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy.

B. Asad b. `Abdu'l-Uzza: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam ...
B. `Abdu'l-Dar ... Mus'ab b. `Umayr. B. Zuhra b. Kilab: `Abdu'1-Rahman b. `Auf ...
B. Makhzum b. Yaqza:... Abu Salama b. `Abdu'1-Asad ... with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umyya b. al-Mughira ...
B. Jumah b. `Amr b. Husays:... `Uthamn b. Maz`un ...

B. `Adiy b. Ka`b: `Amir b. Rabi`a, an ally of the family of al-Khattab of Anz b. Wa'il (189), with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa ...

B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Abu Qays ... b. `Amir. Others say it was Abu Hatib b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

B. al-Harith: Suhay1 b. Bayda' ..... These ten were the first to go to Abyssinia according to my information (190).

Afterwards Ja`far b. Abu Talib went, and the Muslims followed one another until they gathered in Abyssinia; some took their families, others went alone.

B. Hashim: Ja`far .... who took his wife Asma'd. `Umays b. al-Nu`man .... She bare him `Abdullah in Abyssinia.

B. Umayya: `Uthman b. `Affan .... with his wife Ruqayya; .... `Amr b. Sa`id b. al-`As ... with his wife Fatima d. Safwan Umayya b. Muharrith b. Khumal b. Shaqq b. Raqaba b. Mukhdij al-Kinani, and his brother Khalid with his wife Umayna (191) d. Khalaf of Khuza`a. She bare him his son Sa`id in Abyssinia, and his daughter Ama who afterwards married al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam and bare to him `Amr and Khalid. Of their allies of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: `Abdullah b. Jahsh ... b. Asad and his brother `Ubaydullah with his wife Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan b. Harb; ... and Qays b. `Abdullah ... with his wife Baraka d. Yasar, a freedwoman of Abu Sufyan; and Mu`ayqib b. Abu Fatima. These belonged to the family of Sa`id b. al-`As, seven persons in all (192)

B. `Abdu Shams: ... Abu Hudhayfa b. Utba; ... Abu Musa al-Ash ari whose name was Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of `Utba. Two men.

B. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf: Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir b. Wahb b. Nasib ... b. Qays b. `Aylan, an ally of theirs. One man.

B. Asad: ... al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam: ... al-Aswad b. Naufal; ... Yazid b. Zama'a; ... `Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith. Four men.

B. `Abd b. Qusayy: Tulayb b. 'Umayr;.... One man.

B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Mus'ad b. `Umayr; ... Suwaybit b. Sa`d ... Jahm b. Qats ... with his wife Umm Harmala d. `Abdu'1-Aswad ...

of Khuza`a and his two sons `Amr and Khuzayma; Abu'l-Rum b. `Umayr b. Hashim; ... Firas b. al-Nadr b. al-Harith ... Five persons.

B. Zuhra:... `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf;... `Amir b. Abu Waqqas; (Abu Waqqas was Malik b. Uhayb); .... al-Muttalib b. Azhar .... with his wife Ramla d. Abu `Auf b. Dubyra... She bare his son `Abdullah in Abyssinia. Their allies: of Hudhayl: `Abdullah b. Mas`ud ... and his brother `Utba. Of Bahra': al-Miqdad b. `Amr b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. Rabi`a B. Thumama b. Matrud b. `Amr b. Zuhayr b. Lu'ayy b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. al-Sharid b. Abu Ahwaz b. Abu Fa'ish b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahra'b. `Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda`a (193). (He used to be called Miqdad b. al-Aswad b. `Abdu Yaghuth b.

Wahb b. `Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra because he had adopted him before Islam and taken him into his tribe.) Six persons.

B. Taym b. Murra: al-Harith b. Khalid ... with his wife Rayta d. al-Harith b. Jabala ... She bare his son Musa in Abyssinia and his daughters `A'isha and Zaynab and Fatima; `Amr b. `Uthman b. `Amr. Two men.

B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza .....Abu Salama b. `Abdu'l-Asad .... with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira .... She bare him a daughter, Zaynab, in Abyssinia. (His name was `Abdullah and his wife's name was Hind.) Shammas b. `Uthman b. al-Sharid; .... (194). Habbar b. Sufyan b. `Abdu'l-Asad ... and his brother `Abdullah; Hisham b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira; ... Salama b. Hisham; ... `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a ... Of their allies Mu`attib b. `Auf ... of Khuza`a who was called `Ayhama. Eight persons(195).

B. Jumah b. `Amr:... `Uthman b. Maz`un... and his son al-Sa'ib; his two brothers Qudama and `Abdullah; Hatib b. al-Harith ... with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallil ... and his two sons Muhammad and al-Harith; and his brother Hattab with his wife Fukayha d. Yasar; Sufyan b. Ma`mar ... with his two sons Jabir and Junada with his wife Hasana who was their mother; and their brother on their mother's side Shurahbil b. `Abdullah one of the Ghauth (196); `Uthman b. Rabi`a b. Uhban b. Wahb b. Hudhafa. Eleven men.

B. Sahm b. `Amr:.... Khunays b. Hudhafa:.... `Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Qays b. `Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahim; Hisham b. al-`As b. Wa'il b. Sa`d b. Sahm (197); Qays b. Hudhafa;... Abu Qays b. al-Harith;.... `Abdullah b. Hudhafa ... al-Harith b. al-Harith;... Ma`mar b. al-Harith;... Bishr b. al-Harith... and a brother of his from a Tamimite mother called Sa`id b. `Amr; Sa`id b. al-Harith;... al-Sa'ib b. al-Harith;... `Umayr b. Ri'ab b. Hudhayfa b. Muhashshim; .... Mahmiya b. al-Jaza', an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. Fourteen men.

B.`Adiyy b. Ka`b: Ma`mar b. `Abdullah;.... `Urwab. `Abdu'l-`Uzza;... `Adiy b. Nadla b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza... and his son al-Nu`man; `Amir b.Rabi`a, an ally of the family of al-Khattab from `Anz b. Wa'il with his wife Layla. Five.

B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm ... with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhay1 b. `Amr;... `Abdullah b. Makhrama b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza; `Abdullah b. Suhay1... Salit b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams... and his brother al-Sakran with his wife Sauda d. Zama`a b. Qays b. `Abdu Shams;... Malik b. Zama`a b. Qays ... with his wife `Amra d. al-Sa`di b. Waqdan b. `Abdu Shams;... Hatib b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams;.... Sa`d b. Khaula an ally of theirs. Eight persons (198).

B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Abu `Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was `Amir b. `Abdullah b. al-Jarrah;... Suhayl b. Bayda who was Suhay1 b. Wahb b. Rabi`a b.Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba... (but he was always known by his mother's name, she being Da`d d. Jahdam b. Umayya b. Zarib b. al-Harith... and was always called Bayda); `Amr b. Abu Shrh b. Rabi`a `Iyad b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad b. Rabi`a b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith; but it is said that this is wrong and that Rabi`a was the son of Hilal b. Malik b. Dabba;...

and `Amr b. al-Harith;.... `Uthman b. `Abdu Ghanm b. Zuhayr;... and Sa'd b. `Abdu Qays b. Laqit... and his brother al-Harith. Eight persons.

The total number of those who migrated to Abyssinia, apart from the little children whom they took with them or were born to them there, was eighty-three men if `Ammar b. Yasir was among them, but that is doubtful.

The following is an extract from the poetry which has been written in Abyssinia by `Abdullah b.al-Harith b. Qays b. `Adiy b. Sa`d b. Sahm. They were safely ensconced there and were grateful for the protection of the Negus; could serve Allah without fear; and the Negus had shown them every hospitality.

O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of Allah and religion, (This seems to be an allusion to the last verse of Sura 14) To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard tried in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and low-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation
And shame in death, not safe from blame.
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and been deceitful (Such is the commentators' explanation of `gone high in the balance'. The line is explained by Lane, 2200b; it begins "They said We have followed', & c)
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

'Abdullah b. al-Harith also said when he spoke of the Quraysh expelling them from their country, and reproached some of his people:

My heart refuses to fight them
And so do my fingers; I tell you the truth.
How could I fight a people who taught you
The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
Jinn worshippers exiled them from their noble land
So that they were exceeding sorrowful;
If there were faithfulness in `Adiy b. Sa`b
Springing from piety and kinship ties,
I should have hoped that it would have been among you,
By the grace of Him who is not moved by bribes.
I got in exchange for the bountiful refuge of poor widows
A whelp, and that mothered by a bitch.

He also said:

Those Quraysh who deny God's truth

Are as `Ad and Madyan and the people of al-Hijr who denied it.
If I do not raise a storm let not the earth,
Spacious land or ocean hold me!
In a land wherein is Muhammad, servant of God.
I will explain what is in my heart
When exhaustive search is made.

Because of the second verse of this poem `Abdullah was called al-Mubriq, the thunderer (or threatener).

`Uthman b. Maz`un, reproaching Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Umayya was a leader among his people at that time.

O Taym b. `Amr, I wonder at him who came in enmity,
When the sea and the broad high land lay between us, (Commentators find this verse difficult. Abu Dharr says that sharman is a place-name, or with other vowels it means the sea; while bark is either another place-name or a herd of kneeling camels. Akta`u meaning `all' is generally preceded by ajma`u. Suhayli says that sharman is the sea and bark is wide high ground. He prefers the opening line to begin: `O Taym b. `Amr, I wonder at him whose anger burned.' Suhayli is right. In Eth. barka means `land'.)
Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a loathsome white castle. (Again the reading and the meaning are in question. Sarh means `castle' or `room' in Eth.)
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you;
You fight noble strong people
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.

Taym b. `Amr, whom `Uthman addresses, was Jumah. His name was Taym.

65 - THE QURAYSH SEND TO ABYSSINIA TO GET THE EMIGRANTS RETURNED

When Quraysh saw that the prophet's companions were safely ensconced in Abyssinia and had found security there, they decided among themselves to send two determined men of their number to the Negus to get them sent back, so that they could seduce them from their religion and get them out of the home in which they were living in peace. So they sent `Abdullah b. Abu Rabi`a and `Amr b. al-`As b. Wa'il. They got together some presents for them to take to the Negus and his generals. When Abu Talib perceived their design he composed the following verse for the Negus to move him to treat them kindly and protect them:

Would that I knew how far-away Ja`far and `Amr fare,

(The bitterest enemies are oft the nearest in blood).
Does the Negus still treat Ja`far and his companions kindly,
Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?
Thou art noble and generous, mayst thou escape calamity;
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that Allah has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee.
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abu Bakr b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham al-Makhzumi from Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira wife of the apostle said, `When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practised our religion, and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. They sent `Abdullah and `Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter, and said to each of the generals, `Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not accepted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which neither we nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' This the generals agreed to do. They took their gifts to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which `Abdullah and `Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly, and their own people best knew the truth about the refugges, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people. The Negus was enraged and said, `No, by God, I will not surrender them. No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than other shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about what these two men allege. If they are as they say, I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people; but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another, `What will you say to the man when you come to him?' They said, `We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Ja`far b. Abu Talib answered, `O King, we were an uncivilized

people, worshipping idols, eating corpses, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our strong devoured our weak. Thus we were until Allah sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and clemency we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to velify chaste women. He commanded us to worship Allah alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he
gave us orders about prayer, almsgiving, and fasting (enumerating the commands of Islam). We confessed his truth and believed in him, and we followed him in what he had brought from Allah , and we worshipped Allah alone without associating aught with Him. We treated as forbidden what he forbade, and as lawful what he declared lawful. Thereupon our people attacked us, treated us harshly and seduced us from our faith to try to make us go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to regard as lawful the evil deeds we once committed. So when they got the better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and came between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen you above all others. Here we have been happy in your protection, and we hope that we shall not be treated unjustly while we are with you, O King.'

The Negus asked if they had with them anything which had come from God. When Ja`far siad that he had, the Negus commanded him to read it to him, so he read him a passage from (Sura) KHY`S. (Sura 19) The Negus wept until his beard was wet and the bishops wept until their scrolls were wet, when they heard what he read to them. Then the Negus said, `Of a truth, this and what Jesus (This is the reading of the Cairo text which unfortunately fails to record the MS. on which (presumably) it is based. W.'s text reads Moses and he does not record a variant.) brought have come from the same niche. You two may go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall not be betrayed.'

When the two had gone, `Amr said, `Tomorrow I will tell him something that will uproot them all.' Abdullah, who was the more godfearing of them in his attitude towards us, said, `Do not do it, for they are our kindred though they have gone against us.' He said, `By God, I will tell him that they assert that Jesus, son of Mary, is a creature.' (Lit. `slave') He went to him in the morning and told him that they said a dreadful thing about Jesus, son of Mary, and that he should send for them and ask them about it. He did so. Nothing of the kind had happened to them before, and the people gathered together asking one another what they should say about Jesus when they were asked. They decided that they would say what Allah had said and what the prophet had brought, come what may. So when they went into the royal presence and the question was put to them, Ja`far answered, `We say about him that which our prophet brought, saying, he is the slave of God, and his apostle, and his spirit, and his word, which he cast into Mary the blessed virgin'. The Negus took a stick from the ground and said, 'By God, Jesus, son of Mary, does not exceed what you have said by the length of this stick.' His generals round

about him snorted when he said this, and he said, `Though you snort, by God! Go, for you are safe in my country.' (Shuyum means al-aminuna.) (shuyum in Eth. means `a high official' (sing.) as S. conjectured. Dabr is also an Eth. word. The story evidently comes from someone familiar with the language of Abyssinia.) Then he repeated three times the words, `He who curses you will be fined. Not for a mountain of gold would I allow a man of you to be hurt' (199). Give them back their presents, for I have no use for them. Allah took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom, that I should take a bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom, that I should take a bribe for it, and Allah did not do what men wanted against me, so why should I do what they want against Him.' So they left his presence, crestfallen, taking away their rejected gifts, while we lived with him comfortably in the best security.

While we were living thus, a rebel arose to snatch his kingdom from him, and I never knew us to be so sad as we were at that, in our anxiety lest this fellow would get the better of the Negus, and that a man would arise who did not know our case as the Negus did. He went out against him, and the Nile lay between the two parties. The apostle's companions called for a man who would go to the battle and bring back news, and al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam volunteered. Now he was the youngest man we had. We inflated a waterskin and he put it under his chest, and swam across until he reached that point of the Nile where the armies faced one another. Then he went on until he met them. Meanwhile we prayed to Allah to give the Negus victory over his enemy and to establish him in his own country; and as we were doing so, waiting for what might happen, up came al-Zabayr running, waving his clothes as he said, `Hurrah, the Negus has conquered and Allah has destroyed his enemies and established him in his land.' By God, I never knew us to be so happy before. The Negus came back, Allah having destroyed his enemy and established him in his country, and the chiefs of the Abyssininans rallied to him. Meanwhile we lived in happiest conditions until we came to the apostle of Allah in Mecca.

66 - HOW THE NEGUS BECAME KING OF ABYSSINIA

Al-Zuhri said: I told `Urwa b. al-Zubayr the tradition of Abu Bakr b. `Abdu'l-Rahman from Umm Salama the prophet's wife and he said: `Do you know what he meant when he said that Allah took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom that I should take a bribe for it, and Allah did not do what men wanted against me so why should I do what they want against Him?' When I said that I did not know, he said that `A'isha told him that the father of the Negus was the king, and the Negus was his only son. The Negus had an uncle who had twelve sons who were of the Abyssinian royal house. The Abyssinians said among themselves, `It would be a good thing if we were to kill the father of the Negus and make his brother king, because he has no son but this youngster, while his brother has twelve sons, so they can inherit the kingdom after him so hat the future of Abyssinia may be permanently secured.' So they attacked the Negus's father and killed him, making his brother king, and such was the state of affairs for a considerable time.

The Negus grew up with his uncle, an intelligent and resolute young man. He attained an ascendancy over his uncle to such a degree that when the Abyssinians perceived how great his influence with the king was, they began to fear lest he might gain the crown, and would then pur them all to death because he knew that they were the murderers of his father. Accordingly they went to his uncle and said, `Either you must kill this young man or you must exile him from among us, for we are in fear of our lives because of him.' He replied, `You wretches, but yesterday I slew his father, and am I to kill him today? But I will put him out of your country.' So they took him to the market and sold him to a merchant for six hundred dirhams. The latter threw him into a boat and went off with him, but on that very evening the autumn storm clouds massed, and his uncle went out to pray for rain beneath the mass of cloud when he was struck by lightning and killed. The Abyssinians hastened in fear to his sons, and lo! he was a begetter of fools; he had not a son who was any good at all; the situation of the Abyssinians became very unsettled, and when they feared the pressure of events they said to one another, `Know, by God, that your king, the only one who can put us to rights, is the one you sold this morning, and if you care about your country go after him now.' So they went out in search of him and the man to whom they had sold him, until they overtook him and took the Negus from him. They then brought him home, put the crown on his head, made him sit upon the throne, and proclaimed him king.

The merchant to whom they had sold him came and said, `Either you give me my money or I shall tell him about this.' They said, `We will not give you a penny.' He said, `In that case, by God, I will speak to him.' They said, `Well, there he is'; so he came and stood before him and said, `O King, I bought a young slave from people in the market for six hundred dirhams. They gave me my slave and they took my money, yet when I had gone off with my slave they overtook me and seized my slave and kept my money.' The Negus said, `Your must either give him his money back or let the young man place his hand in his, and let him take him where he wishes.' They replied, `No, but we will give him his money.' For this reason he said the words in question. This was the first thing that was reported about his firmness in his religion and his justice in judgement.

Yazid b. Ruman told me from `Urwa b. al-Zubayr from `A'isha that she said: `When the Negus died it used to be said that a light was constantly seen over his grave.'

67 - THE ABYSSINIANS REVOLT AGAINST THE NEGUS

Ja`far b. Muhammad told me on the authority of his father that the Abyssinians assembled and said to the Negus, `You have left our religion' and they revolted against him. So he sent to Ja`far and his companions and prepared ships for them, saying, `Embark in these and be ready. If I am defeated, go where you please; if I am victorious, then stay where you are.' Then he took paper and wrote, `He testifies that there is no Allah but Allah and the Muhammad is His slave and apostle; and he testifies that Jesus, Son of Mary, is His slave, His apostle, His spirit and His word, which He cast into Mary.' Then he put it in his gown near the right shoulder and went out to the Abyssinians, who were drawn up in array to meet him. He said, `O people, have I not the best claim among you?' 'Certainly,' they said. `And what do you think of my life among you?' 'Excellent.

'Then what is your trouble?' 'You have forsaken our religion and assert that Jesus is a slave.' Then what do you say about Jesus?' ' We say that he is the Son of God.' The Negus put his hand upon his breast over his gown, (signifying), `He testifies that Jesus, the Son of Mary, was no more than ``this".' By this he meant what he had written, but they were content and went away. News of this reached the prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven.

68 - `UMAR ACCEPTS ISLAM

When `Amr and `Abdullah came to the Quraysh, not having been able to bring back the prophet's companions and having received a sharp rebuff from the Negus, and when `Umar became a Muslim, he
being a strong, stubborn man whose proteges none dare attack, the prophet's companions were so fortified by him and Hamza that they got the upper hand of Quraysh. `Abdullah b. Mas`ud used to say, `We could not pray at the Ka'ba until `Umar became a Muslim, and then he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we prayed with him.' `Umar became a Muslim after the prophet's companions had migrated to Abyssinia.

Al-Bakka'i said: (This indicates the recension of I.I. which I.H. used. Other MSS. read `Ibn Hisham said'.

Mis`ar b. Kidam from sa`d b. Ibrahim said that `Abdullah b. Mas`ud said: ``Umar's (conversion to) Islam was a victory; his migration to Medina was a help; and his government was a divine mercy. We could not pray at the Ka`ba until he became a Muslim, and when he did so he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we joined him.'

`Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. `Abdullah b. `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a from Abdu'l-`Aziz b. `Abdullah b. `Amir b. Rabi`a from his mother Umm `Abdullah d. Abu Hathma who said: `We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and `Amir had gone out for something we needed, when `Umar came and stopped beside me, he being a polytheist at the time, and we were receiving harsh treatment and affliction from him. He said, ``So you are off, O mother of `Abdullah." ``Yes," I said, ``we are going to God's country. You have violently ill-treated us until Allah has given us a way out." He said, ``Allah be with you," and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away, and I could see plainly that our departure pained him; and when `Amir came back with the thing

69 - THE BEGINNING OF THE SENDING DOWN OF THE QURAN

The apostle began to received revelations in the month of Ramadan. In the words of God, `The month of Ramadan in which the Quran was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion.' (Sura 2,181) And again, `Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is: The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of

dawn.' (sura 97.) Again, `H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down.' (sura 44. I-4) And again, `Had you believed in Allah and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met', (sura 8.42.) i.e. the meeting of the apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abu Ja`far Muhammad b. `Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle of Allah met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramadan.

Then revelation came fully to the apostle while he was believing in Him and in the truth of His message. He received it willingly, and took upon himself what it entailed whether of man's goodwill or anger. Prophecy is a troublesome burden--only strong, resolute messengers can bear it by God's help and grace, because of the opposition which they meet from men in conveying God's message. The apostle carried out God's orders in spite of the opposition and ill treatment which he met with.

70 - KHADIJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

Khadija believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from God, and helped him in his work. She was the first to believe in Allah and His apostle, and in the truth of his message. By her Allah lightened the burden of His prophet. He never met with contradiction and charges of falsehood, which saddened him, but Allah comforted him by her when he went home. She strengthened him, lightened his burden, proclaimed his truth, and belittled men's opposition. May Allah Almighty have mercy upon her!

Hisham b. `Urwa told me on the authority of his father `Urwa b. al-Zubayr from `Abdullah b. Ja`far b. Abu Talib that the apostle said, `I was commanded to give Khadija the good news of a house of qasab wherein would be no clamour and no toil'(148).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of Allah was distressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sura of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, swore that He had not for he needed I said to him, "O father of `Abdullah, I wish you had seen `Umar just now and the compassion and sorrow he showed on our account." When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied that I had, to which he answered, "The man you saw will not become a Muslim until al-Khattab's donkey does." This he said in despair of him because of his harshness and severity against Islam.'

The Islam of `Umar, so I have heard, was on this wise. His sister was Fatima d. al-Khattab, and was ;married to Sa'id b.Zayd b.`Amr b. Jufayl, both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from 'Umar. Now Nu'aym b. 'Abdullah al-Nahham, a man of his tribe from B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his people. d Khabbab b. al-Aratt used often to come to Fatima to read the Quran to her. One day `Umar came out, girt with his sword, making for the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed had gathered in house at al-Safa, in all about forty, including women. With the apostle was his uncle Hamza, and Abu Bakr, and `Ali, from among the Muslims who stayed with the apostle and had not

gone out with those who went to Abyssinia. `Nu'aym met him and asked him where he was going. `I am making for Muhammad, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and their gods, to kill him.' `You deceive yourself, `Umar,' he answered, `do you suppose that B. `Abdu Manaf will allow you to continue walking upon the earth when you have killed Muhammad? Had not you better go back to your own family and set their affairs in order?' `What is the matter with my family?' he said. `Your brother-in-law, your nephew Sa'id, and your sister Fatima, have both become Muslims and followed Muhammad in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon `Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabbab was with them with the manuscript of Ta Ha, which he was reading to them. When they heard `Umar's voice Khabbab hid in a small room, or in a part of the house, and Fatima took the page ad put it under her thigh. Now `Umar had heard the reading of Khabbab as he came near the house, so when he came in he said, `What is this balderdash I heard?' `You have not heard anything,' they answered. `By God, I have,' he said, `and I have been told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion;' and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'id, and his sister Fatima rose in defence of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, `Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in Allah and His apostle, and you can do what you like.' When `Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his sister, `Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for `Umar could write. When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. `Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would become a Muslim, and said to him, `My brother, you are unclean in your polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So `Umar rose and washed himself and she gave him the page in which was Ta Ha, and when he had read the beginning he said, `How find and noble is this speech.' When he heard that, Khabbab emerged and said, `O `Umar, by God, I hope that Allah has singled you out by His prophet's call, for but last night I heard him saying, "O God, strengthen Islam by Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham or by `Umar b. al-Khattab." Come to God, come to God, O `Umar.' At that `Umar said, `Lead me to Muhammad so that I may accept Islam.' Khabbab replied that he was in a house at al-Safa with a number of his companions. So `Umar took his sword and girt it on, and made for the apostle and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his voice one of the companions got up and looked through a chink in the door, and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear, and said, `It is `Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, `Let him in; if he has come with peaceful intent, we will treat him well; if he has come with ill intent, we will kill him with his own sword.' The apostle gave the word and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him round the girdle or by the middle of his cloak, and dragged him along violently, saying, `What has brought you, son of Khattab, for by God, I do not think you will cease (your persecution) until Allah brings calamity upon you.' `Umar replied, `O Apostle of God, I have come to you to believe in Allah and His apostle and what he has brought from God.' The apostle gave thanks to Allah so loudly that the whole household knew that `Umar had become a Muslim.

The companions dispersed, having become confident when both `Umar and Hamza had accepted Islam because they knew that they would protect the apostle, and that they

would get justice from their enemies through them. This is the story of the narrators among the people of Medina about `Umar 's Islam.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih, the Meccan, from his companions `Ata' and Mujahid, or other narrators, said that `Umar's conversion, according to what he used to says himself, happened thus: `I was far from Islam. I was a winebibber in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Hazwara at which Quraysh used to gather(It was the market of Mecca) near the houses of the family of `Umar b. `Abd b. `Imran al-Makhzumi. I went out one night, making for my boon companions in that gathering, but when I got there, there was no one present, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went to so-and-so, the wineseller, who was selling wine in Mecca at the time, in the hope that I might get something to drink from him, but I could not find him either, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went round the Ka'ba seven or seventy times. So I came to the mosque meaning to go round the Ka'ba and there was the apostle standing praying. As he prayed he faced Syria, putting the Ka'ba between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern corner. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Muhammad so as to hear what he said. If I came near to listen to him I should scare him, so I came from the direction of the hijr and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanwhile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Quran until I stood in his qibla facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Ka'ba . When I heard the Quran my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me; but I ceased not to stand in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he went away he used to go past the house of the son of Abu Husayn, which was on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he went between the house of 'Abbas and Ibn Azhar b. 'Abdu'Auf al-Zuhri; then by the house Al-Akhnas b.Shariq until he entered his own house . His dwelling was in al-Dar al-Raqta', which was in the hands of Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan. I continued to follow him, until when he got between the house of 'Abbas and Ibn Azhar I overtook him, and when heard my voice he recognised me and supposed that I had followed him only to ill-treat him, so he repelled me, saying .' "What has brought you at this hour? I replied that I had come to believe in Allah and His apostle and what he had brought from Allah. He gave thanks to Allah and said, "Allah has guided you." Then he rubbed my breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house.' But Allah knows what the truth was.

Nafi freedman of 'Abdullahb. ' Umar on the authority of Ibn 'Umar said : When my father 'Umar became a Muslim he said, 'Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?' and was told that it was Jamil b. Ma'mar al-Jumahi. So he went to him, and I followed after to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood every thing I saw. He went to Jamil and asked him if he knew that he had become a Muslim and entered into Muhammad's religion; and, by God, hardly had he spoken to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground as 'Umar followed his and I followed my father, until he stood by the door of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were in their meeting-places round the Ka'ba, "Umar has apostatised,' while 'Umar behind him shouted, 'He is a liar; but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and apostle.'

They got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said,' Do as you will, for I swear by Allah that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms.' At this point a shaykh of the Quraysh, in a Yamani robe and an embroidered shirt, came up and stopped and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that ' Umar had apostatised he said, ' Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do? Do you think that B. 'Adiy will surrender their companion to you thus ? Let the man alone.' By God, it was as though they were a garment stripped off him.(i.e. 'a fear removed.') After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who drove away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him, and he said, 'That , my son , was al-As b. Wa'ilal-sahmi(200) .

'Abdu'l-Rahman b, al-Harith from one of 'Umars clan or one of his family said that 'Umar said, 'When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had became a Muslim , and Abu Jahl came to my mind.' Now 'Umar's mother was Habtama d. Hisham b. al-Mughira. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, 'The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?' I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in Allah and His slammed the door in my face and said, 'Allah damn you, and damn what you have brought.'

71 - THE DOCUMENT PROCLAIMING A BOYCOTT

When Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that 'Umar had become a Muslim and that both he and Hamza were on the side of the apostle and his companions, and that Islam had begun to spread among the tribes, they came together and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hashim and b.Muttalib that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry; and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them , and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed . Then they solemnly agreed on the points and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'ba to remind them of their obligations The writer of the deed was Mansur b. 'Ikrima b. Amir b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy(201)and the apostle invoked Allah against him and some of his fingers withered.

When Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib went to Abu Talib and entered with him into his alley and joined him. Abu Lahab 'Abdu'l-Uzza went out from B. Hashim and helped Quraysh

Husayn b. 'Abdullah told me that Abu Lahab met Hind d. Utba when he had left his people and joined Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Haven't I helped al-Lat and al-'Uzza and haven't I abandoned those who have abandoned them and assisted their opponents?' She said, 'Yes, and may Allah reward you well, O Abu Utba.' And I was told that among the things that he said were, 'Muhammad promises me things which I do not

see. He alleges that they will happen after my death ; what has he put in my hands after that?' Then he below on his hands and said, 'May you my hands after that?' Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Muhammad says.'

So Allah revealed concerning him the words, 'Abu Lahab and his hands Allah blast (202). (sura 111).

When Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abu Talib said:

Tell Lu'ayy, especially Lu'ayy of the Banu Ka'b,
News of our condition.
Did you not know that we have found Muhammad,
A prophet like Moses described in the oldest books,
And that love is bestowed on him (alone)of mankind
And that none is better than he whom Allah has singled out in love,
And that the writing you have fixed
Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstrung camel?'
(An allusion to the camel of salih in sura 26.142)
Awake ,awake before the grave is dug
And the blameless and the guilty are as one.
Follow not the slanderers, nor sever
The bonds of love and kinship between us.
Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Ahmad,
To harsh misfortunes and times' troubles,
Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qusas
(Qusas is said to be a mountain of B. Asad containing iron mines
In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd
The galloping of the horses about the scene
And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
Did not our father Hashim gird up his loins
And teach his sons the sword and spear?
We do not tire of war until it tires of us;
We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
We keep our heads and our valour
When the bravest lose heart in terror.

They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted , nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown Quraysh.

Abu Jahl, so they say, met Hakim b. Hizam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadija, the prophet 's wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said, 'Are you taking food to the B. Hashim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.' Abu'l-Bakhtari came to him and said,' What is going on between you two?' When he said that Hakim was taking food to the B. Hashim, he said:' It is food he has which belongs to his aunt and she has sent to him about it. Are you trying to prevent him taking her own food to her? Let the man go his way! 'Abu Jahl refused until they came to blows, and Abu'l-Bakhtari took a camel's jaw and knocked him down, wounded him, and trod on him violently, while Hamza was looking on near by. They did not wish the apostle and his companions to hear this news and rejoice over their discomfiture. Meanwhile the apostle was exhorting his people night and day, secretly and publicly, openly proclaiming God's command without fear of anyone.

72 - THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Hashim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Quran began to come down concerning the wickedness of Quraysh and those who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abu Lahab and his wife Umm Jamil,' the bearer of the wood,' Allah called her this because she, so I am told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle's way where he would be passing. so God sent down concerning the pair of them:

Abu Lahab and his hands, Allah blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fibre cast. (203)(sura 111.
The rhyme of the original has been imitated.

I was told that Umm Jamil, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Quran, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Ka'ba with Abu Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she stood by the pair of them God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abu Bakr and asked him where his companion was,' for I have been told that he is satirising me (i.e. composed a Hija', which in early times had the effect of a spell which could bring the fate it described on its victims. See my Prophecy and Divination, pp.248 ff., 258 ff., 281 ff. Umm Jamil's object in trying to smash Muhammad's mouth was to destroy his organs of speech so that he could no longer utter magical curses.), and by Allah , if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. by Allah, I am a poet.' Then she said:

We reject the reprobate,
His words we repudiate,

His religion we loathe and hate.
(This is a rough attempt to render the rough rhyme of the original, which consists of seven syllables, by a strange coincidence similar to the taunt song of children:)
I'm the king of the castle,
Get out you dirty rascal.
Then she went off and Abu Bakr asked the apostle if he thought she had seen him. He replied that she had not because Allah had taken her sight away from him(204).

The Quraysh had called the apostle Mudhammam to revile him. He used to say, 'Aren't you surprised at the injuries of the Quraysh which Allah turns away from me? They curse me and satirise Mudhammam [reprobate]whereas I am Muhammad {the kaydable}.'

[Another referred to in the Quran] is Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and reviled him, so Allah sent down concerning him,' Woe to every slandering backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that his wealth will make him immortal No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What will make you realise what that is? It is God's fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (205).(sura 104)

Khabbab b. al-Aratt, the prophet's companion, was a smith in Mecca who used to make swords. He sold some to al-'As b. Wa'il so that he owed him some money and he came to him to demand payment. He answered , 'Does not Muhammad , your companion whose religion you follow, allege that in paradise there is all the gold and silver and clothes and servants that his people can desire?' 'Certainly,' said Khabbab. 'Then give me till the day of resurrection until I return to that to that house and pay your debt there; for by God, you and your companion will be no more influential with God than I, and have no greater share in it.' So Allah revealed concerning him, 'Have you considered him who disbelieves Our signs and says, I shall be given wealth and children . Hath he studied the unseen?' so far as the words, ' and we shall inherit from him what he speaks of and he will come to us alone.(sura 19.80)

Abu Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, 'By God, Muhammad, you will either stop cursing our gods or we will curse the Allah you serve.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Curse not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse Allah wrongfully through lack of knowledge.(sura 6.108). I have been told that the apostle refrained from cursing their gods, and began to call them to Allah.

Al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. 'Alqama b. 'Abdu manag whenever the apostle sat in an assembly and invited people to God, and recited the Quran, and warned the Quraysh of what had happened to former peoples, followed him when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyar and the kings of Persia, saying ,' By God, Muhammad cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which he has copied (sura 25.6 iktabtaba means to write down oneself, or to get something written down by another . The former seems to be demanded by the context), as I have .' So Allah revealed concerning him, 'And they say, stories of the ancients which he has copied

down, and they are read to him morning and night. Say , He who knows the secrets of heaven and earth has sent it down. verily, He is merciful, forgiving .(sura83.13.).

And there came down concerning him,' When Our verses are read to him he says, fables of the ancients'(sura 83.13_).

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness . Tell him about a painful punishment (206)(sura 45.7.).

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walid b. al-Mughira in the mosque, and al-Nadr b.al-Harith came and sat with them in the assembly where some of Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he read to him and to the others: 'verily ye and what ye serve other than Gods is the fuel of hell. You will come to it . If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly . There is wailing and there they will not hear(207(sura 21.98).

Then the apostle rose and 'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmi came and sat down. Al-Walid said to him: 'By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the (grand)son of Abdu'l-Muttalib just now and Muhammad alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell. 'Abdullah said: 'If I had found him I would have him I would have refeted him. Ask Muhammad, "Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?" We worship the angels ; the Jews worship 'Uzayr;and the Christians worship Jessus Son of Marry. 'Al-Walid and those with him in the assembly marvelled at 'Abdullah's words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When apostle was told of this he said : 'everyone who wishes to be the worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped. 'So Allah revealed concerning that ' Those who have received kindness from us in the past will be removed far from it and will not hear its sound and they abide eternally in their heart's desire,'(i,e sura 21.101). Jesus Son of Mary and 'uzayr and those rabbis and monks who have lived in obedience to Allah ,whom the erring people worship as lords beside God. And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the daughters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this);nay, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks , and they carry out His commands ' ,as far as the words 'and he of them who says, I am Allah as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna . Thus do they repay the sinful ones.(sura 21.26-30).

And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary , that he was worshipped beside Allah , and the astonishment of al-Walid and those who were present , at his argument and disputation, 'And when Jesus , Son of Mary , was cited as an example thy people laughed thereat(i.e sura 43.57).they rejected your attitude to what they say .(sura 19.80).

Then He mentions Jesus , son of Mary and says , 'He was nothing but a slace to whom We showed favour and made him an example tothe children of Israel . If We had wished We could have made from you angels to act as vice-regents in the earth. Verily, there is knowledge of the [last] hour, so doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright path,' i.e. the signs which I gave him in raising the dead and healing the sick, therein ins sufficient proof of the knowledge of the hour. He says: `Doubt not about it, but follow Me. This is an upright path.'

Al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. `Amr b. Wahb al-Thagafi, ally of B. Zuhra, was one of the leaders of his people who was listened to with respect, and he used to give the apostle much trouble and contradict him, so Allah sent down about him: `Do not obey every feeble oath-tasker, slandere, walking about with evil tales,' as far as the word `zanim. (Sura 68. I0-I3).

He did not say zanim in the sense of ignoble to insult his ancestry, because Allah does not insult anyone's ancestry, but he confirmed thereby the epithet given to him so that he might be known. Zanim means an adopted member of the trible. Al- Khatim al-Tamimi said in pagan days:

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary
As the legs are useless additions to the width of a pelt.

Al-Walid said: `Does Allah send down revelations to MUhammad and ignore me, the greatest chief of Quraysh, to say nothing of Abu Mas `ud ignore me, the greatest chief of Quraysh, to say nothing of Abu Mas`ud `Amr b. `Umayr al-Thaqafi, the chief of Thaqif, we being the great ones of Taif and Mecca?' So Allah sent down concerning him, so I am told, `They said, if this Quran had been revealed to a great man of the two towns.' as far as the words, `than what they amass'. (Sura 43.30)

Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b Hudhafa and `Uqba b. Abu Mu`ayt were very close friends. Now `Uqba had sat and listened to the apostle and when Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, `Do I hear that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or speak to you again (and he swore a great oath) if you do the same again, or if you do not go and spit in his face.' `Uqba, the enemy of God, actually did this, Allah curse him,. So Allah sent down concerning the pair of them `On the day that the sinner bites his hands, saying, would that I had chosen a path with the apostle,' as far as the words `a deserter of men'. (Sura 25.29).

Ubayy took to the apostle an old bone, crumbling to pieces, and said, `Muhammad, do you allege that Allah can revivify this after it has decayed?' The he crumbled it in his hand and blew the pieces in the apostle's face. The apostle answered: `Yes, I do say that. Allah will raise it and you, after you have become like this. Then Allah will send you to Hell.' So Allah revealed concerning him, `He gave us parable, and he forgot that he was created, saying, who will revivify bones which are rotten? Say, He who gave them life in

the first instance will revivify them. He who know about all creation, who has made for you fire from the green wood, and lo, you kindle flame from it.' (Sura 36.78)

There met the apostle, as he was going round the Ka`ba, so I have been told (Ta 1191. 12 gives the authorities for this tradition as I.I. from Sa `id b. Mina, a freed-man of Abu'l-Bakhtari. There are a few verbal discrepancies: the Meccans say, `If what you have brought is better than what we have ... and if what we is better than what you have', &c). Al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad b. `Abdul'l-`Uzza and al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and al-`As b. Wail al-Sahmi, men of reputation among their people. They said: `Muhammad, come let us worship what uou worship, and you worship what we worship. You and we will combine in the matter. If what you worship is better than what you worship, you can take a share of that.' So Allah revealed concerning them, `Say, O disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship; you have your religion and I have mine.' (Sura 109) i.e. If you will only worship Allah on condition that I worship what you worship, I have no need of you at all. You can have your religion, all of it, and I have mine.

(T. Now the apostle was anxious for the welfare of his people, wishing to attract them as far as he could. It has been mentioned that he longed for a way to attract them, and the method he adopted is what Ibn Hamid told me that Salama said M. b Ishaq told him from Yazid b. Ziyad of Medina from M. b Ka`b al-Qurazi: When the apostle saw that his people turned their backs on him and he was pained by their estrangement from what he brought them from Allah he longed that there should come to him from Allah a message that would reconcile his people to him. Because of his love for his people and his anxiety over them it would delight him if the obstacle that made his task so difficult could be removed; so that he meditated on the project and longed for it and it was dear to him. Then Allah sent down `By the star when it sets your comrade errs not and is not deceived, he speaks not from his desire,' and when he reached His words `Have you thought of al-Lat and al-Uzza and Manat the third, the other', (Sura 53 1-20), Satan, when he was meditating upon it, and desiring to bring it (sc. reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue `these are the exalted Gharaniq (The word is said to mean `Numidian cranes' which fly at a great height) Whose intercession is approved. (Another reading is turtaja to be hoped for'). When Quraysh heard that, they were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spole of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were hoilding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the prostration (Mentioned in the last verse of the Sura) and the end of the Sura in whicfh he prostratee himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and they polytheists of Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque beliver and unbeliever prostrated, except al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so the took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, `Muhammad has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharaniq whose intercession is approved.'

The news reached the prophet's companions who were in Abyssina, it being reported that Quraysh had accepted Islam, so some men started to return while others remained behind. Then gabriel came to the apostle and said, `What have you done, Muhammad? You have read to these people something I did not bring you from Allah and you have said what He did not say to you. The apostle was bitterly grieved and was greatly in fear of God. So Allah sent down (a revelation), for He was merciful to him, comforting him and making light of the affair and telling him that every prophet and apostle before him desired as he desired and wanted what he wanted and Satan interjected something into his desires as he had on his tongue. So Allah annulled what Satan had suggested and Allah established His verses i.e you are just like the prophets and apostle . Then Allah sent down: `We have not sent a prophet or apostle before you but when he longed Satan cast suggestions into his longing. But Allah will annul what Sata has suggested. Then Allah will establish his verse, Allah being knowing and wise.' (Sura 22.51. The following verse is not without relevance in this contex: `that He may make what Satan suggested a temptation to those whose hearts are diseased and hardened'). Thus Allah relieved his prophet's grief, and made him feel safe from his fears and annulled what Satan had suggested in the words used aboe about their gods by his revelation `Are yours the males and His the females? That were indeed an unfair diviison' (i.e. most unjust); `they are nothing but names which your fathers gave them as far as the words `to whom he pleases and accepts', (Sura 53. 19-27). i. e. how can the intercession of their gods avail with Him?

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue came from God, Quraysh said: `Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought something else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam when they prostrated themselves with the apost,e heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without the promise of protection or secretly. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to Medina and were present at Badr with him was `Uthman b. `Affan... with his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abu Hudhayafa b. `Utba with his wife Sahla d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thiry-three men. (A parallel tradition from M. b Ka`b al-Qurazi and M. b Qays is given by T. 1195-6).

Abu Jahl b. Hisham, when Allah mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqum to strike terror into them said: `O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of zl-Zaqqum with which Muhammad would scare you is? When they said that they did not he said: `It is Yathrib dates buttered. By Allah, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So Allah sent down concerning him, `Verily the tree of al-Zaqqum is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water,' (Sura 44.43. Suhayli, p. 228, has an interesting note to the effect that this word is of Yamani origin, and that there it means anything which causes vomiting). i.e. it is not as he said (208). Allah revealed concerning it, `And the tree which is cursed in the Quran; and We will frighten them but it increases them in naught save great wickedness.' (Sura 17.62).

Al-Walid was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I Umm Maktum, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Quran. The prophet found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from al-Walid and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So Allah revealed concerning him, `He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him' as far as the words `in book honoured, exalted, and purified', (Sura 80). i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reproved; I did not specify one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (209).

73 - THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

The apostle's companions who had gone to Abyssinia heard that the Meccans had accepted Islam and they set out for the homeland. But when they got near Mecca they learned that the report was false, so that they entered the town under the protection of a citizen or by stealth. Some of those who returned to him stayed in Mecca until they migrated to Medina and were present at Badr and Uhud with the apostle; others were shut away from the prohpet unitl Badr and other events were passed; and others died in Mecca. They were:

From B. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy: `Uthman b. `Affan b. Abu'l-As b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle's daughter Ruqayya; Abu Hudhayfa b. `Utba b. Rabi `a and his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. `Amr; and one of their allies `Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab.

From B. Naufal b `Abdu Manaf: Utba b.Ghazwan, an ally of theirs from Qays b.'Aylan.

From B. Asad b. `Abdul'l-Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad.

From B. `Abdul'l-Dar b. Qusayy: Mus`ab b. `Umayr b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf; and Suwaybit b. Sa`d b. Harmala.

From B. `Abd b. Qusayy: Tulayb b. `Umayr b. Wahb.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf b. `Abdu `Auf b. `Abd b. al-Harith b. Kilab: and al-Miqdad b. `Amar an ally, and `Abdullah b. Mas`ud also an ally.

From B Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Abu Salama b. `Abdu'-Asad b. Hilal b. ` Abdullay b. `Amr with his wife Umma Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira; and Shammas b. `Uthman b. al-Sharid b. Suwayd b. Harmiy b. Air; and Salama b. Hisham b. al-Mughira whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not get to Medina until after Badr and Uhud and the Trench; `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a b. al-Mughira. He migrated to Medina with the prophet, and his tow brothers on his mother's side followed him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. Their names were

Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham. Of their allies `Ammar b. Yasir, though it is doubted whether he went to Abyssinia or not; and Mu`attib b. `Auf b. `Amir b. Khuza`a.

From B. Jumah b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b: `Auf b. `Amir b. Khuza`a. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and his son al-Sa'ib b. `Uthman; and Qudama b. Mazun; and `Abdullah b. Mazun.

From B Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. `Adiy; and Hisham b. al-`As b. Wa'il who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he turned up after the three battles above mentioned.

From B `Adiy b. Ka`b: `Amir b Rabi`a; one of their allies, with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa b. Ghanim.

From B Amir b. Lu'ayy: `Abdullah b. Makhrama b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Abu Qays; Abdullah b. Suhayl b. `Amr. He was held back from the apostle of Allah when he emigrated to Medina until when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the battle on the side of the apostle. Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. Abdu'l-`Uzza with his wife Umm Kulthum d.suhayl b. `Amr: Sakran b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams with his wife Sauda d. Zama's b. Qays. He died in Mecca before the apostle emigrated and the apostle married his window Sauda. Lastly Sa`d b. Khaula, one of their allies.

From B. 1`-Harith b. Fhr: Abu `Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was `Amir b. Abdullah; `Amr b. al-Harith b. Zunayr b. Abu Shaddad; Suhayl b. Bayda' who was the son of Wabh b. Rabi`a b. Hilal; and `Amr b. Abu Sarh b. Rabi`a b. Hilal.

The total number of his companions who came to Mecca from Abyssinia was thiry-three men. The names gives to us of those who entered under promise of protection are `Uthman b. maz`un protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughira; Abu Salama under the protection of Abu Talib who was his uncle, Abu Salama's mother being Barra d. `Abdu'l-Muttalib.

74 - `UTHMAN B MAZ`UN RENOUNCES AL-WALIDS'S PROTECTION

Salih b. Ibrahim b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf told me from one who had got it from Uthman saying: When `Uthman b. Maz`un saw the misery in which the apostl's companions were living while he lived night and day under al-Walid's protection he said, `It is more than I can bear that I should be perfectly safe under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and co-religionists are afflicted and distressed for God's sake.' So he went to al-Walid and renounced his protection. `Why, nephew,' he asked, `Can it be that one of my people has injured you? `No', he answered, `but I want to be under God's protection: I don't want to ask for anyone else's'. Al-Walid asked him to come to the mosque and renounce his protection publicly as he had given it publicly. When tyey got there al-Walid said: ``Uthman here has come to renounce my protection.' `True,' said the latter, `I have found him loyal and honourable in his protection, but I dont's want to

ask anyone but Allah for protection; so I give him back his promise!` So Saying he went away.

[On antoher occasion when] Labid b Rabi`a b. Malik b. Ja`far b. Kilab was in an assembly of the Quraysh when `Uthman was present he recited a verse:

Everything but Allah is vain,

True! interjected `Uthman; but when he went on:

And everything lovely must inevitably cease,

`Uthman cried, `You lie! The joy of Paradise will never cease.' Labid said: `O men of Quraysh your friends never used to be annoyed thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered: `This is one of those louts with Muhammad. They have abandoned our religion. Take no notice of what he says.' `Uthman objected so energetically that the matter became serious. Whereupon that man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walid was hard by watching happened to `Uthman and he said: `O nephew, your eye need not have suffered this had you remained in sure protection.' `Uthman answered: `Nay be Allah my good eye needs what happened to its fellow for God's sake, and I am under the protection of One who is stronger and more powerful thatn you. O Abu `Abdu Shams.' Al-Walid only said, `Come, nephew, my protection is always open to you,' but he declined it.

75 - HOW ABU SALAMA FARED WITH HIS PROTECTOR

My father Ishaq b. Yasar on the authority of Salama b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Abu Salama told me that he told him that when Abu Salama had asked Abu Talib protection some of the B. Makhzum went to him and said: `You have protected your nephew Muhammad from us, but why are you protecting our tribesman?' He answered: `He asked my protection and he is my sister's son. If I did not protect my sister's son I could not protect my brother's son. Thereupon Abu Lahabrose and said: `O Quraysh, you have continually attacked this shaykh for giving his protection among his own people. By God, you must either stop this or we will stand in with him until he gains his object.' They said that they would not do anything to annoy him, for he had aidedand abetted them against the apostle, and they wanted to keep his support.

Hearing him speak thus Abu Talib hoped that he would support him in protecting the apostle, and composed the following lines urging Abu Lahab to help them both:

A man whose uncle is Abu `Utayba
Is in a garden where he is free from violence.
I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
O Abu Mu`tib stand firm upright.
Never in your life adopt a course
For which you will be blamed when men meet together.

Leave the path of weakness to others,
For you were not born to remain weak.
Fight! For war is fair;
You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders.
How should you when they have done you no great injury
Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat?
Allah require for us `Abdu Shams and Naufal and Taym
And Makhzum for their desertion and wrong
In parting from us after affection and amity
So that they might get unlawful gains.
By God's House you lie! Never will we abandon Muhammad
Before you see a dust-raising day in the shi`b (210). (This is the reading of Abu Dharr which seems to me superior to that of W. and C. Qatim means`a thick cloud of dust' and implies men on the march. No satisfactory meaning can be given to qa'im. Presumably `the shib of Abu Talib, a defile of the mountains where the projecting rocks of Abu Qubays Pressed upon the eastern outskirts of the city. It was entered from the town by a narrow alley closed by a low gateway through which a camel could pass with difficulty. On all other sides it was detached by cliffs and buildings.' Muir, The life of Muhammad, 93 f.)

76 - ABU BAKR ACCEPTS IBN AL-DUGHUNNA'S PROTECTION AND THEN ABANDONS IT

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihad al-Zuhri from `Urwa from `A'isha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill treatment from the Quraysh, Abu Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abu Bakr set forth and when he had gone a days or two's journey from Mecca he fell in with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Harith b. `Abdu Manat b. Kinana, who was at that time head of the Ahabish. (They were the B. al-Harith; and al- Hun b. Khuzayama b. Mudrika; and the B. al-Mustaliq of Khuza`a) (211.)

Replying to Ibn al-Dughunna's inquiries Abu Bakr told him that his people had drives him out and ill-treated him. `But why,' he exclamied, `when you are an ornament of the tribe, a standby in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my protection.' So he went back with him and Ibn al-Daughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and none must treat him other than well.

He continued: Abu Bakr had a mosque by the door of his house among the B. Jumah where he used to pray. He was a tender-hearted man and when he read the Quran (This statement implies that some at least of the Quran was written down before the hijra. However, qara a may not mean more than `recite'). He was moved to tears. Youths, slaves, and women used to stand by him astonished at his demeanour. Some men of Quraysh went to Ibn al-Dughunna saying, `Have you given this fellow protection so that he can injure us? Lo, he prays and reads what Muhammad has produced and his heart becomes soft and he weeps. And he has a striking appearnce so that we fear he way

seduce our youths and women and weakones. GOto him and tell him to goto his own house and do what he likes there.' So Ibn al-Dughunna went to him and said: `I dit not give you protection so that yoy might injure your people. They dislike the place you have chosen and suffer hurt therefrom, so go into your house and do what you like there.' Abu Bakr asked him if he wanted him to renounce his protection and when he said that he did he gave him back his guarantee.. Ibn al-Dughunna got up and told the Quraysh that Abu Bakr was no longer under his protection and that they could do what they liked with him.

`Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Qasim told me from his father al-Qasim b. Muhammaed that as Abu Bakr was going to the Ka`ba one of the Loutish fellows of Qurysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira, or it may have been al-As b. Wail, passed him and he said, `Do you see what this lout has done to me?' He replied, `You have done it to yourself!' Meanwhile he was saying three times `O Lord how longsuffering Thou art!'

77 - THE ANNULLING OF THE BOYCOTT

The B. Hashim and the B. al-Muttalib were in the quarters which Quraysh had agreed upon in the document they wrote, when a number of Quraysh took steps to annul the boycott against them. None took more trouble in this than Hisham b. `Amr... for the reason that he was the son of a brother to Nadla b. Hashim b. Abdu Manaf by his mother and was closely attached to the B. Hashim. He was highly esteemed by his people. I have heard that when these two clans were in their quarter he used to bring a camel laden with food by night and then when he had got it to the mouth of the alley he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the alley to them. He would do the same thing another time, bringing clothes for them.

He went to Zuhayr b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira whose mother was `Atika d. `Abdu'l-Muttalib and said: `Are you content to eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the condition of your maternal uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By Allah I swear that if they were the uncles of Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, `Confound you, Hisham, what can I do? I'm only one man. By Allah if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, `I have found a man. Myself.' `Find another,' said he. So Hisham went to al-Myt`im b. `Adiy and said, `Are you content that two clans of the B. `Abdu Manaf should perish while you look on consenting to follow Quraysh? You will find that they will soon do the same with you'. He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hisham went to Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hisham who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zama`a b. al- Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to co-operate in this task and he gave him the names of the others. They all arranged to meet at night on the nearest point of al-Hajun above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe went round the Ka`ba seven times; the he came forward and said: `O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe

ourselves while the B. Hashim perish, unable to buy or sell? By Allah I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is torn up!' Abu Jahl, who was at the side of the mosque, exclaimed, `You lie by Allah. It shall not be torn up.' Zama`a said, `You are a greater liar; we were not satisfied with the document when it was written'. Abu'l-Bakhtari said, `Zama`a is right. We are not satisfied with what is written and we don't hold with it.' Al-Mut`im said, `You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allah to witness that we dissociate ourselves from the whole idea and what is written in the document.' Hisham spoke in the same sense. Abu jahl said: `This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else'. Now Abu Talib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Mut`im went up to the document to tear it in pieces he found that worms had already eaten it except the words `In Thy name O Allah'. (T. This was the customary formula with which Quraysh began their writing.) The writer of the deed was Mansur b. `Ikrima. It is alleged that his had shrivelled (212).

When the deed was torn up and made of none effect Abu Talib composed the following verses in praise of those who had taken part in the annulment:

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those
Far distant across the sea (So the commentators, but an unnatural extension of the usual meaning of bahri is involved). (for Allah is very kind to men),
Telling them that the deed was torn up
And all athat was against God's wish had been destroyed?
Lies and sorcery were combined in it,
But sorcery never gets the upper hand
Those not involved in it assembled together for it in a remote place (Commentators, suggest as an alternative rendering those who took it seriously. Qarqar means 'flat soft ground.

While its bird of ill omen hovered within its head. (This seems to be an adaptation of Sura 17/14:` We have fastened every man's bird of ill omen to his neck.' Dr Arafat suggests that the fa'ir here means `ghost', the bird which emerges from the head of murdered man, and the meaning would then be that the ghost is fluttering within it before it finally emerges).
It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting
That because of it hand and necks should be severed
And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee,
Their hearts quaking for fear of evil
And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do-
Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills-
And an army come up between Mecca's hills
Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears.
He of Mecca's citizens whose power rises
(Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is older.
We grew up there when men were few
And have ever waxed great in honour and reputation.

We feed our guests till they leave a dish untasted
When the hands of the maysir players would begin to tremble.
Allah reward the people in al-Hajun who swoer allegiance
(Reading tabaya u with C. W has tataba`u).
To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom,
Sitting by the near side of al-Hajun as though princes,
Nay they are even more noble and glorious.
Every bold man helped therein
Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride,
Running to (Or `daring)'. Portentous deeds
Like a flame burning in the torchbearer's hands.
The noblest of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib's line
When they are wronged their faces show their anger.
With long cord to his sword half his shank bare.
For his sake the clouds give rain and blessing.
Prince son of prince of princely hospitality
Gathering and urging food on his guests.
Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
When we walk through the land.
Every blameless man kept this peace.
A great leader, there was he praised.
They accomplished their work in a night
While others slept; in the morning they took their case.
They sent back Sahl b. Baida' well pleased
And Abu Bakr and Muhammad rejoiced thereat.
When have others joined in our great exploits,
From of old have we shown each other affection?
Never have we approved injustice.
We get what we wanted without voilence.
O men of Qusayy, won't you consider,
Do you want what will befall you tomorrw?
For you and I are as the words of the saying:
`You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswad.

(Commentators expalin that Aswad is the name of mountain on which a dead man was found and there was no indication of his murderer. The relatives addressed the mountain in the words just quoted which became a proverb).

Mourning al-Mut`im b. `Adiy and mentioning his stand in getting tthe deed annulled, Hassan, b. Thabit composed the following.
(See Diwan of Hassan b. Thabit , ed. Hartwig Hirschfeld (Gibb Memorial Series), London, 1910, 43 f. The version given there is sadly at fault, but the text in line 2 wa-rabbaha syntactically, though not mertrically, a mistake for rabbahuma (instead of I.I.'s kilayhima) is right: `weep for the lord and master of the two sanctuaries'. Cf. Agh. xiii. 6 I. 5 (cited by Lammens, L'Arabie occidentale, Beirut, 1926, p. 146) `the hurrying btween

the two mash'ars'. I.H., though he denies that I.I wrote `both', fails to quote the right reading).

Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
If they run dry, then pour out blood.
Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites

(See Diwan of Hassan b. Thabit,, ed. Hartwig Hirschfeld (Gibb Memorial Series), London, 1910, 43 f. The version given there is sadly at fault, but the text in line 2 wa-rabbaha syntactically, though not meertrically, a mistake for rabbahuma (instead of I.I's kilayhima) is right: `weep for the lord and master of the two sanctuaries'. Cf. Agh. xiii. 6,1.5 (cited by Lammens , L'Arabie occidentale, Beirut, 1926, p. 146): `the hurrying between the two manh`ars'. I,H., though he denies that I.I. wrote `both', fails to quote the right reading.)

To whom men owe gratitude so long as they can speak.
If glory could immortalize anyone
His glory would have kept Mut`im alive today.
You protected God's apostle from them and they become
Thy slaves so long as men cry labbayka and don the pilgrim garb.
If Ma`add and Qahtan and all the rest
Of Jurhum were asked about him
They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
And if he makes a covenant he fulfils it.
The bright sun about them does not shine
On a greater and nobler than he;
More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest (213).

Hassan also said in praise of Hisham b. `amr for his part in the matter of the deed: as

Is the protection of the Banu Umayya a bond
As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hisham?
Such as do not betray their proteges
Of the line of al-Harith b.Hubayyib b. Sukham.
When the Banu Hisl grant protection
They keep their word and their protege lives securely.

78 - AL-TUFAYL B. `AMR AL-DAUSI ACCEPTS ISLAM

In spite of his people's behaviour the apostle was continually giving them good counsel and preaching salvation from their evil state. When Allah protected him from them they began to warn all new-comers against him.

Al-Tufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there and some of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet of standing and an intelligent

man.) The told him that this fellow had done them much harm; had divided their community and broken up its unity; `in fact he talks like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother, or his wofe. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so don't speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistent that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and i went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I sent to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will. When I got to the mosque there was the apostle of Allah standing at prayer by the Ka`ba, so I stood near him. Allah had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I aid to myself, `Allah bless my soul! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.'

I stayed unil the apostle went to his house and I followed him and entered his house with him. I told him what his people had said and that they had so scared me that I had stuffed cotton in my ears lest I should hear what he was saying. But Allah had not allowed me to remain deafand I heard a beautiful saying. `So explain the matter to me,' I said. The apostle explained Islam to me and recited the Quran to me. By Allah I never heard anyting finer nor anything more just. So I became a Muslim and bore true witness. I said, `O prophet of God, I am a man of authority among my people and when I go back and call them to Islam, pray to Allah to give me a sign which will help me when I preach to them.' He said, `O Allah give him a sign.'

So I went back to my people and when I came to the pass which would bring me down to the settlement a light like a lamp played between my eyes and i said, `O God, not in my face! for I fear that they will think that a dire punishment has befallen my face because I have left their religion.' So the light moved and lighted on the top of my whip. The people began to look at that light attached to my whip like a candle while I was coming down from the pass to them.

When I got down my father came to me (he was a very old man) and I said, `Be off with you, father, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me!' `But why, my son?' said he. I said, `I have become a Muslim and follow the religion of Muhammad.' He said, `All right, my son, then my religion is your religion.' So I said, `Then go and wash yourself and clean your clothes; then come and I will teach you what I have been taught.' He did so; I explained Islam to him and he became a Muslim.

Then my wife came to me and I said: `Be off with you, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me'. `Why?' she said, `my father and mother be your ransom' I said, `Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Muhammad.' She said, `Then my religion is your religion.' I said, `Then go to the hina (No satisfactory explanation of this word is forthcoming, so probable we should adopt Ibn hisham's reading.) (207) (temenos?) of Dhu'l-Shara (On Dhu l-Shara (Dusares) see E.I. It is a title, not a name, of a god long associated with the Nabataeans. In all probability the title is geographical, denoting ownership. More cannot be safely said at present.) and cleanse yourself from it.'

Now Dhu'l-Shara was an image belonging to Daus and the hima was the temenos which they had made sacred to him; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, `Have you any fear from Dhu'l-Shara on my account?' (Or `on the children's account'.) `No,' I said, `I will go surety for that.' So she went and washed and when she returned I expained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then I preached Islam to Daus but they held back, and I went to the apostle in Mecca and said, `O prophet of God, frivolous preoccupation (I have followed the commentators in taking a milder meaning than the ordinary sense which is `fornication'; if Dhu'l-Shara was an Arab Dionysos, the normal meaning world not be out of place.) has been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.' But he said, 'O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently.' I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the apostle migrated to Medina and Badr, Uhud, and the Trench were passed. Then I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I arrived at Medina with seventy or eighty households of Daus, and then we joined the apostle in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the muslims.

I remained with the apostle until Allah opened Mecca to him and then I asked him to send me to burn Dhu'l-Kaffayn, (According to Ibnu'l-Kalbi, al-Asnam, Cairo, 1924, p. 37, it belonged to a sub-section of Daus, called the B. Munhib.) the image of `Amr b. Humama. As he lit the fire he said:

Not of your servants am I, Dhu'l-Kaffayn,
Our birth is far more ancient than thine.
To stuff this fire in your heart I pine.

He returned to Medina to the apostle and remained with him until Allah took him. When the Arabs revolted he sided with the Muslims and fought with them until they disposed of Tulayha and the whole of Najd. Then he went with the Muslims to the Yamama with his son `Amr, and while on the way he saw a vision of which he told his companions asking for an interpretation. `I saw my head had been shaved and a bird was coming out of my mouth and a woman met me and took me into her womb, and I saw my son seeking me anxiously; then I saw him withheld from me.' They said that they hoped it would prove a good omen, but he went on to say that he himself would provide the interpretation of it. The shaving of his head meant that he would lay it down; the bird which flew from him mouth was his spirit; and the woman who received him into her womb was the earth which would be opened for him and he would be hidden therein; his son's vain search for him meant that he would try to attain what he had attained. He was slain as a martyr in al-Yamama while his son was severely wounded and recovered later. He was actually killed in the year of the Yarmuk in the time of `Umar, dying as a martyr

79 - THE AFFAIR OF THE IRASHITE WHO SOLD HIS CAMELS TO ABU JAHL

Despite Abu Jahl's hostility, hatred, and violence towards the apostle Allah humiliated him before him whenever he saw him.

I was told by `Abdu'l-Malik b. `Abdullah b. Abu Sufyan al-Thaqafi who had a good memory: A man from Irash (209) brought some camels of his to Mecca and Abu Jahl bought them from him. He kept back the money, so the man came to the assembly of Quraysh when the apostle was sitting at the side of the mosque and said: `Who among you will help me to get what is due to me from Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham? I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and he will not pay his debt.' They said: `Do you see that man sitting there?' pointing to the apostle. (In fact they were making game of him for they knew quite will of the enmity between him and Abu Jahl.) `Go to him. He'll help you to your right.'

So the man went and stood over the apostle and said, `O Servant of God, Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham has withheld the meney he owes me. I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and I asked these men to tell me of someone who would help me to my right and they pointed to you, so get my money from him, Allah bless you.' He said, Go to him,' and the apostle got up and went with him. When they saw this, the men said to one of their number, `Follow him.' The apostle went to his house and knocked on the door, and when he asked who was there he said, `Muhammad! Come out to me,' He came out to him pale with agitation, and the opostle said, `Pay this man his due.' `One moment until I give him his money,' he said, and went indoors and come out again with the amount he owed and paid it to the man. The apostle went away saying, `Go about your business.' The Irashite went back to the gathering and said, `May Allah reward him, for he has got me my due.'The Irashite went
back to the gathering and said, `May Allah reward him, for he has got me my due.'

Then the man they had sent after them came back and reported what he had seen. `It was extraordinary,' he said; `he had hardly knocked on the door when out he came breathless with agitation,' and he related what had been said. Hardly had he done so when Abu Jahl himself came up and they said: `Whatever has happened, man? We've never seen anything like what you've done.' `Confound you,' he said; `By Allah as soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled with terror. And when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head. I've never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion before. By God, if I'd refused to apy up he would have eaten me.' (I have endeavoured to reproduce the simple somewhat rough style of the original.)

80 - RUKANA AL-MUTTALIBI WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me saying: Rukana b. `Abdu Yazid b. Hashim b. `Abdu'l Muttalib b. `Abdu Manaf was the strongest man among Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca alone: `Rukana,' said he, `why won't you fear Allah and accept my preaching?' `If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you,' he said. The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth if he threw him, and when he said Yes they began to wrestle, and when the apostle got a firm grip of him he threw him to the ground, he being unable to offer any effective resistance. `Do it again, Muhammad,' he said, and he did it again. `This is extraordinary,' he said, `he said, `can you really throw me?' `I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will call this tree that you see and it will come to me.' `Call it,' he said. He called

it and it advanced until it stood before the apostle. Then he said, `Retire to your place,' and it did so.

Then Rukana went to his people the B. `Abdu Manaf and told them that their tribesman could compete with any sorcer in the world, for he had never seen such sorcery in his life, and he went on to tell them of what he had seen and what Muhammad had done.

81 - A DEPUTATION OF CHRISTIANS ACCEPT ISLAM

While the apostle was in Mecca some twenty Christians came to him from Abyssinia when they heard news of him. They found him in the mosque and sat and talked with him, asking him questions, while some Qurayshites were in their meeting round the Ka`ba. When they had asked all the questions they wished the apostle invited them to come to Allah and read the Quran to them. When they heard the Quran their eyes flowed with tears, and they accepted God's (Or, `his call'.) call, believed in him, and declared him truth. They recognized in him the things which had been said of him in their scriptures. When they got up to go away Abu Jahl with a number of Quraysh intercepted them, saying, `God, what a wretched band you are! Your people at home sent you to bring them information about the fellow, and as soon as you sat with him you renounced your religion and believed what he said. We don't know a more asinine band than you,' or words to that effect. They answered: `Peace be upon you. We will not engage in foolish controversy with you. We have our religion and you have yours. We have not been remiss in seeking what is best.'

It is said that these Christians came from Najran, but Allah knows whether that was so. It is also said, and again Allah knows best, that it was in reference to them that the verses `Those to whom we brought the book aforetime, they believe in it. And when it is read to them they say We believe in it. Verily it is the truth from our Lord. Verily aforetime we were Muslims,' as far as the words, `We have our works and you have your works. Peace be upon you; we desire not the ignorant.'(Sura 28 53- 55)

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri about those to whom these verses had reference and he told me that he had always heard from the learned the they were sent down concerning the Negus and his companions and also the verses from the sura of The Table from the words `That is because there are of them presbyters and monks and because they are not proud' up to the words `So inscribe us with those who bear witness'.(Sura 585)

When the aprostle used to set in the mosque with his more insignificant companions such as Khabbab, `Ammar, Abu Fukayha, Yasar, Freedman of Safwan b. Umyya b. Muharrith, Suhayb, and their like, Quraysh used to jeer at them and say to one another, `These are his companions, as you see. Is it such creatures that Allah has chosen from among us to give guidance and truth? If what Muhammad has brought were a good thing these fellows would not have been the first to get it, and Allah would not have put them before us.' Allah revealed concerning them: `Drive not away those who call upon their Lord night and morning seeking His face. You are in no way responsible for them, and they are in no way responsible for you, so that you should drive them away and become an evildoer. Thus We tempt some by others that they may say, are these they whom

Allah has favoured among us? Does not Allah know best about the grateful? and when those who believe in Our signs come to thee say Peace be upon you. Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy that he who doeth evil in ignorance and repenteth afterwards and doeth right (to him) He is forgiving, merciful. (Sura 6 52f)

According to my information the apostle used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Jabr, (Sura 16. 105) a slave of the B. al-Hadrami and they used to say `The one who teaches Muhammad most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian slave of the B. al-Hadrami.' Then Allah revealed in reference to their words `We well know that they say, "Only a mortal teaches him".' The tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, and this is a clear Arabic tongue (218) (Sura 16. 105)

82 - THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA AL-KAUTHAR

I have been told that when the apostle was mentioned Al-`As b. wa'il al-Sahmi used to say, `Let him alone for he is only a childless man with no offspring. If he were to die, his membory would perish and you would have rest from him.' Allah sent down in reference to that: `We have given you al-Kauthar,' (Sura 108) something which is better for you than the would and all that it holds. Kauthar means `great'. Labid b. Rabi`a al-Kilabi said:

We were distressed at the death of the owner of Malhub (Malhub is said to be either the name of water belonging to
the B. Asab b. Khuzayma, or a village of the B. `Abdullah b.
al-Duwal b.Hanifa in al-Yamama; or a horse Cf.Diwan, ed.
Yusuf al-Chalidi, Wien 1880, p.78)

And at al-Rida (Rida is the name of a watering place of the B. al-A`raj b. Ka`b.)
is the house of another great man (Kauthar) (219).

Ja`far b. `Amr (220) told me on the authority of `Abdullah b. Muslim the brother of Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from Anas b.Malik that the latter said: `When the apostle was asked what Kauthar was which Allah had given to him I heard him say It is a river as broad as from San`a' to Ayla. Its water pots are in number as the stars of heaven. Birds go down to it with necks like camels. `Umar b. al-Khattab said, "O apostle of Allah the birds must be happy!" He answered "He who eats them will be happier still!"'

In this connexion (or perhaps some other) I heard that he said: `He that drinketh thereof shall never thirst.'(Cf. John 4.14)

83 - THE COMING DOWN OF `WHY HAS NOT AN ANGEL BEEN SENT DOWN TO HIM?'

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zama`a b. al-Aswad, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, and al--Aswad b. `Abdu Yaghuth, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, and al-

`As b. Wa'il said: `O Muhammad, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with thee!' Then Allah sent down concerning these words of theirs: `They say why hath not an angle been sent down to him? If We sent an angel down the matter would be settled; they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We should have obscured for them what they obscure. (sura 6.8)

84 - THE COMING DOWN OF `APOSTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE'

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So Allah sent down to him concerning this: `Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked at hemmed them in.' (Sura 6.10)

85 - THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Ziyad b. `Abdullah al-Bakka'i from Muhammad b. Ishaq told me the following: Then the apostle was carried by night from the mosque at Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqsa, which is the temple of Aelia, when Islam had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following acount reached me from `Abdullah b.Mas`ud and Abu Sa`id al-Khudri, and `Aisha the prophet's wife, and Mu`awiya b. Abu Sufyan, and al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Hasan al-Basri, and Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri and Qatada and other traditionists, and Umm Hani' d. of Abu Talib. It is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place (Or `time' (masura)) of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God's power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent; and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of Allah by which He took him by night in what way He pleased (I thkink that by Kayfa sha a the author means to leve open the question whether it was an actual physical journey or a nocturnal vision. See below.) to show him His signs which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mightly sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do.

According to what I have heard `Abdullah b. Mas`ud used to say: Buraq, the animal whose every stride carried it as far as its eye could reach on which the prophets before him used to ride was brought to the apostle and he was mounted on it. His companion (Gabriel) went with him to see the wonders between heaven and earth, until he came to Jerusalem's temple. There he found abraham the friend of God, Moses, and Jesus assembled with a company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he was brought three vessels containing milk, wine, and water respectively. The aspostle said: `I heard a voice saying when these were offered to me: If he takes the water he will be drowned and his people also; if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; and if he taken the milk he will be rightly guided and his people also. So I took the

vessel containing milk and drank it. Gabriel said to me, You have been rightly guided and so will your people be, Muhammad.'

I was told that al-Hasan said that the apostle said: `While I was sleeping in the Hijr Gabriel came and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came a second time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came to me the theird time and stirred me with his foot. I set up and he took hold of my arm and I stood beside him and he brought me out to the door of the mosque and there was a white animal, half mule, half donkey, with wings on its sides with which it propelled its feet, putting down each forefoot at the limit of its sight and he mounted me on it. Then he went out with me keeping close to me.

I was told that Qatada said that he was told that the apostle said: `When I came up to mount him he shied. Gabriel placed his hand on its mane and said, Are you not ashamed, O Buraq, to behave in this way? By God, none more honourable before Allah than Muhammad has ever ridden you before. The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.'

In his story al-Hasan said: `The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrieved at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among a company of the prophets. The apostle acted as their imam in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing wine and the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving the wube. Gabriel said: "You have been rightly guided to the way of nature (Fitra is an elusive word. The meaning here may be `the true primeval religion')and so will your people be,Muhammad. Wine is forbidden you." Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he told Quraysh what had happened. Most of them said, "By God, this is a plain absurdity! A caravan taken a month to go to Syria and a month to return and can Muhammad do the return journey in one night?" Many Muslims gave up their faith; some went to Abu Bakr and said, "What do you think of your friend now, Abu Bakr? He alleges that he went to Jerusalam last night and prayed there and came back to Mecca, "He replied that they were lying about the apostle; but they said that he was in the mosque at that very moment telling the people about it. Abu Bakr said, "If he says so then it is true. And what is so surprising in that? He tells me that communication from Allah from heaven to earth come to him in an hour of a day or night and I believe him, and that is more extraordinary than that at which you boggle!" He then went to the apostle and asked him if these reports were true, and when he said they were, he asked him to describe Jerusalem to him.' Al-Hasan said that he was lifted up so that he could see the apostle speaking as he told Abu Bakr what Jerusalem was like. Whenever he described a part of it he said, `That's true. I testify that you are the apostle of God' until he had completed the description, and then the apostle said, `And you, Abu Bakr, are the Siddiq.' (This indicates that the meaning is not `Veracious' but `Testifier to the Truth'.) This was the occasion on which he got this honorific.

Al-Hasan continued: Allah sent down concerning those who left Islam for this reason: `We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men and the accursed tree

in the Quran. We put them in fear, but it only adds to their heinous error.' (Sura 13.62) Such is al-Hasan's story with additions from Qatada.

One of Abu Bakr's family told me that `A'isha the prophet's wife used to say: `The apostle's body remained where it was but Allah removed his spirit by night.'

Ya`qub b. `Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that Mu`awiya b. Abu Sufyan when he was asked about the apostle's night journey said `It was a true vision from God.' What these two latter said does not contradict what al-Hasan said, seeing that Allah Himself said, `We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men;' nor does it contradict what Allah said in the story of Abraham when he said to his son, `O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I must sacrifice thee,' (Sura 37.10) and he acted accordingly. Thus, as I see it, revelation from Allah comes to the prophets waking or sleeping.

I have heard that the apostle used to say, `My eyes sleep while my heart is awake.' Only Allah knows how revelation came and he saw what he saw. But whether he was asleep or awa, it was all true and actually happened.

Al-Zuhri alleged (The verb implies grave doubt as to the speaker's veracity.) as from Sa`id b. al-Musayyab that the apostle described to his companions Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, as he saw them that night, saying: `I have never seen a man more like myself than Abraham. Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired with a hooked nose as though he were of the Shanu`a. Jesus, Sons of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath. (Dimas=demosion and indicates the foreign origin of this legend. Cf. Musa b. Uqba, No. i, in Introduction, p. xliii.) One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The man most like him among you is `Urwa b. Mas`ud al-Thaqafi (221).'

The following report has reached me from Umm Hani' d. of Abu Talib, whose name was Hind, concerning the apostle's night journey. She said: `The apostle went on no night journey except while he was in my house. He slept that night in my house. He prayed the final night prayer, then he slept and we slept. A little before dawn the apostle woke us, and when we had prayed the dawn prayer he said, "O Umm Hani', I prayed with you the last evening prayer in this valley as your saw. Then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then I have just prayed the morning prayer with you as you see." He got up to go out and I took hold of his robe and laid bare his belly as though it were a folded Egyptian garment. I said, "O prophet of God, don't talk to the people about it for they will give you the lie and insult you." He said, "By God, I certainly will tell them." I said to a negress, a slave of mine, Follow the apostle and listen to what he says to the people, and what they say to him. He did tell them and they were amazed and asked what proof he had. He replied that he had passed the caravan of so-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the animal he bestrode scared them and a camel bolted, "and I showed them where it was as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Dajanan (A mountain in the neighbourhood of Tihama. According to al-Waqidi it is 25 m. from Mecca.) I passed by

a caravan of the Banu so-and-soi. I found the people asleep. They had a jar of water covered with something. I took the covering off and drank the water replacing the cover. The proof of that is that their caravan is this moment coming down from al-Baida'by the pass of al-Tan`im (Baida' is a hill near Mecca on the Medina side. Tan`im is on high ground very near Mecca.) led by a dusky camel loaded with two sacks one black and the other multihued". The people hurried to the pass and the first camel they met was as he had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them that they had left if full of water and covered it and that when they woke it was covered but empty. They asked the other too who were in Mecca and they said that it was quite right: they had been scared and a camel had bolted, and they had heard a man calling them to it so that they were able to recover it.'

86 - THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

One whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abu Sa`id al-Khudri: I heard the apostle say, `After the completion of my business in Jerusalem a ladder was brought to me finer than any I have ever seen. It was that to which the dying man looks when death approaches. My companion mounted it with me until we came to one of the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called Isma`il was in charge of it, and under his command were twelve thousand angels each of them having twelve thousand angels under his command.' As he told this story the apostle used to say, `and none knows the armies of Allah but He.' (Sura 74.34) When Gabriel brought me in, Ismail asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Muhammad he asked if I had been given a mission, (Or perhaps simply `sent for'.) and on being assured of this he wished me well.

A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard i (The allusion is to Sura 40.49 `Cast the family of Pharaoh into the worst of all punishments'.) from the apostle told me that the
latter said: `All the angels who met me when I entered the lowest heaven smiled in welcome and wished me well except one who said
the same things but did not smile or show that joyful
expression which the others had. and when I asked Gabriel the
reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before or would smile on anyone hereafter he would have smiled on me;
but he does not smile because he is Malik, the Keeper of Hell.
I said to Gabriel, he holding the position with regard to Allah
which he has described to you "obeyed there, trustworthy",
(Sura 81.21) "Will you not order him to show me hell?' And
he said, "Certainly! O Malik, show Muhammad Hell." Thereupon he
removed its covering and the flames blazed high into the air until
I thought that they would consume everything. So I asked Gabriel
to order him to send them back to their place which he did. I can
only compare the effect of their withdrawal to the falling of a
shadow, until when the flames retreated whence they had come,
Malik placed their cover on them.'

In his tradition Abu Sa`id al-Khudri said that the apostle said: `When I entered the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there with the spirits of men passing before him. To one he would speak well and rejoice in him saying: "A good spirit from a good body" and of another he would say "Faugh!' and frown, saying: "An evil spirit from an evil body.' In answer to my question Gabriel told me that this was our father Adam reviewing the spirits of his offspring; the spirit of a believer excited his pleasure, and the spirit of an infidel excited his disgust so that he said the words just quoted.

`Then I saw men with lips like camels; in their hands were pieces of fire like stones which they used to thrust into their mouths and they would come out of their posteriors. I was told that these were those whgo sinfully devoured the wealth of orphans.

`Then I saw men in the way of the family of Pharaoh, (The allusion is to Sura 40.49 `Cast the family of Pharaoh into the worst of all punishments'.) with such bellies as I have never seen; there were passing over them as it were camels maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down, they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers.

`Then I saw men with good fat meat before them side by side with lean stinking meat, eating of the latter and leaving the former. These are those who forsake the women which Allah has permitted and go after those he has forbidden.

`Then I saw women hanging by their breasts. These were those who had fathered bastards on their husbands.'

Ja`far b. `Amr told me from al-Qasim b. Muhammad that the apostle said: `Great is God's anger against a woman who brings a bastard into her family. He deprives the true sons of their portion and learns the secrets of the harim.'

To continue the tradition of Sa`id al-Khudri: `Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariah. Then to the third heaven and there was a man whose face was as the moon at the full. This was my brother Joseph, son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idris. "And we have exalted him to a lofty place." (Sura 19.58) Then to the fifth heaven and there was a man with white hair and a long beard, never have I seen a more handsome man than he. This was the beloved among his people Aaron son of `Imran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shanu'a. This was my brother Moses, son of `Imran. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the immortal mansion. (al-bayt al-ma`mur. In view of what follows this would seem to mean Paradise itself (al-janna) Every day seventy thousand angels went in not to come back until the resurrection day. Never have I seen a man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me into Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked her to whom she belonged, for she pleased me much when I saw her, and she told me "Zayd b. Haritha". The apostle gave Zayd the good news about her.'

From a tradition of `Abdullah b. Mas`ud from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked permission to enter he had to say whom he had broght and whether he had received a mission (Or `been sent for', v.s) and they would say `Allah grant him life, brother and friend!' until they reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers a day was laid upon him.

The apostle said: `On my return I passed by Moses and what a fine friend of yours he was ! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, "Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask him to reduce the number for you and your community'. I did so and He took off ten. Again I passed by Moses and he said the same again; and so it went on until only five prayers for the whole day and night were left. Moses again gave me the same advice. I replied that I had been back to my Lord and asked him to reduce the number until I was ashamed, and I would not do it again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers.'

87 - HOW GOD DEALT WITH THE MOCKERS

The apostle remained firm counting on God's assistance, admonishing his people in spite of their branding him as a liar and insulting and mocking him. The principal offenders--so Yazid b. Ruman from `Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me--were five men who were respected and honoured amomg their tribesmen: of the B. Asad... was al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad Abu Zama`a (I have heard that the apostle had cursed him for his insults and mockery, saying, `O God, blind him and bereave him of his son!') Of the B. Zuhra... was al-Aswab b. `Abdu Yaghuth. Of the B. Makhzum ... was al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... Of the B. Sahm b. `Amr ... was al-`As b. Wa'il b. Hisham (222). Of the B. Khuza`a was al-Harith b. al-Tulatila b. `Amr b. al-Harith b. `Abd b. `Amr b. Lu'ayy b. Malakan.

When they persisted in evil and constantly mocked the apostle, Allah revealed: `Proclaim what you have ben ordered and turn away from the polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know.' (Sura 15.94)

The same Yazid told me from `Urwa (or it may have been from some other traditionist) that Gabriel came to the apostle when the mockers were going round the temple. He stood up and the apostle stood at his side; and as al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib passed, Gabriel threw a green leaf in his face and he became blind. Then al-Aswad b. `Abdu Yaghuth passed and he pointed at his belly which swelled so that he died of dropsy. Next al-Walid passed by. He pointed at an old acar on the bottom of his ankle (the result of a wound he received some years earlier as he was trailing his gown when he passed by a man of Khuza`a who was feathering an arrow, and the arrowhead caught in his wrapper and scratched his foot--a mere nothing). But the wound opened again and he died of it. Al-`As passed. He pointed to his instep, and he went off on his ass making for al-Ta'if. He tied the animal to a thorny tree and a thorn entered his foot and he died of it.

Lastly al-Harith passed. He pointed at his head. It immediately filled with pus and killed him.

88 - THE STORY OF ABU UZAYHIR AL-DAUSI

When al-Walid's death was near he summoned his three sons Hisham, al-Walid, and Khalid and said: `My sons, I charge you with three duties; be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuza`a: don`t let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. Thaqif owe me money in interest; see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abu Uzayhir al-Dausi. Don't let him keep it.' Now Abu Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death.

When al-Walid died, the B. Makhzum leaped upon Khuza`a demanding blood-money for al-Walid, saying, `It was your man's arrow that killed him.' He was one of the B.Ka'b an ally of the B. `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim. Khuza`a refused their demand and a competition in verse followed and the situtation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walid was one of the B.Ka`bb. `Amr of Khuza`, and `Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. `Abdullah b. `Amr b. Makhzum composed the following lines: (Yaq.i.310)

I'll wager that you 'll soon run away
And leave al-Zahran with its yelping foxes.
And that you'll leave the water in the vale of Atriqa
And that you'll ask which Arak trees are the best
We are folk who do not leave our blood unavenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Zahran and al-Arak were camping-grounds of the B. Ka`b of Khuza`a

Al-Jaun b. Abu'l-Jaun, brother of the B. Ka`b. `Amr al-Khuza`i, answered him:

By Allah we will not pay unjust bloodwit for al-Walid
Until you see a day when the stars wax faint;
When your stout ones will be overthrown one after another
Each in death helplessly opening his mouth.
When you eat your bread and your gruel,
Then all of your will weep and wail for al-Walid.

There followed much argument and recrimination until it was apparent that it was prestige that was at stake,so Khuza`a paid some of the bloodmoney and they relinquished their claim to the rest. When peace had been made al-Jaun said:

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walid.
`Did you not swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walid
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?'

But we have exchanged (Lit. `mingled') war for peace
Now every traveller may go safely where he will.

But al-Jaun did not stop there but went on to boast of the killing of al-Walid, saying that they had brought about his end, all of which was false. As a result al-Walid, his son, and his tribe met what they had been warned against. Al-Jaun said:

Did not al-Mughira claim that in Mecca
Ka`b was a great force?
Don't boast, Mughira, because you see us
True Arabs and by-blows walk its strets.
We and our fathers were born there
As surely as Thabir stands in its place.
Al-Mughira said that to learn our state
Or to stir up war between us.
For Walid's blood will not be paid for;
You know that we do not pay for blood we shed.
The auspicious warrior hit him with an arrow
Poisoned, while he was full and out of breath.
He fell full length in Mecca's vale.
'Twas as though a camel fell.
'Twill save me delaying payment for Abu Hisham with
Miserable (khur is the pl. of khawwar, `weak', `wretched', not `abounding in milk' as the commentators explain. See Noldeke, Funf Mu`allaqat, vii. 44.) little curly haired camels (223).

Then Hisham b. al-Walid attacked Abu Uzayhir while he was in the market of Dhu'1-Majaz. Now his daughter `Atika was the wife of Abu Sufyan b. Harb. Abu Uzayhir was a chief among his people and Hisham killed him for the dowry money belonging to al-Walid which he had retained, in accordance with his father's dying injunction. This happened after the apostle's migration to Medina. Badr was over and many of the leaders of heathen Quraysh had been slain. Yazid b. Abu Sufyan went out and collected the B. `Abdu Manaf while Abu Sufyan was in Dhu'1-Majaz, and people said Abu Sufyan's honour in the matter of his father-in-law had been violated and he will take vengeance for him. When Abu Sufyan heard of what his son Yazid had done he came down to Mecca as fast as he could. He was a mild but astute man who loved his people exceedingly, and he was afraid that there might be serious trouble among Quraysh because of Abu Uzayhir. So he went straight to his son, who was armed among his people the B. `Abdu Manaf and the `scented ones', took his spear out of his hand and hit him hard on the head with it, saying, `Allah damn you! Do you wish to cause civil war among Quraysh for the sake of a man from Daus? We will pay them the bloodmoney if they will accept it.' Thus he put an end to the matter.

Hassan b. Thabit composed the following lines to excite felling for the murder of Abu Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abu Sufyan for his cowardice and betrayal of trust:
The people on both sides of Dhu'1-Majaz rose one morning,

But Ibn Harb's protege in Mughammas (al-Mughammas was on the road to T a if.) did not!
The farting donkey did not protect him he was bound to defend. (Hassan was notorious for his coarseness in lampoons.)
Hind did not avert her father's shame
Hisham b. al-Walid covered you with his garments,
Wear them out and mend new ones like them later.
He got what he wanted from him and became famous,
But you were utterly useless.
If the shaykhs at Badr had been present
The people's sandals would have been red with blood newly shed.

When he heard of this satire Abu Sufyan said: `Hassan wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!'

Khalid b. al-Walid when the people of Ta'if became Muslims spoke to the apostle about his father's interest which Thaqif owed him, and a traditionist told me that those verses which prohibit the carrying over of usury from the Jahiliya arose out of Khalid's demanding interest: `O ye who believe, fear Allah and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers', to the end of the passage. (Sura 2.278)

So far as we know there was no vengeance for Abu Uzayhir until Islam made a clear cut between men; however, Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas al-Fihri went out with a number of Quraysh to the Daus country, and cam to the dwelling of a woman called Umm Ghaylan, a freedwoman of Daus. She used to comb the women's hair and prepare brides for their husbands. Daus wanted to kill them in revenge for Abu Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylan and the women stood in their way and defended them. It was in reference to that that Dirar said:

Allah reward Umm Ghaylan and her women well
For their coming without their finery with dishevelled hair.
They saved us at death's very door
When the avengers of blood came forth.
She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
The streams on either side carried it on
Allah requite `Amr well. He was not weak,
He did his best for me.
I drew my sword and made play with its edge
For whom should I fight but myself (224)?

89 - THE DEATH OF ABU TALIB AND KHADIJA

Those of his neighbours who ill treated the apostle in his house were Abu Lahab, al-Hakam b. Abu'l-As..., `Uqba b. Abu Mu`ayt, `Adiy b. Hamra' al-Thaqaft, and Ibnu'i-Asda' al-Hudhali. Not one of them became a Muslim except al-Hakam. I have been told that one of them used to throw a sheep's uterus at him while he was praying; and one of

them used to throw it into his cooking-post when it had been placed ready for him. Thus the apostle was forced to retire to a wall when he prayed. `Umar b. `Abdullah b. `Urwa b. Zubayr told me on the authority of his father that when they threw this objectionable thing at him the apostle took it out on a stick, and standing at the door of his house, he would say, `O Banu `Abdu Manaf, what sort of protection is this?' Then he would throw it into the street.

Khadija and Abu Talib died in the same year, and with Khadija's death troubles followed fast on each other's heels, for she had been a faithful support to him in Islam, and he used to tell her of his troubles. With the death of Abu Talib he lost a strength and stay in his personal life and a defence and protection against his tribe. Abu talib died some three years before he migrated to Medina, and it was then that Quraysh began to treat him in an offensive way which they would not have dared to follow in his uncle's lifetime. A young lout actually threw dust on his head.

Hisham on the authority of his father `Urwa told me that when this happened the apostle went into his house with the dust still on his head and one of his daughters got up to wash it away , weeping as she did so. `Done't weep, my little girl,' he said, `for Allah will protect your father.' Meanwhile he was saying, `Quraysh never treated me thus while Abu Talib was alive.'

When Abu Talib fell ill and Quraysh learned of his grave condition they reminded one anothr that now that Hamza and `Umar had accepted Islam and Muhammad's reputation was known among all the Quraysh clans, they had better go to Abu Talib and come to some compromise lest they be robbed of their authority altogether.

Al-`Abbas b. `Abdullah b. Ma`bad b. `Abbas from one of his family from Ibn `Abbas told me that `Utba and Shayba, sons of Rabi`a, and Abu Jahl and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abu Sufyan with sundry other notables went to Abu Talib and said: `You know your rank with us and now that you are at the point of death we are deeply concerned on your account. You know the trouble that exists between us and your nephew, so call him and let us make an agreement that he will leave us alone and we will leave him alone; let him have his religion and we will have ours.' When he came Abu Talib said, `Nephew, these notables have come to you hat they may give you something and to take something from you.' `Yes, `he answered, `you may give me one word by which you can rule the Arabs and subject the Persians to you.' `Yea,' said Abu Jah1, `and ten words.' He said: `You must say There is no Allah but Allah and you must repudiate what you worship beside him.' They clapped their hands and said, `Do you want to make all the gods into one God, Muhammad? That would be an extraordinary thing.' Then they said one to another, `This fellow is not going to give you anything you want, so go and continue with the religion of your fathers until Allah judge between us.' So saying they departed.

Abu Talib said, `Nephew, I don't think that you asked them anything extraordinary.' On hearing this the apostle had hopes that he would accept Islam, and he said at once, `You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle's eagerness he replied, `Were it not that I fear that you and your father's sons would be abused after ;my death and that Quraysh would think that I had

only said it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure.' As his death was near, al-`Abbas looked at him as he was moving his lips and put his ear close to him and said, `Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, `I did not hear it.'

Allah revealed concerning the people who came to him with their proposals: `Sad. By the renowned Qiran, Nay, those who disbelieve are in pride and schism' as fas the words `Does he ;make the gods one God. This is an extraordinary thing. Their chiefs went off saying: Go and remain true to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in the last religion,'{Sura 38, i-6} (meaning Christians because they say) `Verily Allah is the third of three.' (Sura 5.77.) `This is nothing but an invention.'(Sura 38. 6.) `Then Abu Talib died.

90 - THE APOSTLE GOES TO THAQIF TO SEEK HELP

In consequence of the growing hostility of Quraysh after Abu Talib's death the apostle went to Ta'if to seek help from Thaqif and their defence against his tribe. Also he hoped that they would receive the message which Allah had given him. He went alone.

Yazid b. Ziyad told me from Muhammad b. Ka`b al-Qurazi: `When the apostle arrived at al-Ta'if he made for a number of Thaqif who were at that time leaders and chiefs, namely three brothers: `Abu Yalayl, Mas'ud, and Habib, sons of `Amr b. `Uqda b. Ghiyara b. `Auf b. Thaqif. One of them had Quarays wife of the B. Jumah. This apostle sat with them and invited them to accept Islam and asked them to help him against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would tear upthe covering (For this idiom see Tab. Gloss., s.v. marat.) The other said, "COuld not Allah have found someone better than you to send?' The third Allah 'By God, don't let ;me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from Allah as you say you are, you are far too important for ;me to reply to, and if you are lying against Allah it is not right that I should speak to you!' So the apostle got up went, despairing of getting any good out of Thaqif. I have been told that he said to them, 'Seeing that you have acted as you have, keep the matter secret,' for he was loath that his people shouldhear about it, so that they would be still further emboldened against him(225). But they did not do so and stirred up their louts and slaves to insult him and cry after him until a crowd acame together, and acompelled him to take refuge in an orchard belonging to `Utba b. Rabi'a a his brother Shayba who were in it at the time. The louts who had followed him went back, and he ;made for the shade of vine and sat there while the two men watched him, observing what he had to endure from the local louts. I was told that the apostle had met the woman from the B. Jumah and said to her, 'What has befallen us from your husband's people?' 5.77.)

`When the apostle reached safety he said, so I am told, "O God, to Thee I complain of my weakness, little resource, and lowliness before men. O Most Merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou confide me? To one afar who will misuse me? Or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given power over me?. If Thou art not angry with me I care not. Thy favour is more wide for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which the darkness is illumined, and the things of this world

and the next are rightly ordered, lest They anger descend upon me or Thy wrath light upon me. It is for THee to be satisfied until THou art well pleased. There is no power and no might save in Thee.'

`When `Utba and Shayba saw what happened they were moved with compassion and called a young Christian slave of theirs called `Addas and told him to take a bunch of grapes on a platter and give them to him to eat. `Addas did so, and when the apostle put his hand in the platter he said "In the name of GOd' befor eeating. `Addas looked closely into his face and said, "By God, this is not the way the people of this country speak." The apostle then asked "Then from what country do you come, O `Addas? and what is your religion?' He replied that he was a Christian and came from Nineveh. 'From the twon of the righteous man Jonah son of Mattal," said the apostle. "But how did you know about him?' asked `Addas? "He is my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet," answered the apostle. `Addas bent over him and kissed his head, his hands, and his feet.

`The two brothers were looking on and one said to the other, "He's already corrupted you slave!" And when `Addas came back they said to him: "You rascal, why were you kissing that man's head, hands, and feet?" He answered that he was the finest man in the country who had told him things that only prophet could know. They replied, "You rascal, don't let him seduce you from you religion, for it is better than his."

`Then the apostle returned from Ta'if when he despaired of getting anything out of Thaqif. When he reached Nakhla (There are two Nakhlas, northern and southern. They are wadis about a day's journey from Mecca.) he rose to pray in the middle of the night , and a number of jinn whom Allah has mentioned passed by. They were - so I am told - seven jinn from Nasibin. They listened to him and when he had finished his prayer they turned back to their people to warn them having believed and responded to what they had heard. Allah has mentioned them in the words "And when We inclined to thee certain of the jinn who were listening to the Quran" as far as "and He will give you protection from a painful punishement". (Sure 46. 28-32) And again, "Say: It has been revealed unto me that a number of the jinn listened"'(Sura 72.1.)

91 - THE APOSTLE OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE TRIBES

When the apostle returned to Mecca his people opposed him more bitterly than ever, apart from the few lower-class people who believed in him. T.1203, 3 (T. One of them said that when the apostle left al-Ta'if making for Mecca a Meccan passed and he asked him if he would take a message for him and whe he said that he would told him to go to al- Akhnas b. Shariq and say, `Muhammad says: Will you give me protection so that I may convey the message of my Lord?' When the man delivered his message al-Akhnas replied that an ally could not give protection against a member of home tribe. When he told the apostle of this he asked him if he would go back and ask Suhayl b. `Amr for his protection in the same words. Suhayl sent word that the B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy do not give protection against B. Ka'b. He then asked the ;man if he would go back and make the same application to al-Mut'im b. `Adiy. The latter said, `Yes, let him enter,' and the man came back and told the aposltle. In the morning al-Mut'im having girt on his weapons, he

and his sons and his nephews went into the mosque. When Abu Jahl saw him he asked, `Are you giving protection or following him?, 'Giving protectiion of course,' he said. 'We give protection to him whom you protect,' he said. So the prophet came into Mecca and dwelt there. One day he went into the sacred mosque when the polytheists were at the Ka'ba, and when Abu Jahl saw him he said, `This is your projphet, O B. `Abdu Manaf.' `Utba b. Rabi'a replied: `And why should you take it amiss if we have a prophet or king?, The prophet was told of this, or he may have heard it, and he came to them and said, 'O `Utba, you were not angry on God's behalf or his apostle's behalf, but on your own account. As for you, O Abu Jahl, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will laugh little and weep much; and as for you, O Leaders of Quraysh, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will experience what you most abhor and that perforce!') {Cf. I.H. on p.251 of W.}

The apostle offered himself to the tribes of Arabs at the fairs whenever 282 opportunity came, summoning them to Allah and telling them that he was a prophet who had been sent. He used to ask them to believe in him and protect him until GOd should make clear to them the message with which he had charged his prophet.

One of our friends whom I hold above suspicion told me from Zayd b. Aslam from Rabi'a b. Ibad al-Dili or from one whom Abu al-Zinad had told (226) and Husayn b. `Abdullah b. `Ubaydullah b. `Abbas told me: `I heard my father telling Rabi'a b. `Abbad that when he was a youngster with his father in Mina when the apostle used to stop by the Arab encampments and tell them that he was the apostle of Allah who ordered them to worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the rival gods which they worshipped, and believe in His apostle and protect him until Allah made plain His purpose in sending him, there followed him an artful spruce fellow with two locks of hair, wearing an Aden cloak. When the apostle finished his appeal he used to say, "This fellow wishes only to get you to strip off al-Lat and al-`Uzza from your necks and your allies the jinn of B. Malik b. Uqaysh for the misleading innovation he has brought. Don't obey him and take no notice of him." I asked my father who the ;man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he answered that it was his uncle `Abdul'l-`Uzza b. `Abdul'l-Muttalib known as Abu Lahab (227).'

Ibn Shihabal-Zuhri told me that he went to tents of Kinda where there was a shaykh called Mulayh. He invited them to come to Allah and offered himself to them, but they declined.

Muhammad b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Abdullah b.Husayn told me that he went to the tents of kalb to a clan called b.Abdullah with the same message, adding, 'O Banu `Abdullah, Allah has given your father a noble name., But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from `Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told me that the apostle went to the B. Hanifa where he met with the worst reception of all.

Al-Zuhri told me that he went to the B. `Amir b. Sa'sa'a and one of them called Bayhara b. Firas (228) said: 'By God, if I could take this man from Quraysh I could eat up the Arabs with him.' Then he said, 'If we actually give allegiance (Some MSS, and T. 1202 have 'if we follow you'.)to you and Allah gives you victory over your opponents,

shall we have authority after you?, He replied, `Authority is a matter which GOd places where he Pleases.' He answered: 'I suppose you want us to protect you from the Arabs with ;our breasts and then if Allah gives and victory (T. 'If you win'.) someone else will reap the benefit! Thank you, No!'

Afterwards the B. `Amir went back to an old shaykh of theirs who was unable to attend the fairs. Their custom was to give him all the news on their return. This year when he asked for the news they told him that a man from Quraysh - one of the B. `Abdu'l-Muttalib to be precise - pretended that he was a prophet and invited them to protect him, to stand in with him, and to take him back to their country. The old man put his hands upon his head and said, `O Banu `Amir, cound it have been avoided? Can the past ever be regained? No Isma ili has ever claimed prophethood falsely. It was the truth. WHere was you common sense?'

Whenever men came together at the fairs or the apostle heard of anyone of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. `Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari - more precisely al-Zafari - on the authority of some of his shaykhs told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Samit, tribesmen used to call him al-Kamil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honour, and his lineage. He it was who said:

There's many a man you call friend you'b be shocked
If you knew the lies he tells against you in secret.
While he's with you his words are like honey;
Behind your back a sword aimed at the base of the neck.
What you see of him pleases you, but underneath
He's a deceitful backbiter cutting through to the marrow.
His eyes will show you what he's concealing,
Rancour and hatred are in his evil look.
Strengthen ;me with good deeds: long have you weakend me. (Lit. 'feather me ... cut me'. The figure is that of an arrow which is feathered to increase its flight, and whittled into shape for the same reason. Feathering can do no harm, but whittling amy cause the arrow to break: necessary it is, but it must not be overdone.)

The best freinds strengthen without weakening.

He once had a dispute with a man of the B. Sulaym - one of the B. Zi'b b. Malik - over a hundred camels, and they appointed an Arab woman diviner arbitrator and she gave judgement in his favour, and he and the Sulami went away alone. When they they reached the parting of the ways Suwayd asked for his property. The man promised to send it, but Suwayd wanted to know who would guarantee that the animals would be handed over. As he could offer none but himself, SUwayd refused toleave him until he got his due. So they came to blows and Suwayd knocked him down, bound him closely and took him away to the country of the B. `Amr; and there he had to stay until his tribesmen paid what was owing. It was in reference to that, Suwayd composed these lines:

Don't think, Ibn Zi'b son of Malik, that I
Am like the man you deceitfully slew in secret.
When I had been thrown I manfully became your match-
Thus the resolute man can change his position-
I locked him under my left arm
And his cheek remained in the dirt.

When he heard about him the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam. He said, `Perhaps you've got something like that which I have.' `And what is that?' asked the apostle. "The roll of Luqman,' maeaning the wisdom of Luqman, he answered. `Hand it to me,' said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, 'This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Quran which GOd has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light,' And the apostle recited the Quran to him and invited him to Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, 'This is a fine saying.' Then he went off and rejoined his poeple in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, 'In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed'; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Bu'ath. (THe battle between Aus and Khazraj;v.i.

92 - IYAS ACCEPTS ISLAM

Al-Husayn b. `Abdul'l-Rahman b. `Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh on the authority of Mahmud b. Labid told me that when Abdu'l-Haysar Anas b. Rafi' came to Mecca with members of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal including Iyas b. Mu'adh seeking an alliance with Quraysh against their sister tribe the Khazraj, the apostle heard about them. He came and sat with them and asked them if they would like to get something more profitable than their present errand. When they asked him what that could be he told them that he was God's apostle sent to humanity to call on them to serve Allah and not associate any other with Him; that He had revealed a book to him; then he told them about Islam and read to them some of the Quran. Iyes, who was a young man, said, `By God, people, this is something better than you came for!' Thereupon Abu'l-Haysar took a handful of dirt from the valley and threw it in his face, saying, 'Shut up! We didn't come here for this.' SO Iyas became silent. THe apostle left them and they went to Medina and the battle of Bu'ath between Aus and Khazraj took place.

Within a little while Iyas died. Mahmud said: `Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising and glorifying GOd until he died. THey had no doubt that he died a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he geard the apostle speak.

93 - THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

When Allah wished to display his religion openly and to glorify His prophet and to fulful His promise to him, the time came when he met a number of the Helpers at one of the fairs; and while he was offering himself to the Arab tribes as was his wont he met at al-`Aqaba a number of the Khazraj whom Allah intended to benefit.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and ejxpounded to them Islam and recited the Quran to them. Now GOd had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the Jews used to say them, `A prophet will be sent soon. His day is at hand. We shall follow him and kill you by his aid as `Ad and Iram perished.' So when they heard the apostle's message they said one to another: 'This is the very prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Don't let them get to him before us!' THereupon they accepted his teaching and became Muslims, saying, 'We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancour as they. Perhaps Allah will unite them through you. SO let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours; and if Allah unites them in it, then no man will be kightier than you.' Thus saying they returned to Medina as believers.

There were six of these men from the Khazraj so I have been told. From B. al-Najjar, i.e. Taym Allah of the clan of B. Malik...: As'ad b. Zurara b. `Udas b. `Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar known as ABu Umama; and 'Aauf b. al- Harith b. Rifa'a b. Sawad b. Malik...known as Ibn `Afra'(229).

From B. Zurayq b. `Amir b. Zurayq b. `Abdu Haritha b. Ghadb b. Jusham...: Rafi'b al-`Ajlan b. 'Amr b. `Amir b. Zurayq (230).

From B. Salima b. Sa'd b. `Alib, Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham... of the clan of B. Sawad b. Ka'b b. Salima: Qutba b. `Amir b. Hadida b. `Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad (213). Tazid b. Jusham...

From B. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: `Uqba b. `Amir b. Nabi b. Zayd b. Haram.

From `Ubayd b. `Adiy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b.b Salama: Jabir b. `Abdullah b. Ri'ab b. al-Nu'man b. Sinan b. `Ubayd.

When they came to Medina they told their people about the apostle and invited them to accept Islam until it became so well known among them that there was no home belonging to the Helpers but Islam and the apostle had been mentioned therein.

94 - THE FIRST PLEDGE AT AL-`AQABA AND THE MISSION OF MUS'AB

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at al- `Aqaba - this was the first `Aqaba - where they gave the apostle the `pledge of women'.(i.e. no fighting was involved. Cf. Sura 60. 12.) This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.

These men were: From B. al-Najjar: as'ad b. Zurara; `Auf b. al-Harith and Mu'adh his brother, both sons of `Afra'. From B. Zurayq b. `Amit Rafi' B. Malik and Dhakwan b. `Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. `Amir b. Zurayq (232).

From B. `Auf of the clan of B. Ghanm b. `Auf b. `Amrb. `Auf b. `Auf who were the Qawaqil: `Ubada b. al-Samit b. Asram b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm; and Abu 'Abdul'l-Rahman who was Yazid b. Tha `laba b. Khazma b. Asram b. `Amr b. `Ammara of B. Ghusayna of Baliy, an ally of theirs (233).

From B. Salim b. `Auf b. `Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-`Ajlan b Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: al-`Abbas b. `Ubada b. Nadala b. Malik b. al-`Ajlan.

From B. Salima: `Uqba b. `Amir.

From B. Sawad: Quatba b. `Amir b. Hadida. The Aus were represented by Abdu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan whose name was Malik of the clan of B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b.al Khazraj b. `Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus (234).

From B. `Amr b. `Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus: `Uwaym b. Saida.

Yazid b. Abdu Habib from Abu Marthad b. `Abdullah al-Yazani from `Abdul'l-Rahman b. `Usayla al-Sannaji from `Ubada b. al-Samit told me: `I was present at the first `Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God; we should not steal; we should not commit fornication; nor kill our offspring; we shoult not slander our neighbours; we should not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; if we committed any of those sins it was for Allah to punish or forgive as He pleased. (Cf. SUra 60. 12 where the wording is very similar.)

Al-Zuhri from `A'idhullah b. `Abdullah al-Khaulani ABu Idris said that `Ubada b. al-Samit told him that `We gave allegiance to the apostle that we would associate nothing with God, not steal, not commit fornication, not kill our offspring, not slander our neighbour, not disobey him what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; and if we committed any of those sins we should be punished in this world and this would serve as expiation; if the sin was concealed until the Day of Resurrection, then it would be for Allah to decide whether to punish or to forgive.'

When these men left, the apostle sent with them Mus'ab b. Umayr b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf... and instructed him to read the Quran to them 290 and to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about religion. In Medina Mus'ab was called 'THe Reader'; he lodged with As'ad b. Zurafa.

`Asim b. `Umar told me that he used to lead the prayers because Aus and Khazraj could not bear to see one of their rivals take the lead.

95 - THE INSTITUTION OF FRIDAY PRAYERS IN MEDINA

Muhammad b. Abu Umama b. Sahl b. Hunayf from his father from Abdu'l-Rahman b. Ka'b b. Malik told me that the latter said: `I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abu Umama As'ad b. Zurara. This went on for some time: whenever he heard the adhan he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them together in the low ground of al-Nabit (Hazamu'l-Nabit according to al-Suhayli is a mountain one post from Medina. Yaqut denies this, because Hazam means 'low ground'. He prefers the reading 'in the low ground of the Banu Nabit', &c.) in the quarter of the B. Bayada called Naqi`u'l-Khadimat. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.'

`Ubaydallah b. al-Mughira b. Mu'ayqib and `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. `Amr b. Hazm told me that As'ad b. Zurara went out with Mus'ab b. `Umayr to the areas of B. `Abdul'l-Ashhal and Sa'd b.al-Nu'man b.Imsu'ul Qays b.Zayd b.Abdu'l Ashhal was the son of As'ad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardens of B. Zafar (235) by a well called Maraq and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usayd b. Hudayr were at that time leaders of their clain. the B. `Abdul`l-Ashhal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about him Sa'd said to Usayd: `Go to these fellows who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak comrades, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that As'ab b. ZUrara is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my aunt's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them; and when as'ad saw him he said to Mus'ab, `This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to Allah with him.' Mus'ab said, 'If he will sit down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and asking what they meant by coming to deceive their weaker comrades. `Leave us if you value you lives.' Mus'ab said, `Won't you sit down and listen. If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Quran. Afterwards they said-according to what has been reported of them-`By God, before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peaceful glow.' He said, `What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, `There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sa'd b. Mu'adh.' Taking his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in conclave. 292 Wgeb Sa'd saw him coming he said, `By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, `I have spoken to the two men and I find no harm in them. I forbade them to go on and they said to me, We will do what you like; and I was told that the B. Haritha had gone out against As'ad to ;kill him because they knew that he was the son of your aunt so as to make you appear a treacherous protector of your guests.'

Sa'd enraged got up at once, alarmed at what had been said about the B. Haritha. He took the lance from his hand, saying, `By God, I see that you have been utterly ineffective.' He went out to them and when he saw them sitting comfortably he knew that Usayd Had intended that he should listen to them. He stood over them, looking furious. To As'ad he said, `Were it not for the relationship between us you would no: have treated me thus. WOuld you behave in our houses in a way we detest?' (Now As'ad had said to Mus'ab, `The leader whom his people follow has come to you. If he follows you, no two of them happened again and he went to his people's meeting-place accompanied by Usayd. When they saw him coming they said, `We swear by Allah Sa'd has returned with a different expression.' And when he stopped by them he asked them how they knew what had happened to him. They replied, `(You are) our chief, the most active in our interests, the best in judgement and the most fortunate in leadership.' He said, `I will not speak to a man or woman among you until you believe in Allah and His apostle.' As a result every man and woman among the 293 B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal joined Islam.

As'ad and Mus'ab returned to As'ad's house and stayed there calling men to Islam until everyhouse of the Ansar had men and women who were Muslims except those of B. Umayya b. Zay, and Khatma and Wa'il and Waqif; the latter were Aus Allah and of Aus b. Haritha. THe reason was that Abu Qays b. al-Aslat whose name was Sayfi was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Mediana and Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq were over. He said concerning what he thought of Islam and how men differed about his state:

Lord of manking, serious things have happened.
The difficult and the simple are involved.
Lord of manking, if we have erred
Guide us to the good path.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews
And the religion of Jews is not convenient.
Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians
Along with the monks on Mount Jalil.(i.e. Galilee.)
But when we were created we were created
Hanifs; our religion is from all generations.
We bring the sacrificial camels walkingin fetters Covered with cloths but their shoulders bare(236).

96 - THE SECOND PLEDGE AT AL-`AQABA

Then Mus'ab returned to Mecca and the Muslim Ansar came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met the apostle at al-`Aqaba in the middle of the days of Tashriq, {The days of the Tashriq are the three days following the day of sacrifice, i.e. 11th 12th, and 13ath of Dhu'l-Hijja. Various explanations are given by the lexicographers: (a) because the victims were not sacrificed until the sun rose; (b) because the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and left to dry in the sun on those days; and (c) because in pagan times they used to say at that time Ashriq Thabir kayma

nughir `Shor the sun, O Thabir, that we may pass on quickly'. See further E.I. and literature cited there.} when Allah intended to honour them and to help HIs apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humiliate heathenism and its devotees.

Ma'bad b. Ka'b b. Malik Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn, brotherof the B. Salima, told me that his brother `Abdullah b. Ka'b who was one of the most learned of the Ansar told him that his father Ka'b who was one of those who had been preset at al-`Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informed him saying: : `We went out with the polytheist pilgrims of our poeple having prayed and learned the customs of the pilgrimage. With us was al-Bara b. Ma'rur our chief and senior. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Bara' said "I have come to a conclusion and I don't know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this buildings" (meaning the Ka'ba), 'and that I shall pray towards it." We replied that so far we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria (i.e. Jerusalem.) and we did not wish to act differently. He said, "I am going to pray towards the Ka'ba." We said "But we will not." WHen the time for prayer came we prayer towards Syria and he prayed towards the Ka'ba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on our journey. FOr I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition." SO we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle; he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. Then do you know his uncle, al- Abbas b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib? We said that we did because he was always coming to us a merchant. He said, "When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting beside al-`Abbas." So we went into the mosque and there was al-`Abbas setting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. The apostle asked al-`Abbas if he knew us, and he said that he did and named us. I shall never forget the apostle's words when Ka'b's name was mentioned, "The poet?" Al-Bara' said, "O prophet of God, I came on this journey Allah having guided me to Islam and I felt that I could not turn my back on this building, so I prayed towards it; but when my companions opposed me I felt some misgivings. What is your opinion, O apostle of GOd?" He replied, "You would have had a qibla if youhad kept to it," so al-Bara returned to the apostle's qibla and prayed with us to towards Syria. (The apostle's reply to al-Bara' could be taken in either sense, and considerable doubt is reflected in commentaries and traditions on the question involved.) But his people assert that he prayed towards the Ka'ba until the day of his death; but this was not so. We know more about that than they(237).'" Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me that his brother `Abdullah told him that his father Ka'b b. Malik said: `Then we went to the hajj and agreed to meet the apostle at al-`Aqaba in the middle of the days of the tashriq. WHen we had completed the hajj and the night came in which we had agreed to meed the apostle there was with us `Abdullah b. `Amr b. Haram Abu Jabir, one of our chiefs and nobles whom wehad taken with us. We had concealed our business from those of our people who were polytheists. We said to him. "You are one of our chiefs and nobles and we want to wean you from your present state lest you become fuel for the fire in the future," Then we invited him to accept Islam and told him about our meeting with the apostle at al-`Aaqaba. Thereupon he accepted Islam and came to al-`Aqaba with us, and became a naqib (leader). (The term has become technical.)

`We slept that night amongh our people in the caravan until when a third of the night had passed we went stealing softly like sandgrouse to our 296 appointment with the apostle as far as the gully by al-`Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women: Nusayba d. of Ka'b Umm `Umara, one of the women of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar, and Asma'd of `Amr b. `Adiy b. Nabi, one of the women of B. Salima who was known as Umm Mani. We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncel al-`Abbas who was at that time a polytheist; albeit he wanted to be present at his nephew's business and see that he had a firm guarantee. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said: "O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and AUs). You know what position MUhammadholds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He lives in honour and safety among his people, but he will turn to you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and protect him from his opponents, then assume the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now. For he is safe where he is." We replied, "We have heard what you say. You speak, O apostle, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish."

"The apostle spoke and recited the Quaran and invited men to Allah and commended Islam and then said: "I invite your alleginace on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and childredn." Al-Bara' took his hand and said "By Him Who sent you with the truth we will protect you as we protect our women. We give our allegiance and we are men of war possessing arms which have been passed on from father to son." While al-Bara ' was speaking Abdu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan interrupted him and said, "O apostle, we have ties with other men (he meant the Jews) and if we sever them perhaps when we have done that and GOd will have given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us?" The 297 apostle smiles and said: "Nay, blood is blood and blood not to be paid for blood not to be paid for. (i.e. He would treat blood revenge and its obligation as common toboth parties. See I.H.'s note.) I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you (238)."

Ka'b continued: `The apostle said, "Bring out to me tweleve leaders that they may take charge of their people's affiars." They produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus.'

97 - THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE LEADERS AND THE REST OF THE STORY OF AL-`AQABA

According to what Ziyad b. `Abdullah al-Bakka'i told us from Muhammad b. Ishapq al-Muttalibi (they were):

From al-Khazraj: Abu Umama As'ad b. ZUrara...b. al-Najjar who was Taym Allah b. Tha'laba b. `Amr b. al-Khazraj; Sa'd b. al-Rabi'b. `AMr b. Adu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazrraj;b.Rawaha b.Thalaba of the same line ;Rafi b.Malik' b.al-`Ajaln b. `Amr ...; al-Bara' b. Ma'rur b. Sakhr b. Khansa'b. SInan b. `Ubayd b. `Adiy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b.

Salama b. Sa'd b.`Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj; `Abdullah b.`Amr b. Haram b. Tha'laba b. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama...; `Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram...(239). Sa'd b. `Ubada b. Dulaym b. Haritha b. ABu Hazima b. Tha'laba b. Tarif b. al-Khazraj b. Sa'ida b. Ka'b b.al-Khazraj al-Mundhir b. `Amr b. Khunays b. Haritha b. Laudhan b. `Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. al-Khazraj of the same line(240).

From al-Aus: Usayd b. Hudayr b. `Atik b. Rafi` b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd b. `Abdul-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b.`Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus; Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Harith b. Ka'b b. al-Nahhat b. Ka'b b. Haritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus; Rifa'a b. `Abdul-Mundhir b. Zubayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik b. `Auf b. `Amr b. `Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus(241).

`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle said to the Leaders: 'You are the sureties for your people just as the disciples of Jesus, Son of Mary, were responsible to him, while I am responsible for ;my people, i.e. the Muslims.' They agreed.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada told me that when the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-`Abbas b. `Ubada b. Nadla al-Ansari, brother of B. Salim b. `Auf, said, 'O men of Khazraj, do you realize to what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry. (Lit. red and balck men'.) If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so later); but if you think that you will be loyal to your undertaking if you lose your property and your nobles are killed, then take him, for by Allah it will profit you in this world and the next.' They said that they would accept the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for their loyalty, and the apostle promised them paradise. THey said, 'Stretch forth your hand,' and when he did so they pledged their word. `Asim added that al-Abbas said that only to bind the obligation more securely on them. `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr said that he said it merely to keep the people back that night, hoping that `Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul would come and so give more weight to his people's support. But Allah knows best which is right (242).

The B. al-Najjar allege that As'ad b. Zurara was the first to strike his hand in fealty; the B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal say that he was not, for Abdu'l-Haytham was the first. Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me in his tradition from his brother `Abdullah b. Ka'b from his father Ka'b b. Malik that al-Bara' was the first and the people followed him. When we had all pledged ourselves Satan shouted from the top of al-`Aqaba in the most penetrating voice I have ever heard, 'O people of the stationsof Mina, do you want this reprobate (Mudhammam is probably an offensive counterpart to the name Muhammad.) and the apostates (Subat, the plural of Sabi', the name given to those who had given up their own religion to take another. Hardly an apostate (murtadd). who are with him? They have come together to make was on you!' The apostle said, `This is the Ib (The word is said to mean 'small and contemptible'.) of the hill. This is the son of Azyab. DO you hear, O enemy of God, I swear I will make an end of you!(243).'

The apostle then told them to disperse and go back to their caravan, and al-`Abbas b. `Ubada said, `By God, if you wish it well will fall on the people of Mina tomorrow with our swords.' He replied, `We have not been commanded to do that; but go back to your caravan.' So we went back to our beds and slept until the morrow.

With the morning the leaders of Quaraysh came to our encampment saying that they had heard that we had come to invite Muhammad to leave them and had pledged ourselves to support him in war against them, and that there was no Arab tribe that they would fight more reluctantly than us. THereupon the polytheists of our tribe swore that nothing of the kind had happened and they knew nothing of it. And here they were speaking that 301 truth, for they were in ignorance of what had happened. We looked at one another. Then the people got up, among them al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira al-Mukhzumi who was wearing a pair of new sandals. I spoke a word to him as though I wanted to associate the people with what they had said, `O Abu Jabir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can't you get hold of a pair of sandals such as this young Qurayshite has? Al-Harith heard me and took them off his feet and threw them at me saying, `By GOd you can have them!' Abu Jabir said, `Gently now, you have angered theyoung man, so give him back his sandals.' `By God, I will not,' I said; `it is a good omen and if it proves to be true I shall plunder him.'

`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that they came to `Abdullah b. Ubayy and said to him much the same as Ka'b had said and he replied, 'This is a serious matter; my people are not in the habit of deciding a question without consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.' Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Mina they investigated the report closely and found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of (our) people and overtook Sa'd b. `Ubada in Adhakhir and also al-Mundhir b. `Amr, brother of B. Sa'ida, both of them being `leaders'. The latter got away, but they caught Sa'd and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girth and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sa'd said, `As they held me, a number of Quraysh came up, among them a tall, white, handsome man of pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency amongthem this man would show it .But when he came up he delivered me a violent blow in the face and after that I despaired of fair treatment. As they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, "You poor devil,haven't you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?" "Yes," I said, "I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants of Jubayr b. Mut'im b. `Adiy b. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf and protect them from those who might have wronged them in my country; also al-Harith b. Harb b. Umayya b. `Abdu Manaf." and protect them from those who might have wrong them in my country;also al- Harith b.Umayya b.Abdu Shams b. Abdu Manf" "Very well, then, call out the names of these two men and say what tie there is between you," he said. This I did and that man went to them and found them in the mosque beside the Ka'ba and told them of me and that I was calling for them and mentioning my claim on them. When they heard who I was they anknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me.' So Sa'd went off. The name of the man who hit him was Suhayl b. `Amr brother of B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy (244)

The first poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by DIrar b. al-Khattab b. MIrdas, brother of B. Muharib b. FIhr:

I overtook Sa'd and took him by force.
It would have been betterif I had caught Mundhir.
If I had god him his blood would not have to bepaid for.
He deserves to be humilated and left unavenged (244a).

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:

You were not equal to Sa'd and the man Mundhir
When the poeple's camels were thin.
But for Abu Wahb (my) verses would have passed over
The top of-Baraqa (Yaqut says that this is a placein the desert. He does not say where.) swooping down swiftly(The interpretation of this difficult line depends on the identity of Abu Wahb, The man)
Do you boast of wearing cotton
When the Nabateans wear dyed
(of this name mentioned by I.I. (p.123) was the father of the porphet's maternal uncle; if it is he that is referred to, clearly the meaning must be that the presence of this man in Mecca prevented Hassan from launching his invective against Quaraysh, and the verb mush mean swooping or rushing. However, al-Barquqi in his commentary on the Diwan tentatively suggests that it was Abu Wahb who brought Dirar's lines to Medina: had he not done so they would have fallen impotently on the way. This interpretation requires us to understand hawa in the senseof falling, and hussara as 'wearued' instead of 'stipped for action' and so capable of rapid movement. The last line in I.I.'s text follows this line and this rearrangement of the lines would naturally suggest that the qasa'id came from the same source; but as I.I. reported the satire such a conclusion is unneccessary. See further Dr.Arafa's thesis on the poetry of Hassan. or 'bleached'.) wrappers?
Be not like a sleeper who dreams that
He is in a town of Caesaror Chosroes.
Don't be like a bereaved mother who
Would not have lost her child had she been wise;
Nor like the sheep which with her forelegs
Digs the grave she does not desire;
NOr like the barking dog that sticks out his neck
Not fearing the arrow of the unseen archer.
He who directs peotry's shafts at us
Is like one who sends dates to Khaybar. (i.e. Sends coals to Newcastle. This line follows line 2 in the Diwan.)

98 - THE IDOL OF `AMR IBNU'L-JAMUH

When they came to Medina they openly professed Islam there. Now some of the Shaykhs still kept to their old idolatry, among whom was `Amr b. al-Jamuh b. Yazid b. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama whose son, Mu'adh, had been present at al-`Aqaba and had done homage to the apostle there. `Amr was one of the tribal nobles and

leaders and had set up in his house a wooden idol called Manat(Suhayli explains that the idol was so called because blood was shet (mumiyat) by it as an offering and that is why idols are said to be bloody. But the explanation of the name is to be found outside the Arabic language in the goddess of Fate. See S.H. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, 1931, pp.19 ff.) as the nobles used to be, making it a god to reverence and keeping it clean. When the young men of the B. Salama Mu'adh b. Jabal and his own son Mu'adh adopted Islam with the other men who had been at al-`Aqaba they used to creep in at night to this idolof `Amrs amd carry it away and throw it on its face into a cesspit. When the morning came `Amr cried, Woe to you! Who has been at our gods this night?, Then he went in search of the idol and when he foundit he washed it and cleaned it and perfumed it saying, `By God, if I knew who had done this I would treat him shamefully!' shamefully!' When night came andhe was fast asleep they did the same again and he restored the idol in the morning. This happened several times until one day he took the idol from the place where they had thrown it, purified it as before, and fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don't know who has done this; but if you are any good at all defend yourself since you have this sword.' At nigh when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from its neck and hung a dead dog to it by a cord and then threw it into a cesspit. IN the morning `Amr came and could not find it where it normally was; ultimately he found it face downwards in that pit tied to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of Allah and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledgeof Allah in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked Allah for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived hitherto;

By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
Tied to a dead dog in a cesspit.
Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
We have found you out and left our wicked folly.
Praise be to Allah most High, the Gracious,
The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
Who has delivered me in time to save me
From being kept in the darkness of the grave.

99 - CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND `AQABA

When Allah gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second `Aqaba contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of fealty. Now they bount themselves to war against all and sundry for Allah and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service thus the rewardof paradise.

`Ubada b. al-Walid b.Ubada b.al-Samit from his father from his grandfather `Ubada b. al-Samit who was one of the Leaders told me, `We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in weal and woe, in ease and hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not wrong anyone; that we would speak the truth at all times; and that in

GOd's service we would fear the censureof none.' `Ubada was one fo the twelve who gave his word at the first `Aqaba.

100 - THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND `AQABA

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj.(the genealogies already given have been omitted together with repetitions.)

Of Aus there were:

Usayd b. Hudayr... a leader who was not at Badr, Abu'l-Haytham b. Tayyahan who was at Badr. Salma b. Salama b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. ZU'ura' b. `Abdul-Ashal who was at Badr(245). Total3.

From B. Haritha b. al-Harith... Zuhayr b. Rafi' b. `Adiy b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Haritha, and Abu Burda b. Niyar whose name wa sHani' b. Niyar b. `Amr b. `Ubayd b. Kilab b. Duhman b. Ghanm b. Dhubyan b. Humaym b. Kamil b. Dhuhl b. Hanly b. Baliy b. `Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda'a, one of their allies. He was at Badr. Nuhayr b. al-Haytham of B. Nabi b. Majda'a b. Haritha. Total 3.

Of B. `Amr b. `Auf b. Malik: sa'd b. Khaythama a `leader' who was present at Badr and was killed there as a martyr beside the apostle (246). Rifa'a b. `Abdu'l-Mundhir, aleader present at Badr. `Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'man b. Umayya b. al-Burak, the name of al-Burak being Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba b. `Amr who was present at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud commanding the archers for the apostle(247). And Ma'an-b. `Adiy b. al-Jad b. al-`Ajlan B. Haritha b. Dub;ay'a, client of theirs from Baliy present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and all the apostle's battles. He was killed in the battle of al-Yamama as a martyr in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. And 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida who was present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq. Total 5.

The total for all clans of Aus was II.

Of al-Khazraj there were:

Of B. al-Nazraj who was Taymullah b. Tha'laba b. `Amr: Abu Ayyud Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayd b. Tha'laba b. `Abd b.`Auf b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar. He was present at all the apostle's battles and died in Byzantine territory as a martyr in the time of Mu'awiya. Mu'adh b. al-Harith b. Rifa'a b. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm. Presents at all battles. He was killed at Badr as a martyr. Mu'awwidh his brother shared the same glory. It was he who killed Abu Jahl b. Hisham b. al-Mughira; he too was `Afra's son 307 (248). And `Umara b. Hazm b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. `Amr b. `Abdu `Aud b. Ghanm. He was present at all battles and died a martyr in the battle of al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. As'ad b. Zuraram, a leader. He died before Badr when the apostle's mosque was being built. Total 6.

Of B. `Amr b. Mabdhul who was `Amir b. Malik: Sahl b. `Atik b. Nu'man b. `Amr b. `Atik b. `Amr. Was at Badr. Total i.

Of B. `Amr b.`Malik b. al-Najar who are the B. Hudayla (249). Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. `Amr b. Zayd Manat b. `Adiy b. `Amr b., Malik, present at Badr; Abu Talha Zayd Mant ... present at Badr. Total 2.

Of B. Mazin b. al-Nijjar: Qays b. Abu Sa'sa'a whose name was `Amr b. Zayd b. `Auf b. Mabdhul b. `Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin. Present at Badr where tho apostle put him in command of the rearguard. `Amr b. Ghaziya b. `Amr b. Tha'laba b. Khansa' b. Mabdhul... Total 2.

The total for B. al-Nijjar was ii(250).

Of B. al-Harith b. Khazraj: Sa'd b. al-Rabi', a leader. Was at Badr and died a martyr at Uhud. Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b.Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik al-Agharr b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b. Present at Badr and killed at Uhud as a martyr. `Abdullah b. Rawaha, a leader, present at all the apostle's battles except theoccupation of Mecca and was killed at Muta as a martyr as aone of the apostle's commanders. Bashir b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba b. Khalas b. Zayd b. Malik..., the father of al-Nu'man was present at Badr. `Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. `Abdullah b. Zayd Mant b. al-Harith Present at Badr. He it was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. Khallad b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. `Amr b. Haritha b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik. Present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and was killed as a martyr in fighting b> Qurayza when a millstone was thrown from one of their castles nd crushed his skull. The apostle said -so they say-that he willhave the reward of two martyrs. `Uqba b. `Amr b. Tha'laba b. Usayra b. `Usayra b. Jadara b. `Auf who is Abu Mas'ud, the youngest of those at al-`Aqaba. DIed in the time of Mu'awiya. Was not at Badr. Total7.

Of B. Bayada b. `Amir b. Zurayq b. `Abdu Haritha: Ziyad b. Labid b. Tha'laba b. Sinan b. `Amir b. `Adiy b. Umayya b. Bayada. Present at Badr. Farwa b. `Amr b. Wadhafa b. `Ubayd b.`Ubayd b. `Amir b. Bayada. Present at Badr (251). Khalid b. Qays b. Mlik b. al-'Ajlan b. `Amrir. who was Abu Khalid. Present at Badr. Total3.

Of B. Zurayq b. `Amir b. Zurayq b. `Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj: Rafi'n. al-`Ajlan, a leader. DHakwan b. `Abdu qays b. Khalda b. Mukhallad b.`Amir. He went out ot the apostle and stayed with him in Mecca after he had migrated from Mediana; thus he got the name of Ansari Muhajiri. He was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. `Abbad b. Qays b. `Amir b. Khalda, & c. Was at Vadr. Al-Harith b. Qays b. Khalid b. Mukhallad b. `Amir, who was Abu Khalid. Present at Badr. Total4.

Of B. Salama b. Sa`d b. `Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid ... Al-Bara'b. Ma`rur b. Sakhr ... a leader who, the B. Salama allege, was the first to strike his hand on the apostle's when the conditions of the second `Aqaba were agreed to. He died before the apostle came to Medina. His son Bishr was at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and he died in Khaybar of eating with the apostle the mutton that was poisoned. He it was to whom the apostle referred when he asked B. Salama who their chief was and they replied, `Al-Judd b. Qays in spite of his meanness!' He said, `What disease is worse than meanness? The chief of B. Salama is the white curly haired Bishr b. al-Bar'b. Ma`rur.' Sinan b. Sayfi b. Sakhr b.

Khansa'b. Sinan b. `Ubayd who was at Badr and died a martyr at al-Khandaq. Al-Tufay1 b. Nu`man b. Khansa' b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. `Ubayd with the same record. Ma`qil b. al-Mundhir b. Sarh b. Khunas b. Sinan b. `Ubayd who was at Badr, together with his brother Yazid. Mas`ud b. Yazid b. Subay`b. Khansa'b. Sinan b. `Ubayd. Al-Dahhak b. Haritha b. Zayd b. Tha`laba b. `Ubayd who was present at Badr. Yazid b. Haram b. Subay`b. Khansa b. Sinan b. `Ubayd. Jubbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa'b. Sinan b.`Ubayd present at Badr (252). Al-Tufayl b. Malik b. Khansa'b. Sinan b. `Ubayd who was present at Badr. (Some authorities assert that this is the same person as the one just mentioned above.) Total 11.

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka`b b. Salama of the clan of Banu Ka'b b. Sawad: Ka'b b. Malik b. Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Ka'b Total I.

Of B. Ghanm b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka`b Salama. Salim b. `Amr b. Hadida b. `Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Qutba b. `Amir b. Hadida b. `Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Yazid his brother known as Abu'l Mundhir; was at Badr, Ka`b b. `Amr b. `Abbad b. `Amr b. Ghanm known as Abu'l-Yasar. At Badr. Sayfi b. Sawad b. `Abbad b. `Amr b. Ghanm (253). Total 5.

Of B. Nabi b. `Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: Tha`laba b. Ghanama b. `Adiy b. Nabi was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Khandaq. `Amr b. Ghanama b. `Nabi. `Abs b. `Amir b. `Adiy was at Badr. `Abdullah b. Unays an ally from Quda`a. Khalid b. `Amr b. `Adiy. Total 5.

Of B. Haram b. Ka`b. Salama: `Abdullah b. `Amr who was a leader and was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. Jabir his son. Mu`adh b. `Amr b. al-Jamuh who was at Badr. Thabit b. al-Jidh`(al-Jidh ` being Tha`laba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Haram) was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Ta'if. `Umayr b. al-Harith b. Tha`laba b. al-Harith b. Haram who was at Badr (254). Khadij b. Salama b. Aus b. `Amr b. al-Furafir an ally from Baliy. Mu`adh b. Jabal b. Amr b. Aus b. `A'idh b. Ka`b b. `Amr b. Adi (Some read Udhan. See Suhayli in loc) b. `Ali b. Asad. It is said `Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj, who lived with the B. Salama; he was present at all the battles and dies in `Amwas (i.e. the biblical Emmaus.) in the year of the Syrian plague during the caliphate of `Umar. The B. Salama claimed him for the reason that he was the brother of Sahl b. Muhammad b. al-Judd b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Khansa'b. Sinan b. `Ubayd ... b. Salama through his mother (255). Total 7.

Of B. `Auf b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Salim b. `Auf b. `Amr b. `Auf: `Ubada b. al-Samit, a leader who was at all the battles ... (256). Al-`Abbas b. `Ubada b. Nadla ..., one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, lived there with him, and was called an Ansari Muhajiri. He was killed at Uhud as a martyr. Abu `Abdu'l-Rahman Yazid b. Tha`laba b. Khazama b. Asram b. `Amr b. `Ammara, an ally from the B. Ghusayna of Baliy. `Amr b. al-Harith b. Labda b. `Amr b. Tha`laba. They were the Qawaqil. Total 4.

Of B. Salim B. Ghanm B. `Auf; known as the B. al-Hubla (257): Rifa`a b. `Amr b. Zayd b. `Amr b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm known as Abu'l-Walid. Was at

Badr (258). `Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda b. al-Ja`d b. Hilal b. al-Harith b. `Amr b. `Adiy b. Jusham b. `Auf b. Buhtha b. `Abdullah b. Ghatafan b. Sa`d b. Qays b. `Aylan, an ally, present at Badr. He had the title Ansari Muhajiri for the reason given above. Total 2,

Of the B. Sa`ida b. Ka`b: Sa`d b. `Ubada a leader. Al-Mundhir b. `Amr, a leader, present at Badr and Uhud and killed at Bi'r Ma`una commanding for the apostle. It was said of him `He hastened to death' (259). Total 2.

The total number of those present at the second `Aqaba from the Aus and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they allege p;edged their obedience also. The apostle used not to strike hands with women; he merely stated the conditions, and if they acepted them he would say, `Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

(Of these two women) Nusayba was of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar. She was d. of Ka`b b. `Amr b. `Auf b. Mabdhul b. `Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin, mother of `Umara. She and her sister went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zayd b. `Asim b. Ka`b, and her two sons were Habib and `Abdullah. Musaylima the liar, the Hanifi chief of the Yamama, got hold of Habib and began to say to him, `Do you testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, `And do you testify that I am the apostle of Goid?' he answered, `I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He tried putting the same questions to him again and again, but he culd get no different answers. Nusayba went to al-Yamama with the Muslims and took part in the war in person until Allah slew Musaylima, when she returned having suffered twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Muhammad b. Yahya b. Habban who told me this story from `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Sa`sa`a.

The other woman was of B. Salama, Umm Mani, named Asma d. `Amr b. `Adiy b. Nabi b. `Amr b. Ghanm b. Ka`b b. Salama.

101 - THE APOSTLE RECEIVED THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second `Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to all men to Allah and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling other from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medina.

When Quraysh became insolent towards Allah and rejected His gracious purpose, accused His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from `Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was: `Permission is given to those who

fight because they have been wronged. Allah is well able to help them,--those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said Allah is our Lord. Had not Allah used some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of Allah is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly god will help Him. Allah is Almighty. Those who if we make them strong in the land will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity. To Allah belongs the end of matters.' (Sura 22.40-42) The meaning is: `I have allowed them to fight only because they have been unjustly treated while their sole offence against men has been that they worship God. When they are in the ascedant they will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity, i.e. the prophet and his companions all of them.' Then Allah sent down to him: `Fight them so that there be no more seduction,' (Sura 2.198) i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion. `And the religion is God's', i.e. Until Allah alone is worshipped.

When Allah had given permission to fight and this clan of the Ansar had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to link up with their brethren the Ansar. `Allah will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

102 - THOSE WHO MIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Makhzum, Abu Salama b. `Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum whose forename was `Abdullah. He went to Medina a year before the p;edge at al- `Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh ill-treated him and he had heard that some of the Ansar had accepted Islam.

My father Ishaq b. Yasr on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said: When Abu Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughira b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum saw him they got up and said: `So far as you are concerned you can do what you like; but what about your wife? Do you suppose that we shall let you take her away?' So they snatched the camel's rope from his hand and took me from him. Abu Salama's family, the B. Abdu`l-Asad, were angry at this and said: `We will not leave our son with her seeing you have torn her from our tribesman.' So they dragged at my little boy Salama between them until They dislocated his arm, and the B. al-Asad took him away, while the B. al-Mughira kept me with them, and my husband Abu Salama went to Medina. Thus I was separated from my husband and my son. I used to go out every morning and sit in the valley weeping continuously until a year or so had passed when one of my cousins of B. al-Mughira passed and saw my plight and took pity on me. He said to his tribesment, `Why don't you let this poor woman go? You have separated husband, wife, and child.' So they said to me, `You can

join your husband if you like'; and then the B. `Abdu'l-Asad restored my son to me. So I saddled my camel and took my son and carried him in my arms. Then I set forth making for my husband in Medina. Not a soul was with me. I thought that I could get food from anyone I met on the road until I reached my husband. When I was in Tan`im (This place is said to be two parasans, i.e. about six miles, from Mecca.) I met `Uthman b. Talha b. Abu Talha, brother of B. `Abdu'l-Dar, who asked me where I was going and if I was all alone. I told him that except for Allah and my little boy I was alone. He said that I ought not to be left helpless like that and he took hold of the camel's halter and went along with me. Never have I met an Arab more noble than he. When we halted he would make the camel kneel for me and then withdraw; when we reached a stopping-place he would lead my carmel away unload it, and tie it to a tree. Then he would go from me and lie down under a tree. When evening came he would bring the camel and saddle it, then go behind me and tell me to rode; and when I was firmly established in the saddle he would come and take the halter and lead it until he brought me to a halt. This he did all the way to Medina. When he saw a village of B. `Amr b. `Auf in Quba' he said: `Your husband is in this village (Abu Salama was actually there), so enter it with the blessing of God.' Then he went off on his way back to Mecca.

She used to say, By God, I do not know a family in Islam which suffered what the family of Abu Salama did. (The family was all but destroyed in the wars that followed; Uthman himself was killed at the beginning of `Umar's reign.) Nor have I ever seen a nobler man than `Uthman b. Talha.

The first emigrant to go to Medina after Abu Salama was `Amir b. Rabi`a, an ally of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b together with his wife Layla d. of Hathma b. Ghanim b. `Abdullah b. `Auf b. `Ubayd b. `Uwayj b. `Adiy b. Ka`b. Then `Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. Ya`mar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Kathir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma ally of B. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams along with his family and his brother `Abd--who was known as Abu Ahmad. Now Abu Ahmad was blind and he used to go all round Mecca from top to nbottom without anyone to lead him. He was a poet. He had to wife al-Far`a d. of Abu Sufyan b. Harb; his mother was Umayma d. of `Abdu'l-Muttalib.

The house of the B. Jahah was locked up when they left and `Utba b. Rabi`a and al-`Abbas b. `Abdu'l-Mutalib and Abu Jahl b. Hisham passed by it on their way to the upper part of Mecca. (Today it is the house of Aban b. `Uthman in Radm) `Utba looked at it with doors blowing to and fro, empty of inhabitants, and sighed heavily and said:

Every house however long its prosperity lasts
Will one day be overtaken by misfortune and trouble (260).

Then `Utba went on the say, `The house of the B. Jahsh has become tenantless.' To which Abu Jahl replied, `Nobody will weep over that (261'.)

He went on: This is the work of this man's nephew. He has divided our community, disrupted our affairs, and driven a wedge between us. Abu Salama and `Amir b. Rabi`a

and `Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad b. Jahsh were billeted on Mubashshir b. `Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar in Quba' among the B. `Amr b. `Auf.

Then the refugees came in companies and the B. Ghanm b. Dudan were Muslims who had gone to Medina as a body with the apostle as emigrants both men and women: `Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad and `Ukasha b. Mihsan and Shuja` and `Uqba, the two sons of Wahb, and Arbad b. Humayyira (262), and Munqidh b. Nubata and Sa`id b. Ruqaysh and Muhriz b. Nadla and Yazid b. Ruqaysh, and Qays b. Jabir and `Amr b. Mihsan and Maslik b. `Amr and Safwan b. `Amr nand Thaqf b. `Amr and Rabi`a b. Aktham and al- Zubayr b. `Abid and Tammam b. `Ubayda and Sakhbara b. `Ubayda and Muhammad b. `Abdullah b. Jahsh.

Their women were Zaynab and Umm Habib daughters of Jahsh, Judhama d. Jandal and Umm Qays d. Mihsan and Umm Habib d. Thumama and Amina d. of Ruqaysh and Sakhbara d. Tamim and Hamna d. Jahsh.

Abu Ahmad, mentioning the migration of the B. Asad b. Khuzayma of his people to Allah and his apostle and their going in a body when they were called on to emigrate, said:

Had Ahmad's mother `twixt Safa and Marwa sworn
Her oath would have been true.
We were the first in Mecca and remained so
Till the worse became the better part.
Here Ghanm b. Dudan pitched his tent.
Form it Ghanm has gone and its inhabitants diminish. (C.'s text has `And what if Ghanm has gone', & c. Abu Dharr queries the word qatin rendered `inhabitants',)
To Allah they go in ones and twos,
Their religion the religion of Allah and his apostle.

He also said:

When Umm Ahmad saw me setting out
In the protection of One I secretly fear and revenence,
She said, `If you must do this,
Then take us anywhere but to Yathrib.'
I said to her, `Nay Yathrib today is our goal.
What the Merciful wills the slave must do.'
Towards Allah and His apostle is my face
And he who sets his face to Allah today will not be disappointed.
How many sincere friends have we lift behind
And a woman who would dissuade us with weeping and wailing.
You may think that hope of vengeance takes us far from home,
But we think that the hope of good things to come draws us.
I besought the Banu Ghanm to avoid bloodshed
And accept the truth when the way is plain to all.

Praising Allah they accepted the call of truth
And salvation, and went forth as one man.
We and some of our companions who left the right path
Who helped other against us with their weapons
Became two parties: one helped and guided
To the truth, the other doomed to punishment.
Unjust they have invented lies.
Iblis beguiled them from the truth-
-they are disappointed and frustrated.
We turned back to the prophet Muhammad's words.
'Twas well with us, friends of truth, and we were made happy.
We are the nearest in kin to them. But there's no next-of-kin when friendship is lacking.
What sister's son after us will trust you?
What son-in-law after mine can be relied on?
You will know which of us has found the truth
The day that separation is made and the state of men is distinct (263).
(This seems to be an allusion to Sura 10.29)

103 - `UMAR MIGRATES TO MEDINA. `AYYASH AND HIS STORY

Then `Umar b. al-Khattab and `Ayyash b. Abu Rabi`a al-Makhzumi went to Medina. Nafi`, freedman of `Abdullah b. `Umar, told me that the latter informed him that his father `Umar said: `When we had made up our minds to migrate to Medina `Ayyash, Hisham b. al-`As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi,and I made an appointment to meet at the thorn-trees of Adat of B.Ghifar (About Io miles from Mecca. From Yaq. i.875.13 al-Tanadub would seem to be a place, or at any rate a landmark, near by above sarif.) and we said: "If one of us fails to turn up there in the morning he will have been kept back by force and the other two must go on." `Ayyash and I duly arrived there, but Hisham was kept back and succumbed to the temptation to apostatize.

`When we reached Medina we stayed with B. `Amr b. `Auf in Quba'; and Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham, came to `Ayyash who was the son of their uncle and their maternal brother, while the apostle was still in Mecca. They told him that his mother had vowed that she would not comb her head or take shelter from the sun until she saw him. He felt sorry for her and I said to him, "This is nothing but an attempt of the people to seduce you from your religion so beware of them; for by Allah if lice were causing your mother trouble she would use her comb, and if the heat of Mecca oppressed her she would take shelter from it." But he said, "I will clear my mother from her oath; also I have some money there which I can get." I told him that I was one of the richest of the Quraysh and he could have half my money if he refused to go with the two men. But when I saw that he was determined to go I said, "If you must go, then take this camel of mine. She is well bred and easy to ride. Don't dismount, and if you suspect them of treachery you can escape on her."

`The three went off and while they were on their way Abu Jahl said, "Nephew, I find my best hard to ride. Won't you mount me behind you?" When he agreed he and they made their camels kneel to make the change over, and when they were on the ground they fell on him and bound him securely and brought him to Mecca and induccd him to apostatize.'

One of the family of `Ayyash told me that they brought him in to Mecca bound by day and said, `O men of Mecca, deal with your fools as we have dealt with this fool of ours.'

To continue Nafi`'s story of `Umar's words: `We were saying Allah will not receive compensation or ransom or repentance from those who let themselves be made apostates--a people who know Allah and then return to unbelief because of trial!' And they were saying that of themselves. When the apostle came to Medina Allah sent down concerning them and what we had said and what they themselves thought: `Say: O my servants who have acted foolishly against yourselves, despair not of God's mercy, for Allah forgiveth all sins. He is Forgiving Merciful. Turn to your Lord and submit yourselves to Him before punishment comes to you, then you will not be helped. Follow that excellent course which has been sent down to you from your Lord before punishment comes to you suddenly when you do not perceive it.' (sura 39.54-56.)

I wrote these words with my own hand on a sheet and sent it to Hisham,and he said, `When it came to me I read it in Dhu Tuwa, (A place in the lower part of Mecca.) bringing it near and holding it at arms' length and could make nothing of it until I said, "O God, make me understand it!". Then Allah put it into my heart that it had been sent down concerning us and what we were thinking and what was being said about us. So I returned to my camel and rejoined the apostle who was then in Medina (264).'

104 - THE LODGEMENTS OF THE EMIGRANTS IN MEDINA

Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and 'Amr and 'Abdullah the sons of Suraqa b. al-Mu'tamir, and Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi (who had married 'Umar's daughter Hafsa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Waqid b. 'Abdullah al-Tamimi an ally of theirs, and Khauli and Malik b. Abu Khauli, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyas, 'Aqil,'Amir, and Khalid; and their allies from B.Sa'd b. Layth; when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifa'a b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba'. 'Ayyash also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants: Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Uthman; Suhayb b. Sinan stayed with Khubayb b. Isaf brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunh.(In the upper part of Medina) Others deny this and say that Talha stayed with As'ad b. Zurara brother of the B. al-Najjar (266).

The following stayed with Kulthum b. Hidm brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba': Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib; Zayd b. Haritha; Abu Marthad Kannaz b. Hisn (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Ghani, allies of Hamza; Anasa; and Abu Kabsha, freedmen of

the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama; and that Hamza stayed with As'ad b. Zurara.

The following stayed with 'Abdullah b. Salama brother of the Banu 'Ajlan in Quba': 'Ubayda b. al-Harith and his brother al-Tufayl: al-Husayn b. al-Harith; Mistah b. Uthatha b. 'Abbad b. al-Muttalib; Suwaybit b. Sa'd b.Huraymila brother of B. 'Abdu'l- Dar: Tulayb b. 'Umayr brother of the B. 'Abd b. Qusayy; and Khabbab, freedman of 'Utba b. Ghazwan.

With Sa'd b. al-Rabi'brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf with some male emigrants.

With Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Uhayha b. al-Julah in al-'Usba the dwelling of the B. Jahjaba, stayed al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam and Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza.

With Sa'd b. Mu'adh b. al-Nu'man brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal in their dwelling stayed Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hashim brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dar.
With 'Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-
Ashhal in the latter's dwelling stayed Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabi'a and his freedman Salim; and 'Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir (268).

With Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassan b. Thabit in the dwelling of B. al-Najjar stayed 'Uthman b. 'Affan. This was the reason why Hassan was so fond of 'Uthman and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried; but Allah knows best about that.

105 - THE HIJRA OF THE PROPHET

After his companions had left, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abu Bakr and 'Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatize. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer, 'Don't be in a hurry; it may be that Allah will give you a companion.' Abu Bakr hoped that it would be Muhammad himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions not of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Qusayy b. Kilab where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid b. Jubayr father of al-Hajjaj; and another person of the same character on the authority of (324)'Abdullah b. 'Abbas told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle, on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zahma the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of Quraysh. From B. 'Abdu Shams were 'Utba and Shayba sons of Rabi'a; and Abu Sufyan. From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy; Jubayr b. Mut'im; and al-Harith b. 'Amir b. Naufal. From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar al-Nadr b. al- Harith b. Kalada. From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hisham and Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib; and Hakim b. Hizam. From B. Makhzum Abu Jahl b. Hisham. From B. Sahm Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Hajjaj. From B. Jumah Umayya b. Khalaf, and others including some who were not of Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Muhammad had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the poets Zuhayr and Nabigha, and others. The shaykh objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of Quraysh altogether.

They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him once he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They could then restore their social life to its former state. Again the shaykh objected that it was not a good plan. His fine speech and beautiful diction and the compelling force of his message were such that if he settled with some Beduin tribe he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack them in their land and rob them of their position and authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abu Jahl said that he had a plan which had not been suggested hitherto, namely that each clan should provide a young, powerful, well-born, aristocratic warrior; that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him and responsibility for his blood would lie upon all the clans. The B. 'Abdu Manaf could not fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money which they would all contribute to. The shaykh exclaimed: 'The man is right. In my opinion it is the only thing to do.' Having come to a decision the people dispersed.

Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said: 'Do not sleep tonight on the bed on which you usually sleep.' Before much of the night had passed they assembled at his door

waiting for him to go to sleep so that they might fall upon him. When the apostle saw what they were doing he told '

Ali to lie on his bed and to wrap himself in his green Hadrami mantle; for no harm would befall him. He himself used to sleep in this mantle.

Yazid b. Ziyad on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b. al-Qurazi told me that when they were all outside his door Abu Jahl said to them: 'Muhammad alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered, and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell.' The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying: 'I do say that. You are one of them.' Allah took away their sight so that they could not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses: 'Ya Sin, by the wise Quran. Thou art of those that art sent on a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the words 'And we covered them and they could not see' Sura 36. When he had finished reciting not one of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came up and asked them what they were waiting for there. When they said that they were waiting for Muhammad he said: 'But good heavens Muhammad came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened to you?' They put up their hands and felt the dust on their heads. Then they began to search and saw 'Ali on the bed wrapped in the apostle's mantle and said, 'By Allah it is Muhammad sleeping in his mantle.' Thus they remained until the morning when 'Ali rose from the bed and then they realized that the man had told them the truth.

Among the verses of the Quran which Allah sent down about that day and what they had agreed upon are: 'And when the unbelievers plot to shut thee up or to kill thee or to drive thee out they plot, but Allah plots also, and Allah is the best of plotters'; (Surah 8:30) and 'Or they say he is a poet for whom we may expect the misfortune of fate. Say: Go on expecting for I am with you among the expectant' (269) Sura 52.30.

It was then that Allah gave permission to his prophet to migrate. Now Abu Bakr was a man of means, and at the time that he asked the apostle's permission to migrate and he replied 'Do not hurry; perhaps Allah will give you a companion,' hoping that the apostle meant himself he bought two camels and kept them tied up in his house supplying them with fodder in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'A'isha said: The apostle used to go to Abu Bakr;s house every day either in the early morning or at night; but on the day when he was given permission to migrate from Mecca he came to us at noon, an hour at which he was not wont to come. As soon as he saw him Abu Bakr realized that something had happened to bring him at this hour. When he came in Abu Bakr gave up his seat to him. Only my sister Asma' and I were there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they can do no harm, may my father and my mother be your ransom,' said Abu Bakr. 'Allah has given

me permission to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together?' asked Abu Bakr. 'Together,' he replied. And by Allah before that day I had never seen anyone weep for joy as Abu Bakr wept then. At last he said, 'O prophet of God, these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for this.' (328) So they hired 'Abdullah b. Arqat, a man of B. '1-Di'l b. Bakr whose mother was a woman of B. Sahm b. 'Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the way, and they handed over to him their two camels and he kept them and fed them until the appointed day came. At this point in Suhayli's commentary (ii, p.2) there is a note of considerable importance in the light it throws on the textual tradition of our author. It runs thus: Ibn Ishaq said (in a narration which does not come via Ibn Hisham) in a long, sound, tradition which I have shortened that when Abu Bakr migrated with the apostle he left his daughters behind in Mecca. When they got to Medina the apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha and Abu Rafi' his freedman; and Abu Bakr sent 'Abdullah b. Urayqit together with 500 dirhems with which they bought a mount in Qudayd. Arrived at Mecca they brought away Sauda d. of Zama'a and Fatima and Umm Kulthum. 'A'isha said: My mother came out with them and Talha b. 'Ubaydallah travelling together; and when we were in Qudayd the camel on which my mother Umm Ruman and I were riding in a litter, bolted, and my mother began to cry Alas, my daughter, alas my husband! In the tradition of Yunusfrom Ibn Ishaq there is mention of this hadith. In it 'A'isha said 'I heard a voice but could see no one...', and she goes on to describe how they came to Medina and found the apostle building a mosque and houses for himself. 'I stayed with Abu Bakr's family and Sauda in her own house, and Abu Bakr asked the apostle if he would not build for his family, and when he said that he would if he had the money Abu Bakr gave him 12 okes and 20 dirhems.' This tradition from 'A'isha comes via Ibn Abu'l-Zinad from Hisham b. 'Urwa from his father.

According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except 'Ali and Abu Bakr and the latter's family. I have heard that the apostle told 'Ali about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which men had deposited with the apostle; for anyone in Mecca who had property which he was anxious about left it with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abu Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abu Bakr ordered his son 'Abdullah to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered 'Amir b. Fuhayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asma' his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them (270).

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day 'Abdullah was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. 'Amir used to pasture his flock with the shepherds of Mecca and when night fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When 'Abdullah left them in the morning to go to Mecca, 'Amir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When the three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asma' came

too with a bag of provisions; but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when they started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid her girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' (271).

When Abu Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abu Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from him. They rode off, and Abu Bakr carried 'Amir his freedman behind him to act as a servant on the journey.

I was told that Asma' said, 'When the apostle and Abu Bakr had gone, a number of Quraysh including Abu Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abu Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until a man of the Jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing some verses in the Arab way. And lo people were following him and listening to his voice but they could not see him, until he emerged from the upper part of Mecca saying the while:

Allah the Lord of men give the best of his rewards
To the two companions who rested in the two tents of Umm Ma'bad.
They came with good intent and went off at nightfall.
May Muhammad's companion prosper!
May the place of the Banu Ka'b's woman bring them luck,
For she was a look-out for the believers' (272).

Asma' continued: 'When we heard his words we knew that the apostle was making for Medina. There were four of them: the apostle, Abu Bakr, 'Amir, and 'Abdullah b. Arqat their guide' (273).

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father 'Abbad told him that his grandmother Asma' said: 'When the apostle went forth with Abu Bakr the latter carried all his money with him to the amount of five or six thousand dirhams. My grandfather Abu Quhafa who had lost his sight came to call on us saying that he thought that Abu Bakr had put us in a difficulty by taking off all his money. I told him that he had left us plenty of money. And I took some stones and put them in a niche where Abu Bakr kept his money; then I covered them with a cloth and took his hand and said, "Put your hand on this money, father." He did so and said: "There's nothing to worry about; he has done well in leaving you this, and you will have enough." In fact he had left us nothing, but I wanted to set the old man's mind at rest.'

Al-Zuhri told me that 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Malik b. Ju'shum told him from his father, from his uncle Suraqa b. Malik b. Ju'shum: 'When the apostle migrated Quraysh offered a reward of a hundred camels to anyone who would bring him back. While I was sitting in my people's assembly one of our men came up and stopped saying, "By God, I've just

seen three riders passing. I think they must be Muhammad and his companions." I gave him a wink enjoining silence and said "They are the so-and-so looking for a lost camel." "Perhaps so," he said and remained silent. I remained there for a short while; then I got up and went to my house and ordered my horse to be got ready, for it was tethered for me in the bottom of the valley. Then I asked for my weapons and they were brought from the back of the room. Then I took my divining arrows and went out having put on my armour.Then I cast the divining arrows and out came the arrow which I did not want: "Do him no harm." (Some mark indicating this would be on the arrow.) I did the same again and I got the same result. I was hoping to bring him back to Quraysh so that I might win the hundred camels reward.

'I rode in pursuit of him and when my horse was going at a good pace he stumbled and threw me. I thought this was somewhat unusual so I resorted to the divining arrows again and out came the detestable "Do him no harm." But I refused to be ;put off and rode on in pursuit. Again my horse stumbled and threw me, and again I tried the arrows with the same result. (This story is cast in the familiar form of the story-teller: the same words are repeated again and again until the climax is reached. In the translation given above the sense is given not the repetitions.) I rode on, and at last as I saw the little band my horse stumbled with me and its forelegs went into the ground and I fell. Then as it got its legs out of the ground smoke arose like a sandstorm. When I saw that I knew that he was protected against me and would have the upper hand. I called to them saying who I was and asking them to wait for me; and that they need have no concern, for no harm would come to them from me. The apostle told Abu Bakr to ask what I wanted and I said, "Write a document for me which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abu Bakr to do so.

'He wrote it on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a potsherd and threw it to me and I put it in my quiver and went back. I kept quiet about the whole affair until when the apostle conquered Mecca and finished with al-Ta'if and Hunayn I went out to give him the document and I met him in al-Ji'rana. (A place near Mecca on the road to al-Ta'if.)

'I got among a squadron of the Ansar cavalry and they began to beat me with their spears, saying, "Be off with you; what on earth do you want?" However, I got near to the apostle as he sat on his camel and his shank in his stirrup looked to me like the trunk of a palm-tree. I lifted my hand with the document, saying what it was what my name was. He said "It is a day of repaying and goodness. Let him come near." So I approached him and accepted Islam. Thend I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to come to my cistern which I kept full for my own camels. Shall I get a reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for watering every thirsty creature there is a reward." Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the apostle' (274).

Their guide, 'Abdullah b. Arqat, took them below Mecca; then along (333) the shore until he crossed the road below 'Usfan; then below Amaj; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Kharrar and Thaniyyatu'l-Marra to Liqf(275).

He took them past the waterhole of Liqf, then down to Madlajatu Mahaj (276), then past Marjih Mahaj, then down to Marjih of Dhu'l-Ghadwayn (277), then the valley of Dhu Kashr; then by al-Jadajid, then al-Ajrad, then Dhu Salam of the valley of A'da', the waterhole of Ta'hin, then by al-'Ababid (278), then by way of al--Fajja (279). Then he took them down to al-'Arj; and one of their mounts having dropped behind, a man of Aslam, Aus b. Hujr by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Rida', sending with him a servant called Mas'ud b. Hunayda. From 'Arjthe guide took them to Thaniyyatu'l-'A'ir(280) (Yet a third possibility is al-Ghabir, T.1237, following 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Cf. Yaq. iii. 596 and I.H.'s note.) to the right of Rakuba until he brought them down to the valley of Ri'm; thence to Quba' to B. 'Amr b. 'Auf on Monday 12th Rabi'u'l-awwal at high noon. (This paragraph occurs under the heading 'Ibn Hisham said'. But clearly it belongs to the original narrative, one of I.H.'s characteristic interpolations occurring in the middle of it.)

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Uwaymir b. Sa'ida told me saying, 'Men of my tribe who were the apostle's companions told me, "When we heard that the apostle had left Mecca and we were eagerly expecting his arrival we used to go out after morning prayers to our lava tract beyond our land to await him. This we did until there was no more shade left and then we went indoors in the hot season. On the day that the apostle arrived we had sat as we always had until there being no more shade we went indoors and then the apostle arrived. The first to see him was a Jew. He had seen what we were in the habit of doing and that we were expecting the arrival of the apostle and he called out at the top of his voice 'O Banu Qayla your luck has come!' So we went out to greet the apostle who was in the shadow of a palm-tree with Abu Bakr who was of like age. Now most of us had never seen the apostle and as the people croeded round him they did not know him from Abu Bakr until the shade left him and Abu Bakr got up with his mantle and shielded him from the sun, and then we knew." '

The apostle, so they say, stayed with Kulthum b. Hidm brother of the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, one of the B. 'Ubayd. Others say he stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. Those who assert the former say that it was only because he left Kulthum to go and sit with the men in Sa'd's house (for he was a bachelor and housed the apostle's companions who were bachelors) that it is said that he stayed with Sa'd, for his house used to be called the house of the bachelors. But Allah knows the truth of the matter.

Abu Bakr stayed with Khubayb b. Isaf, one of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in al-Sunh. Some say it was with Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr, brother of the B. al-Harith.

'Ali stayed in Mecca for three days and nights until he had restored the deposits which the apostle held. This done he joined the apostle and lodged with him at Kulthum's house. He stayed in Quba' only a night or two. He used to say that in Quba' there was an unmarried Muslim woman and he noticed that a man used to come to her in the middle of the night and knock on her door; she would come out and he would give her something. He felt very suspicious of him and asked her what was the meaning of this nightly

performance as she was a Muslim woman without a husband. She told him that the man was Sahl b. Hunayf b. Wahib who knew that she was all alone and he used to break up the idols of his tribe at night and bring her the pieces to use as fuel. 'Ali used to talk of this incident until Sahl died in Iraq while he was with him. Hind b. Sa;d b. Sahl b. Hunayf told me this story from what 'Ali said.

The apostle stayed in Quba among B. 'Amr b.'Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then Allah brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. 'Amr allege that he stayed longer with them, and Allah knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina.

'Itban b. Malik and 'Abbas b. 'Ubada b. Nadla with some of B. Salim b. 'Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, 'Let her go her way, 'for his camel was under God's orders; so they let her go until she came to the home of B. Bayada, Where he was met by Ziyad b. Labid and Farwa b. 'Amr with some of their clansmen. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply. The same thing happened with B. Saida when Sa'd b. 'Ubada and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr invited him to stay; and with B. '1-Harith b. al-Khazraj represented by Sa'd al-Rabi' and Kharija b.Zayd and b.Rawaha; and with b.Adiy b.al-Najjar (who were his nearest maternal; relatives the mother of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib salma d. 'Amr being one of their women), being represented by salit b. Qays and Abu Salit and Usayra b. Abu Kharija . Finally the camel came to the home of B. Malik b. al-Najjar of B. Malik clan, who were under the protection of Muadh b. 'Afra', Sahl and Suhayl the sons of 'Amr. When it knelt the apostle did not alight, and it got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, not guiding it, and it turned in its tracks and returned to the place where it had knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd took his baggage into the house(T. The Ansar invited him to stay with them, but he said 'A man (stays) with his baggage)(T.1259.7) and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Muadh b. 'Afra told him that the owners where Sahl and Suhayl the sons of 'Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it.

The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abu Ayyub until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined in the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the Muhajirin and the ansar laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed.

If we sat down while the prophet worked
It could be said that we had shirked.

As they built, the Muslims sang a rajaz verse: There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the ansar and the muhajira this alteration the rhyme and rhythm were destroyed)

'Ammar b. Yasir came in when they had overloaded him with bricks, saying, 'They are killing me. They load me with burdens they can't carry themselves.' Umm Salama the prophet's wife said: I saw the apostle run his hand through his hair- for he was a curly-haired man-and say 'Alas Ibn Sumayya! It is not they who but a wicked band of men.'(This prophecy is said to have been fulfilled when 'Ammar was killed at Siffin; Suhayli, ii,p.3.

'Ali composed a rajaz verse on that day:

There's one that labours night and day
To build us mosques of brick and clay
And one who turns from dust away!(282)
And'Ammar learned it and began to chant it.

When he persisted in it one of the prophet's companions thought that it was he who was referred to in it according to what Ziyad b. Abdullah al-Bakka'i told me from Ibn Ishaq. The latter had actually named the man.(Suhayli says: Ibn Ishaq did name the man, but Ibn Hisham preferred not to do so as not to mention one of the prophet's companions in discreditable circumstances. (Cf. what Ibn Hisham says in his introduction) Therefore it can never be right to inquire after his identity. Abu Dharr says: Ibn Ishaq did name the man and said ' This man was 'Uthman b.'Affan'. The cairo editors says that in the Mawahib al-laduniya (al-Qastallani], d.A.D.517)the man is said to be 'Uthman b. Mazun. This late writer may safely be ignored on this point.)

He said: 'I have heard what you have been saying for a long time, O Ibn Sumayya, and by Allah I think I'll hit you on the nose!'Now he had a stick in his hand and the apostle was angry and said, 'What is wrong between them and 'Ammar?. He invites them to Paradise while they invite him to hell. 'Ammar is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.'

Sufyan b. 'Uyayna mentioned on the authority of Zakariya from al-Shafi that the first man to build a mosque was Ammar b.Yasir.

The apostle lived in Abu Ayyub's house until his mosque and dwelling-houses were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Yazid b. Abu Habib from Marthad b. 'Abdullah al-Yazani from Abu Ruhm al-Sama'told me that Abu Ayyub told him: 'When the apostle came to lodge with me in my house he occupied the ground floor, while I an Umm Ayyub were above. I said to him, "O prophet of God, you are dear to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be above and you below me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places with us." He replied: "O Abu Ayyub, it is more convenient for me and my guests that we should be on the ground floor of the house." So we remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and Umm Ayyub and I took one of our garments to mop up the water in fear that it would drop on the apostle and cause him annoyance. We had no cloth which we could use.

'We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he returned what was left, Umm Ayyub and I used to touch the spot where his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing. One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned it and I saw no mark of his hand in it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell him of our practice and that this time there was no mark of his hand, and he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a man who had to speak confidentially to people but that we should eat them. So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again.'

The emigrants followed one another to join the apostle, and none was left in Mecca but those who had apostatized or been detained. Whole families with their property did not come together except the B. Maz'un from B. Jumah; the B. Ri'ab, allies of B. Umayya; and the B. Bukayr from B. Sa'd b. Layth, allies of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b. Their houses in Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jahsh gave up their house Abu Sufyan went and sold it to 'Amr b. 'Alqama brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. When the owners heard of this 'Abdullah b. Jahsh told the apostle of it, and he replied: 'Are you not pleased that Allah will give you a better house in Paradise?' And when he answered Yes, he said, 'Then you have it.' When the apostle got possession of Mecca Abu Ahmad spoke to him about their house; and the apostle delayed his reply. People said to him,'The apostle dislikes your reopening the question of your property which you lost in God's service, so don't speak to him about it again.' Abu Ahmad said in reference to Abu Sufyan:

Tell Abu Sufyan of a matter he will live to regret.
You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
Your ally by Allah the Lord of men swears an oath:
Take it, Take it, may [Your treachery] cling to you
like the ring of the dove.

The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal to Safar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built. This tribe of the Ansar all accepted Islam and every house of the Ansar accepted Islam except Khatma, Waqif, Wa'il, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the authority of Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman--Allah save me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not say--was as follows: he praised and glorified Allah as was His due and then said: O men, send forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him--there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him--Did not My apostle come to you with a message, and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forward for yourself? Then will he look to right and left and see nothing; he will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his

face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so; and he who cannot find that then with a good word; for the good deed will be rewarded tenfold yea to twice seven hundred fold. (Or, perhaps simply 'seven hundred fold'. Here, as in the rest of the sermon, there is an allusion to the Quran. Cf.34.36 where commentators differ as to the exact meaning of di'f.) Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

Then the apostle preached on another occasion as follows: Praise belongs to Allah whom I praise and whose aid I implore. We take refuge in Allah from our own sins and from the evil of our acts. He whom Allah guides none can lead astray; and whom He leads astray none can guide. I testify that there is no Allah but He alone, He is without companion. The finest speech is the Book of God. He to whom Allah has made it seem glorious and made him enter Islam after unbelief, who has chosen it above all other speech of men, both prosper. It is the finest speech and the most penetrating. Love what Allah loves. Love Allah with all your hearts, and weary not of the word of Allah and its mention. Harden not your hearts from it. Out of everything that Allah creates He chooses and selects ; the actions He chooses He calls khira;the people chooses He calls mustafa; and the speech He chooses He calls salih. From everything that is brought to man there is the lawful and the unlawful. Worship Allah and associate naught with Him; fear Him as He ought to be feared; Carry out loyally towards Allah what you say with your mouths. Love one another in the spirit of God. Verily Allah is angry when His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you.

106 - THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND THE MEDINANS AND WITH THE JEWS

The apostle wrote a document concerning the emigrants and the helpers in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews and established them in their religion and their property, and stated the reciprocal obligations, as follows: In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Muhammad the prophet [governing the relations] between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them and laboured with them. They are one community (umma) to the exclusion of all men. The Quraysh emigrants according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit within their number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

The B. 'Auf according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit they paid in heathenism; every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers. The B. Sa'ida, the B. 'l-Harith, and the B. Jusham, and the B. al-Najjar likewise. (These all belong to al-Khazraj.)

The B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, the al-Nabit and the B.al-'Aus likewise. (These all belong to al-Aus.)

Believers shall not leave anyone destitute among them by not paying his redemption money or bloodwit in kindness (283).

A believer shall not take as an ally the freedman of another Muslim against him. The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or him who seeks to spread injustice, or sin or enmity, or corruption between believers; the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son of one of them. A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer. God's protection is one, the least of them may give protection to a stranger on their behalf. Believers are friends one to the other to the exclusion of outsiders. To the Jew who follows us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be aided. The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. Conditions must be fair and equitable to all. In every foray a rider must take another behind him. The believers must avenge the blood of one another shed in the way of God. The God- fearing believers enjoy the best and most upright guidance. No polytheist (Presumably the heathen Arabs of Medina are referred to.) shall take the property or person of Quraysh under his protection nor shall he intervene against a believer. Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood-money), and the believers shall be against him as one man, and they are bound to take action against him.

It shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believes in Allah and the last day to help an evil-doer (Muhdith. Commentators do not explain this word and it is somewhat obscure. Possibly it means 'adulterer' here, though a wider meaning suits the context better. Cf. W. 690.) or to shelter him. The curse of Allah and His anger on the day of resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom (See Lane, I68 2a. Originally the phrase referred to the bloodwit. Sarf meant compensation and 'adl the slaying of a man in revenge. Finally it came to mean anything excessive, so that here it would be sufficient to say 'no excuse would be received from him'.) will be received from him. Whenever you differ about a matter it must be referred to Allah and to Muhammad.

The Jews shall contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting alongside the believers. The Jews of the B. 'Auf are one community with the believers (the Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs), their freedmen and their persons except those who behave unjustly and sinfully, for they hurt but themselves and their families. The same applies to the Jews of the B. al-Najjar, B. al-Harith, B. Sa'ida, B. Jusham, B. al-Aus, B. Tha'laba, and the Jafna, a clan of the Tha'laba and the B. al-Shutayba. Loyalty is a protection against treachery. (Wellhausen, Skizzen and Vorarbeiten, v, Berlin, 1889, p.70, renders 'Lauterkeit steht vor Trug' and accuses Sprenger and Krehl of inexactness. S. has 'sie mussen loyal and nicht schlecht handeln' where a general truth is in question. Suhayli says the meaning is 'Piety and loyalty stand in the way of treachery' (ii.17).) The freedmen of Tha'laba are as themselves. The close friends (For the meaning of this word cf. 519.4 where bitana clearly has such a connotation.) of the Jews are as themselves. None of them shall go out to war save with the permission of Muhammad, but he shall not be prevented from taking revenge for a wound. He who slays a man without warning slays himself and his household, unless it be one who has wronged him, for Allah will accept that. The Jews must bear their expenses and the Muslims their expenses. Each must help the other against anyone who attacks the people of this document. They must

seek mutual advice and consultation, and loyalty is a protection against treachery. A man is not liable for his ally's misdeeds. The wronged must be helped. The Jews must pay with the believers so long as war lasts. Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for the people of this document. A stranger under protection shall be as his host doing no harm and committing no crime. A woman shall only be given protection with the consent of her family. If any dispute or controversy likely to cause trouble should arise it must be referred to Allah and to Muhammad the apostle of God. Allah accepts what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document. Quraysh and their helpers shall not be given protection. The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib. If they are called to make peace and maintain it they must do so; and if they make a similar demand on the Muslims it must be carried out except in the case of a holy war. Every one shall have his portion from the side to which he belongs; (This is not clear to me.) the Jews of al-Alus, their freedmen and themselves have the same standing with the people of this document in pure loyalty from the people of this document (284).

Loyalty is a protection against treachery: He who acquires aught acquires it for himself. Allah approves of this document. This deed will not protect (For this idiom cf.Sura 6.24.) the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight and the man who stays at home in the city (Or 'in Medina'. Whether Medina is meant or not the passage stands self-condemned as a later interpolation because the town is consistently called Yathrib.) is safe unless he has been unjust and sinned. Allah is the protector of the good and God-fearing man and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

107 - BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard--and I appeal to Allah lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say--'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself took 'Ali by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle the lord of the sent ones and leader of the Allah fearing apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and 'Ali b. Abu Talib became brothers. Hamza, the lion of Allah and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Haritha the apostle's freedman. To him Hamza gave his last testament on the day of Uhud when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Ja'far b. Abu Talib--the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise--and Mu'adh b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (285).

The pairs were arranged thus:
Abu Bakr and Kharija b. Zuhayr brother of B. 'l-Harith b. al-Khazraj.

'Umar and 'Itban b. Malik brother of B. Salim ... b. al-Khazraj.

Abu 'Ubayda, 'Amir b. 'Abdullah and Sa'd b. Mu'adh b. al-Nu'man.

Abdu'l-Rahman b. Auf and Sa'd b. al-Rabi' brother of B. al-Harith.

Al-Zubayr b. al'Awwam and Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal though others say that he linked up with 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud the ally of the B. Zuhra.

'Uthman b. 'Affan and Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir brother of B. al-Najjar. Talha b. 'Ubaydullah and Ka'b b. Malik brother of the B. Salama.

Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Ubayy b. Ka'b brother of the B. al-Najjar.

Mus'ab b. 'Umayr and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd brother of the B. al-Najjar Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba and 'Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh, brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal.

'Ammar b. Yasir ally of the B. Makhzum and Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman brother of B. 'Abdu 'Abs ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal. (Others say that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj the prophet's orator and 'Ammar b. Yasir.)

Abu Dharr, Burayr b. Junada al-Ghifari and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, 'he who hastened to his death', brother of B. Sa'ida of al-Khazraj (286).

Hatib b. Abu Balta'a, ally of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza and 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Salman the Persian and Abu'l-Darda' 'Uwaymir b. Tha'laba brother of B. al-Harith (287). Some say 'Uwaymir was the son of 'Amir or of Zayd.

Bilal freedman of Abu Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abu Ruwayha (A kunya characteristic of a negro, 'the father of the faint smell'. Cf.H.Lammens, L'Arabic occidentale avant l'He'gire, p.246.) 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman al-Khath'ami, more precisely one of the Faza'.

These are the men who were named to us as those to whom the apostle made his companions brothers.

When 'Umar compiled the registers in Syria Bilal had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abu Ruwayha. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khath'am because of Bilal's position with them, and this arrangement continues to this day in Syria.

108 - ABU UMAMA

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abu Umama As'ad b. Zurara died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm told me on the authority of Yahya b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. As'ad b. Zurara that the apostle said: 'How unfortunate is the death of Abu Umama! The Jews and the Arab hypocrites are sure to

say "If he were a prophet his companion would not die" and (truly) I have no power from Allah for myself or for my companion (to avert death).'

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari tole me that when Abu Umama dies the B. al-Najjar came to the apostle, for Abu Umama was their leader, saying that he held the high rank the apostle knew of and would' he appoint someone from among them to act in his place; to which the apostle replied,' You are my materna; uncles, and we belong together so I will be yopur leader.'The apostle did not want to prefer any one of them to the others. Henceforth the B. al-Najjar regarded themselves as highly honoured in having the apostle as theri leader.

108a - THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethern the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged Isiam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, legal punishments fixed , the forbidden and the permitted prescribed and Islam took up its abode with them. It was this clan of the helpers who 'have taken up their abode(in the city of the prophet)and in the faith'(Sura59.9). When the apostle first came, the people gathered to him for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned/ At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clappper to be made, so it was duly fashioned to be beaten when the Muslims should pray.

Meanwhile 'Abudullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b.'Abdu Rabbihi brother of B. al-Harith heard a voice in a dream, and came to the apostle saying: 'A phantom visited me in the night. There passed by me a man wearing two green garments carrying a clapper in his hand, and I asked him to sell it to me. When he asked me what I wanted it for I told him that it was to summon people to prayer, whereupon he offered to show me a better way: it way to say thrice "Allah Akbar. I bear witness that there is no Allah but Allah I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to divine service.(Falah. This word is generally rendered 'salvation' or 'properity'; cf. Lane,2439a. But it has always seemed to me that it must be an arabized form of the Aramaic Pulhana, divine worship. Its original meaning is clearly cutting, especially ploughing. Among Aramaic-speaking jews and Christians it was connected with the service of God. Between the words 'Come to the falah and Allah Akbar' the Shi'a cry 'Come to the best work ('amal')which must surely be a memory of the original meaning of falah. I. sayyidi'-Nas 'Uyunu l-Athar, cairo, 356,i,204, quotes this story in what appears to be a more primitive form.) Come to divine service. Allah Akbar. Allah Akbar. There is no Allah but Allah"'.'When the apostle was told of this he said that it was a true vision if Allah so willed it, and that he should go with Bilal and communicate it to him so that he might call to prayer thus, for he had a more penetrating voice. When Bilal acted as muezzin 'Umar heard him in his house and came to the apostle dragging his cloak on the ground and saying that he had seen precisely the same vision. The apostle said, 'Allah be praised for that!'

I was told of this tradition by Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith on the authority of Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha 'laba himself(288).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from a woman of B. al-Najjar who said: My house was the highest of those round the mosque and Bilal used to give the call from the top of it at dawn every day. He used to come before daybreak and would sit on the housetop waiting for the dawn. When he saw it he would stretch his arms and say, 'O God, I praise thee and ask thy help for Quraysh that they may accept thy religion. 'I never knew him to omit these words for a single night.

109 - ABU QAYS B.ABU ANAS

When the apostle was established in his house and Allah had manifested his religion therein and made him glad with the company of the emigrants and helpers Abu Qays spoke the following verses (289).

He was a man who had lived as a monk in heathen days and worn a black mantle of camel-hair, given up idols, washed himself after impurity, kept himself clean from women in their courses. He had thought of adopting Christianity but gave it up and went into a house of his and made a mosque of it, allowing no unclean person to enter. He said that he worshipped the Lord of Abraham when he abandoned idols and loathed them. When the apostle came to Medina he became a good Muslim. He was an old man, who always spoke the truth and glorified Allah in paganism. He composed some excellent poetry and it was he who said:

Said Abu Qays when near to depart
Perform all you can of my behest.
I enjoy piety, the fear of God, and
The preservation of your honour, but piety comes first.
If your people hold authority envy them non
If you yourselves rule, be just.
If a calamity befalls your people,
Put yourselves in the front of your tribe.
If a heavy duty falls on them help them
And bear the burdens they put upon you.
If you are poor, practise austerity.
If you have money be generous with it (290).

He also said:

Praise Allah at every dawn
When His sun rises and at the new moon.
He knows what is clear and not clear to us.
What our Lord says is without error.
His are the birds which fly to and fro and shelter
In nests in their mountain retreats.

His are the wild creatures of the desert
which you see on the dunes and in the shade of sandhills.
Him the Jews worship and follow
Every dreary custom you can think of. (A.Dh.explains that 'uddl, a wearisome incurable disease, is a metaphor .
Him the Christians worship and keep
Every feast and festival to their Lord.
His is the self-denying monk you see,
A prisoner of misery though once right happy.
My sons, sever not the bonds of kinship.
Be generous though they are mean. (Commentators differ on the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is:
'Though their pedigree is short their hearts are generous'. All through these verses one feels that the wretched rhymester is imprisoned within his rhymes.) Fear Allah in dealing with defenceless orphans
Often the forbidden is regarded as lawful.
Know that the orphan has an All-knowing protector
Who guides aright without being asked.
Devour not the wealth of orphans,
A mighty protector watches over the same.
My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days.
Beware their treachery and the passage of time.
Know that it consumes all creation,
Both the new and the old.
Live your lives in piety and godliness.
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right. (The influence of Syriac as in the words shammasa and tukhum is clear, and some of the verses are reminiscent of the Psalms.

In the following poem he mentioned how Allah had honoured them with Islam and His special favour in sending His apostle to them:

He abode among Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him.
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality.
But when he came to us Allah displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina. (Tiba, 'the Fragrant', is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf.Hassan's opening line on p.1022, 'In Tiba are the
monuments of his luminous sojourn'.
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God. (W.'s text 'He was aplain help to us from God' seems inferior to the C. text.
He told us what Noah said to his people

And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of. (The verse is just as banal in the original.)
We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing not our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that Allah is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.
In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou [Oft have I mentioned Thy name.]
I say when I traverse a land I fear
'Mercy! Let not my enemies triumph over me.'
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever.
A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes Allah his protector.
The palm that needs water (I follow C. in reading mu'ima for W.'s muqima, and tawiya for thawiya 'standing'.) cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (291).

(T. 'Ali b. Mujahid said on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishaq from al-Zuhri and from Muhammad b. Salih from al-Sha'bi that they both said: The B. Isma'il dated from the fire of Abraham to the building of the temple when Abraham and Isma'il built it; then they dated from the building of the temple until they dispersed, and it happened that whenever people left Tihama they dated from their leaving it, and those who remained in Tihama of B. Isma'il used to date from the going out of Sa'd and Nahd and Juhayna of B. Zayd from Tihama util Ka'b b. Lu'ayy died. Then they dated from the death of Ka'b to the elephant. The dating from the time of the elephant continued until 'Umar b. al-Khattab dated from the Hijra which was the year 17 or 18. (This paragraph is part of a long chapter which T. devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last passage he quotes from I.I. is the poem of Abu Qays mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission; the connexion with chronology is obvious.

110 - THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because Allah had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clinging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection; yet when Islam appeared and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend to accept it to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose inclination was towards the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions and introduce confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Quran used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews:

From B. al-Nadir: Huyayy b. Akhtab and his brothers Abu Yasir abd Judayy; Sallam b. Mishkam; Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq; Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq Abu Rafi' al-A'war whom the apostle's companions killed in Khaybar; al-Rabi' b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq; 'Amr b. Jahhash; Ka'b b. al-Ashraf who belonged to Tay', of the clan of B. Nabhan, his mother being from B. al-Nadir; al-Hajjaj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b; and Kardam b. Qays, an ally of Ka'b.

From B. Tha'laba b. al-Fityaun: 'Abdullah b. Suriya the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Ibn Saluba; and Mukhayriq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqa': Zayd b. al-Lasit (291); Sa'd b. Hunayf; Mahmud b. Sayhan; 'Uzayr b. Abu 'Uzayr; and Abdullah b. Sayf (292). Suwayd b. al-Harith; Rifa'a b. Qays; Finhas; Ashya'; Nu'man b. Ada; Bahriy b. 'Amr; Sha's b. 'Adiy; Sha's b. Qays; Zayd b. al-Harith; Nu'man b. 'Amr; Sukayn b. Abu Sukayn; 'Adiy b. Zayd; Nu'man b. Abu Aufa; Abu Anas; Mahmud b. Dahya; Malik b. Sayf (293). Ka'b b. Rashid; 'Azar; Rafi' b. Abu Rafi'; Khalid;Azar b.Abu Azar (294);Rafi'b Haritha ; Rafi'b.Huraymila ;Rafi'b.Kharija; Malik b. 'Auf; Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabut 'Abdullah b. Salam b. al-Harith; who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Husayn. The apostle named him 'Abdullah when he accepted Islam.

From B.Qurayza: al-Zubayr b. Bata b. Wahb; 'Azzal b. Shamwil; Ka'b b. Asad responsible on behalf of his tribe for the agreement which was broken in the year of the Parties; Shamwil b. Zayd; Jabal b. 'Amr b. Sukayna; al-Nahham b. Zayd; Qardam b. Ka'b; Wahb b. Zayd; Nafi' b. Abu Nafi'; Abu Nafi'; 'Adiy b. Zayd; al-Harith b. 'Auf; Kardam b. Zayd; Usama b. Habib; Rafi' b. Rumayla; Jabal b. Abu Qushayr; Wahb b. Yahudha.

From B. Zurayq: Labid b. A'sam who bewitched the apostle of Allah so that he could not come at his wives. (In commenting on this Suhayli asserts that the tradition is sound and is accepted by tbe traditionists. He found in the Fami' of Mu'ammar b. Rashid (a work which I cannot find mentioned by Brockelmann) the statement that the spell lasted for a year. He adds that the Mu'tazila and Modernists rejected the tradition on the ground that prophets could not be bewitched otherwise they would commit sin and that would be contrary to the word of Allah 'And Allah will protect thee from men' (Sura 5.71). He finds the tradition unassailable. It is properly attested and intellectually acceptable. The prophets were not preserved from bodily affictions in which category sorcery falls.).

From B. Haritha: Kinana b. Suriya.
B. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Qardam b. 'Amr.

From B. al-Najjar: Silsila b. Barham.

These were the Jewish rabbis, the rancorous opponents of the apostle and his companions, the men who asked questions, and stirred up trouble against Islam to try to extinguish it, except for 'Abdullah b. Salam and Mukhayriq. (It is noteworthy how few Hebrew names are to be found among the Jews of Medina.).

111 - ABDULLAH B. SALAM ACCEPTS ISLAM

I was told the story of 'Abdullah b. Salam, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: 'When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly though I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Quba' among the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf a man came with the news while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khalida d. al-Harith was sitting below. When I heard the news I cried Allah Akbar and my aunt said, "Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. 'Imran had come you could not have made more fuss!" "Indeed, aunt," I said, "he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission." She asked, "Is he really the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?" and she accepted my asSurance that he was. Straightway I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

'I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you would take me into one of your houses and hide me from them. Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The prophet housed me; the Jews came; and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said: "He is our chief, and the son of lour chief; our rabbi, and our learned man." When they said this I emerged and said: "O Jews, fear Allah and accept what He has sent you. For by Allah you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and even named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I reminded the apostle that I khad said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. I publicly proclaimedmy conversion and my household and my aunt Khalida followed suit.'

112 - THE STORY OF MUKHAYRIQ

He was a learned rabbi owning much property in date palms. He recognized the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion (Presumably 'Muhammad's religion'; the pronoun is ambiguous.) until on the day of Uhud, which fell on the sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Muhammad. They objected that it was the sabbath. 'May you have no sabbath,' (Or, perhaps, 'You have no sabbath'.) he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle in Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: 'If I am killed today my property is to go to Muhammad to use as Allah shows him.' He was killed in the battle

that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.' The apostle took over his property and all the alms he distributed in Medina came from it.

113 - THE TESTIMONY OF SAFIYA

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm told me that he was told that Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab said 'I was the favourite child of my father and my uncle Abu Yasir. When I was present they took no notice of their other children. When the apostle was staying in Quba' with the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, the two went to see him before daybreak and did not return until after nightfall, weary, worn out, drooping and feeble. I went up to them in childish pleasure as I always did, and they were so sunk in gloom that they took no notice of me. I heard my uncle say to my father, "Is he he? Do you recognize him, and can you be sure?" "Yes!" "And what do you feel about him?" "By Allah I shall be his enemy as long as I live!"'

114 - THE JEWS ARE JOINED BY ANSARI HYPOCRITES

The following hypocrites (What Arabic writers mean by 'hypocrites' has been made clear in the section on the Jewish adversaries. It is not a really good rendering of munafiq, but no one word suggests itself as better. Muslims look with a tolerant eye on a man who conceals his belief through force majeure, but to pretend to be a Muslim is a crime.) from al-Aus and al-Khazraj joined the Jews according to information given me. Allah knows best about the truth. From Aus of the section of B. 'Amr b. "Auf b. Malik of the subdivision Laudhan b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Zuwayy b. al-Harith. From B. Hubayb b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Julas b. Suwayd b. al-Samit and his brother al-Harith. Julas was one of those who withdrew from the apostle in the raid on Tabuk. He said, 'If this man is right we are worse than donkeys.' 'Umayr b. Sa'd, one of them, who was closely related to Julas, he having married his mother after his father's death, reported what he ha said to the apostle. But first he said to Julas: 'You are dearer to me than any man, the most generous to me, and it is most painful to me that anything should happen to upset you; but you have said words which if I repeat them I shall bring shame upon you and if I keep silence I shall bring my religion into peril. One is preferable to the other.' Then he went to the apostle and told him what Julas had said. Julas swore by Allah that he had not said the words attributed to him by 'Umayr. And Allah sent down concerning him: 'They swear by Allah that they did not say, when they did actually say, works of unbelief and did disbelieve after they had surrendered themselves. They planned what they could not carry out and they had nothing to avenge but that Allah and His apostle had enriched them by His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn back Allah will afflict them with a painful punishment in this world and the next. In this world they have no friend or helper' (295). (Sura 9.75.).

It is alleged that he repented and was known to be a good Muslim. His brother al-Harith who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi and Qays b. Zayd one of B. Dubay'a at Uhud, went out with the Muslims. He was a hypocrite, and when battle was joined he fell upon these two men, killed them, and attached himself to Quraysh (296).

Mu'adh b. 'Afra' killed Suwayd treacherously when there was no war. He shot him with an arrow before the battle of Bu'ath.

The apostle--so they say--had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he could get hold of him, but he escaped and got to Mecca. Then he sent to his brother Julas asking for forgiveness so that he might return to his people. Allah sent down concerning him according to what I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas: 'How can Allah guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed and witnessed that the apostle is true and sure proofs have come to them from God. Allah does not guide a sinful people.' (Sura 3.80)

From B. Dubay'a b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Bijad b. 'Uthman b. 'Amir. From B. Laudhan b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Nabtal b. al-Harith. I have heard that it was of him that the apostle said, 'Whoever wants to see Satan let him take a look at Nabtal b. al-Harith!' He was a sturdy black man with long flowing hair, inflamed eyes, and dark ruddy cheeks. He used to come and talk to the apostle and listen to him and then carry what he had said to the hypocrites. It was he who said: 'Muhammad is all ears: if anyone tells him anything he believes it.' Allah sent down concerning him: 'And of them are those who annoy the prophet and say he is all ears. Say: Good ears for you. He believers in Allah and trusts the believers and is a mercy for those of you who believe; and those who annoy the apostle of Allah for them there is a painful punishment.'(Sura9.6)

A man of B. al-Ajilan told me that he was told that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'There comes to sit with you a black man with long flowing hair, ruddy cheeks, and inflamed eyes like two copper pots. His heart(Lit.'liver'.) is more gross than a donkey's; he carries your words to the hypocrites, so beware of him.' This, so they say was the description of Nabtal.

Also from B. Dubay'a was Abu Habiba b. al-Az'ar, one of those who had built the mosque of al-Dirar; Tha'laba b. Hatib; and Mu'attib b. Qushayr. It was those two who made a covenant with Allah saying, 'If he gives us of his bounty we will give alms and be of the righteous'(Sura 9.7) to the end of the story. And it was Mu'attib who said at Uhud: ' If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here.' So Allah sent down concerning what he said: 'A party who were anxious about their lives thought wrongly about Allah as the pagans thought. They said: "If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here"(Sura3.4) to the end of the context. It was he who said on the day of the Parties, " Muhammad promises us that we shall enjoy the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy!" So Allah revealed concerning him: 'And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease say Allah and his apostle have promised us nothing but a delusion.'(Sura 33.)

Also al-Harith b.Hatib(297)

Also 'Abbad b. Hunayf brother of Sahl, and Bahzaj who were among the builders of the mosque of al-Dirar. And 'Amr b. Khidham and 'Abdullah b. Nabtal.

Of the B. The 'laba were Jariya b. Amir b. al-'Attaf and his two sons Zayd and Mujammi'. They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirar. Mujammi' was a

youth who had collected most of the Quran and he used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who used to lead their people in prayer in their mosque, died, in the time of 'Umar, Mujammi' was mentioned to act as leader, but 'Umar would not have it, saying ,'Wasn't he the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirar?' He replied: 'By Allah , I knew nothing of their affairs. But I was a youngster who could recite the Quran, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers. Their affair seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave.' They allege that 'Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik: Wadi'a b. Thabit, one of the builders of the Dirar mosque who said, 'We were only talking and hesting.' So Allah sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about Allah and His signs and His apostle you were jesting?' to the end of the passage.

Of B. al-Nabit(298) of the clan of B. Haritha b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus: Mirba"b Qays who said to the apostle when he passed through his garden on his way to Uhud: ' I do not allow you Muhammad to pass through my garden even if you are a prophet.' He took a handful of dirt and said: 'By God, if I did not know that I might throw it on others I would throw this dirt at you.' The people pressed on him to kill him and the apostle said: 'Let him alone. For this blind man is blind of heart and blind of perception'. Sa'd b. Zayd brother of B.'Abdul'l-Ashhal hit him with his bow and wounded him; also his brother Aus b. Qayz, who said to the apostle on the day of the Trench: 'Our houses lie open to the enemy, so give us leace to go back to them.'So Allah revealed concerning him:'They say our houses lie open to the enemy. They are not open; all they want is to run away'(Sura 9.66)

Of B. Zafar(Zafar's name was Ka'b b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj): Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi'. He was a sturdy old man steeped long in paganism, A son of his was one of the best of the Muslims, Yazid by name. He was disabled by wounds received at Uhud and was carried to the house of the B. Zafar.

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that the Muslims there both men and women gathered to him when he was at the point of death and were saying: 'Rejoice, O son of Hatib, in the thought of paradise!' Then his hypocrisy showed itself, for his father said, 'Humph! BY Allah it is a garden of rue. You have sent this poor fellow to his death by your deception.'

Also Bushayr b. Ubayriq Abu tu'ma, the 'Stealer of the Two Breastplates' Concerning whom Allah sent down: 'And argue not on behalf of those who deceive themselves. Allah does not love a single deceiver.'(Sura 4.7, I.H has omitted much of what Yunus reported from I.I See Sughayli,ii) Also Quzman, an ally of theirs.

The same 'Asim told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' At Uhud he fought so valiantly that he killed several polytheists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Quzman; you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for

God's sake.' He said: 'Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.' And when the pain of his wounds became unendurable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal no hypocrite male or female was known except al-Dahhak b. Thabit, one of the B. Ka'b of the family of Sa'd b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews.

Hassan b. Thabit said of him. (Diwan, p.34.)

Who will tell al-Dahhak that his veins
Were unable to be glorified in Islam?
Do you love the Jews of al-Hijaz and their religion,
You liver-hearted ass, and not love Muhammad?
Their religion will never march with ours
As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Julas together with Mu'attib, Rafi', and Bishr used to make false profession of Islam. (Read yadda'una (against both C. and W.) in accord with Sura 67.27; and for the meaning see Lane, 884 a and b.). Some Muslims asked them to go to the apostle to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the kahins who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So Allah sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray.' (Sura 4.63.)

Of Khazraj from B. al-Najjar: Rafi'b. Wadi'a, Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Amr b. Qays, and Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl.

Of B. Jusham of the clan of B. Salima: al-Jidd b. Qays who said, 'O Muhammad, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So Allah sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says, Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely it is into temptation that they have fallen and hell encompasses the unbelievers.' (Sura 9.49.)

Of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj: 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said, 'If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al- Mustaliq and the whole Sura of the Hypocrites (Sura 63. Cf.W.727 infra.) came down about him and Wadi'a a man of B. 'Auf and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Da'is of the clan of 'Abdullah b. Ubayy. Those were his men who sent secret messages to B. al- Nadir (Cf.W.653.10.) when the apostle besieged them: 'Stand fast, for by Allah if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you.' So Allah sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scripture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are

attacked we will help you. Allah bears witness that they are liars', as far as His works 'Like Satan when he says to men, "Disbelieve," and when they disbelieve he says, "I am not responsible for you; for my part I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds."' (Sura 59. II-16.).

115 - THE RABBIS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM HYPOCRITICALLY

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: Of B. Qaynuqa': Sa'd b. Hunayf; Zayd b. al-Lusayt; Nu man b. Aufa b. 'Amr; 'Uthman b. Aufa; Zayd b. al-Lusayt; who fought with 'Umar in the market of the B. Qaynuq'. He was the man who said when the apostle's camel wandered off: 'Muhammad alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he doesn't know where his camel is!' When the apostle heard of what this enemy of Allah had said and Allah had told him where his camel was he said, 'I only know what Allah lets me know. And Allah has shown me. It is in such-and-such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.' The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said.

Also Rafi' b. Huraymila of whom I have heard that the prophet said, 'One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.' And Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of whom the prophet said when there was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Mustaliq and the Muslims were in great anxiety: 'Don't be afraid; the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.' When he got back to Medina he found that Rifa'a had died the day the wind blew. Also Silsila b. Barham and Kinana b. Suriya.

These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them (It is by no means certain that these men were Jews. The previous section almost certainly proves that they were not; however they may well have been half converted to Judaism like so many of the inhabitants of Medina.) were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voice among themselves huddled together. He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb got up and went to 'Amr b. Qays, one of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar who was the custodian of their gods during the pagan era, took hold of his foot and dragged him outside the mosque, he saying meanwhile 'Would you drag me out of the datebarn of the B. Tha'laba!' Thend he went for Rafi' b. Wadi'a, one of the B. al-Najjar, gripped him by his robe, slapped his face, and dragged him forcibly out of the mosque, saying, 'Faugh! you dirty hypocrite! Keep ;out of the apostle's mosque, you hypocrite!' (300).

'Umara b. Hazm went for Zayd b. 'Amr who had a long beard and seized him by it and dragged him violently out of the mosque. Then clenching his fists he pushed him in the chest and knocked him down, Zayd crying the meanwhile, ' You have torn my skin lff!' 'Allah get rid of you, you hypocrite,' he answered, 'Allah has a worse punishment than that in store for you, so don't come near the apostle's mosque again!' (301).

Abu Muhammad Mas'ud b. Aus b. Zayd b. Asram b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar (who was at Badr) went for Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl who was a youth the

only young man known to have been among the hypocrites) and ;pushed him in the back of the neck until he ejected him from the mosque.

A man of B. al-Khudra b. al-Khazraj of the family of Abu Sa'd called 'Abdullah b. al-Harith, hearing the order to clear the mosque, went for al-Harith b. 'Amr, a man with long hair, and taking a good grip of it he dragged him violently the whole way along the floor until he put him out, the hypocrite meanwhile saying 'You are very rough, Ibnu'l-Harith.' 'Serve you right, you enemy of God, for what Allah has sent down about you,' he answered, 'Don't come near the apostle's mosque again, for you are unclean.'

A man of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf went for his brother Zuwayy b. al-Harith and put him out violently, saying, 'Faugh'! You are doing Satan's work for him!'

These were the hypocrites whom the apostle ordered to be expelled from the mosque that day.

116 - REFERENCES TO THE HYPOCRITES AND THE JEWS IN THE SURA ENTITLED 'THE COW'

The first hundred verses of the Sura of the Cow came down in reference to those Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj, according to what I have been told, and Allah knows best. He said: 'Alif Lam Mim. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.' The word rayb means doubt(302).

'A guidance to the god-fearing',i.e. those who fear God's punishment for abandoning the guidance they rec

Al-Nahham and Qardam and Bahri came and said to him: 'Do you not know that there is another god with God?' The apostle answered: 'God, there is no Allah but He. With that (message) I was sent and that I preach.' Allah sent down concerning their words: 'Say, What is the greatest testimony? Say Allah is witness between me and you, and this Quran has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whomsoever it reaches. Do you actually testify that with Allah there are other gods? Say, I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I dissociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe.' (The charge of polytheism made against the Jews is very puzzling and hard to explain. Certainly this passage (Sura 6.19) and the context in which it occurs refers not to the Jews but to the polytheists.)

Rifa'a and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So Allah sent down concerning these two men: 'O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear Allah if you are believers', as far as the words 'And when they come to you they say, We believe, but they came in in unbelief and they went out with it and Allah knows best about what they are concealing.' (Sura 5.62)

Jabal and Shamwil came to the apostle and said: 'Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say.' So Allah sent down concerning them: 'They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say, only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time. It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly will it come upon you. They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say Only Allah knows about it, but most men do not know' (Sura 7.186. To make sense we must supply the words that they do not know' at the end.) (322)_

Sallam and Nu'man b. Aufa and Mahmud b. Dihya and Sha's and Malik came and said to him: 'How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qibla and you do not allege that 'Uzayr is the son of God?' So Allah sent down concerning these words: 'The Jews say that 'Uzayr is the son of Allah and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God. That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieved aforetime. Allah fight them! How perverse they are' to the end of the passage (Sura 9.30) (323).

Mahmud b. Sayhan and Nu'man b. Ada' and Bahri and 'Uzayr and Sallam came to him and said: 'Is it true, Muhammad, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.' He answered, 'You know quite well that it is from God; you will find it written in the Torah which you have. If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not.' Finhas and 'Abdullah b. Suriya and Ibn Saluba and Kinana b. al Rabi' and Ashya' and Ka'b b. al- Asad and Shamwil and Jabal were there and they said: 'Did neither men nor jinn tell you this, Muhammad?' He said: 'You know well that it is from Allah and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.' They said: 'When Allah sends an apostle He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.' So Allah sent down concerning their words: 'Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Quran they would not produce its like though one helped the other' (17.90) (324)

Huyayy, Ka'b, Abu Rafi'. Ashya', and Shamwil said to 'Abdullah b. Salam when he became a Muslim, 'There is no prophecy among the Arabs, but your master is a king.' Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhu'l-Qarnayn and he told them what Allah had sent him about him from what he had already narrated to Quraysh. They were of those who ordered Quraysh to ask the apostle about him when they sent al-Nadr and 'Uqba to them. (v.s., p. 136)

I was told that Sa'id b. Jubayr said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: 'Now, Muhammad, Allah created creation, but who created Allah?' The apostle was so angry that his colour changed and he rushed at them being indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and quietened him saying, 'Calm yourself, O Muhammad.' And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'Say, He Allah is One. Allah the Eternal. He begetteth not neither is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.' (112) When he recited that to them they said, 'Describe His shape to us, Muhammad; his forearm and his upper arm, what are they like?' The apostle was more angry than before and rushed at them. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'They think not of Allah as He ought to be thought of; the whole earth

will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.' (39.67. In W.'s text this paragraph is attributed to Ibn Hisham.)

Utba b. Muslim freedman of the B. Taym from Abu salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman from Abu Hurayra told me: I heard the apostle say, 'Men question their prophet(I prefer W.'s reading to that of C.) to such an extent that one would almost say, Now Allah created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say ye: He Allah is one.'&c. Then let a man spit three times to the left and say 'I take refuge in Allah from Satan the damned'(325

117 - A DEPUTATION FROM THE CHRISTIANS OF NAJRAN

A deputation from the Christians of Najran came to the apostle. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (a) the 'Aqib the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy,'Abdu'-Masih by name; (b) the sayyid, their administrator who saw to transport and general engagement, whose name was al-Ayham; and (c) their Bishop, scholar, and religious leader who controlled their schools, Abu Haritha 'Alqama, one of B. Bakr b. Waih.

Abu Haritha occupied a position of honour among them, and was a great student, so that he had an excellent knowledge of their religion, and the Christian kings of Byzantium had honoured him and paid him a subsidy and gave him servants, built churches for him and lavished honours on him, because of his knowledge and zeal for their religion.

When they set out(Reading wajjahu with W) from Najran to see the apostle Abu Haritha was riding on a mule of his with a brother at his side whose name was Kuz b. 'Alqama(326). Abu Haritha's mule stumbled and Kuz said, 'May So-and - so stumble,'[i.e Curse him], meaning the apostle, Abu Haritha said, 'Nay but may you stumble.' 'But why, brother? he asked. 'Because by Allah he is the prophet we have been waiting for.' Kuz said, 'Then if you know that, what stops you from accepting him?' He replied, 'The way these people have treated us. They have given us titles, paid us subsidies, and honoured us. But they are absolutely opposed to him, and if I were to accept him they would take from us all that you see.' Kuz pondered over the matter until later he adopted Islam, and used to tell this story, so I have heard (327).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when they came to Medina they came into the apostle's mosque as he prayed the afternoon prayer clad in Yamani garments, cloaks, and mantles, with the elegance of men of B. al-Harith b. Ka'b. The prophet's companions who saw them that day said that they never saw their like in any deputation that came afterwards. The time of their prayers having come they stood and prayed in the apostle's mosque, and he said that they were to be left to do so. They prayed towards the east.

The names of the fourteen principal men among the sixty riders were: 'Abdu'l-Masih the 'Aqib, al-Ayham the Sayyid; Abu Haritha b. 'Alqama brother of B. Bakr b. Wa'il; Aus; al-Harith; Zayd; Qays; Yazid; Nubayh; Khuwaylid; 'Amr; Khalid; 'Abdullah; Johannes; of these the first three named above spoke to the apostle. They were Christians according to the Byzantine rite, though they differed among themselves in some points, saying He is God; and He is the son of God; and He is the third person of the Trinity, which is the doctrine of Christianity. They argue that he is Allah because he used to raise the dead, and heal the sick, and declare the unseen; and make clay birds and then breathe into them so that they flew away; (Sura 3.43.) and all this was by the command of Allah Almighty, 'We will make him a sign to men.' (Sura 19.21.) They argue that he is the son of Allah in that they say he had no known father; and he spoke in the cradle and this is something that no child of Adam has ever done. They argue that he is the third of three in that Allah says: We have done, We have commanded, We have created and We have decreed, and they say, If He were one he would have said I have done, I have created, and soon, but He is He and Jesus and Mary. Concerning all these assertions the Quran came down.

When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, 'Submit yourselves.' (The ordinary meaning of the word must stand here. Muhammad, of course, meant 'Become Muslims'. The Christians answered that they had already submitted themselves to God--see what was said on p.179.). They said, 'We have submitted.' He said: 'You have not submitted, so submit.' They said, 'Nay, but we submitted before you.' He said, 'You lie. Your assertion that Allah has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating pork hold you back from submission.' They said, 'But who is his father, Muhammad?' The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So Allah sent down concerning their words and their incoherence the beginning of the Sura of the Family of 'Imran up to more than eighty verses, and He said: 'Alif Lam Mim. Allah there is no Allah but He the Living the Ever-existent.' (3.1.). Thus the Sura begins with the statement that He transcends what they say, and His oneness in creation and authority, without associate therein, in refutation of the infidelity they have invented, and their making rivals to Him; and using their own arguments against them in reference to their master to show them their error thereby. 'Allah there is no Allah but He,' no associate is with Him in His authority. 'The Living the Ever-existent,' the living Who cannot die, whereas Jesus died and was crucified according to their doctrine; 'The Ever-existent' one who remains unceasingly in the place of His sovereignty in His creation, Whereas Jesus,according to their doctrine,removed from the place where he was and went from it elsewhere. 'He has brought down to thee the book in truth,' i.e. with the truth about which they differ. 'And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel.' the Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus, as He sent down books to those who were before him. 'And He sent down the Criterion,' i.e. the distinction between truth and falsehood about which the sects differ in regard to the nature (Not in the theological sense, though undoubtedly christological differences form the background of this Sura.)of Jesus and other matters. 'Those who disbelieve in God's signs will have a severe punishment. Allah is mighty, Vengeful,' i.e. Allah will take vengeance on all who deny His signs, after knowing about them and about what comes from Him in them. 'Nothing in heaven or earth is hidden from God,' i.e. He knows what they intend and scheme and what comparison they seek to establish in their doctrine of

Jesus when they make him Allah and Lord, when they possess the knowledge that he is nothing of the kind, thus behaving with insolence and infidelity. 'He it is who forms you in the womb as He pleases,' i.e. Jesus was one who was formed in the womb--they do not attempt to deny that--like every other child of Adam, so how can he be Allah when he had occupied such a place? Then He says, to lift His transcendence and His essential Unity above what they put with Him, 'There is no Allah but He the Mighty the Wise.' The Mighty in His victory over those who deny Him when He wills, and the Wise in His argument and His case against His creatures. 'He it is who has sent down to thee the book which has plain verses: they are the core (Lit. 'the mother'.) of the book', in them is the divine argument, the protection of (His) creatures, and the thrusting aside of controversy and falsehood. These are not subject to modification or alteration (The two words used, tasrif and tahrif, are not always clearly defined by the Arab commentators. Lane says that the tasrif of the verses means 'the varying or diversifying of the verses of the Quran by repeating and varying them'. As to tahrif, Buhl's article in E.I. should be consulted: 'It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense....' Ibn Ishaq says that neither the plain nor the obscure verses may be treated with tahrif; but in the latter category tasrif and interpretation may be resorted to--i.e. a meaning may be given to them which the words taken as they stand do not justify.) in the meaning which has been given. 'And others are obscure', they are subject to modification and interpretation. By them Allah tests His creatures as He tests them with things permitted and forbidden that they should not be changed into what is false and altered by declining from the truth. 'But as to those in whose hearts is a deviation,' i.e. turning away from true guidance, ' they follow what is ambiguous,' i.e. what can be otherwise interpreted to substantiate thereby what they have invented and introduced a new that they may have an argument and a plausible reason for their doctrine, 'desiring fitna,' i.e. confusion, and 'desiring an arbitrary interpretation,' e.g. the error they adopted in explaining 'We created' and 'We decreed'. And none knows its interpretation,' i.e. what they mean by it, 'except God; and those grounded in knowledge. They say, We believe in it. Everything comes from our Lord.' So how can there by any controversy when it is one speech from one Lord? Then they carry over the interpretation of the obscure to the plain which can have only one meaning and thus the book becomes consistent, one parat confirming another, the argument effective and the case clear; falsehood is excluded and unbelief is overcome. 'None but the intelligent take heed' in this way. 'O Lord, Suffer not our hearts to go astray after Thou hast guided us,' i.e. Do not let our hearts swerve, though we swerve aside through our sins. 'Grant us mercy from Thy presence. Thou art the Generous Giver.' Then He says, 'Allah witnesses that there is no Allah but He, and the angels and the men of knowledge too' contrary to what they say 'subsisting ever in justice,' i.e. in equity. 'There is no Allah but He the Mighty the Wise. The religion with Allah is Islam,' i.e. the religion you practise, O Muhammad, acknowledging the oneness of Allah and confirming the apostles. 'Those to whom the book was brought differed only after knowledge had come to them,' i.e. that which came to thee, namely that Allah is One without associate, 'throught transgression among themselves. And whosoever disbelieves in God's revelations--Allah is swift to take into account. And if they argue with thee,' i.e. with the false doctrine they produce about 'We created,' 'We did', and 'We commanded', it is only

a specious argument devoid of truth. 'Say, I have surrendered my purpose (wajhi.) to God,' i.e. to Him alone, 'as have those who follow me. And say to those who received the book and to the gentile (converts) who have no book, 'Have you surrendered? For if they have surrendered they will be rightly guided and if they turn their backs it is only incumbent on thee to deliver the message. And Allah sees (His) servants.'

Then He combined the Jews and Christians and reminded them of what they had newly invented and said: 'Those who disbelieve in God's revelations and kill the prophets wrongfully and kill men who enjoin justice' as far as the words, 'Say, O Allah possessor of sovereignty,' i.e. Lord of mankind and the King who alone decrees among them. 'Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt and takest it away from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest and abasest whom Thou wilt; in Thy hand is good,' i.e. there is no Allah but Thee. 'Thou canst do all things,' i.e. none but Thou can do this in thy majesty and power. 'Thou cause the night to pass into day and the day into night and bringest forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living' by that power. 'And Thou nurturest whom Thou wilt without stint.' None has power to do that but Thou; i.e. though I gave Jesus power over those matters in virtue of which they say that he is Allah such as raising the dead, healing the sick, creating birds of clay, and declaring the unseen, I made him thereby a sign to men and a confirmation of his prophethood wherewith I sent him to his people. But some of My majesty and power I withheld from him such as appointing kings by a prophetic command and placing them where I wished, and making the night to pass into day and the day into night and bringing forth the living from the dead and the dead form the living and nurturing whom I will without stint,both the good and the evil man. All that I withheld from Jesusand have him no power over it. Have they not an example and a clear proof,that if he were a Allah all that would be within his power, while they know that he fled from kings and because of them he moved about the country from town to town.

Then he admonished and warned the believers and said: 'Say, If you love God,' i.e. if what you say is true in love to Allah and in glorifying Him 'and follow me, Allah will love you and forgive you your sins,' i.e. your past unbelief. 'And Allah is Forgiving Merciful. Say, Obey Allah and His apostle,' for you know him and find him (mentioned) in your book. 'But if you turn back,' i.e. to your unbelief, 'Allah loveth not the unbelievers.'

Then He explained to them how what Allah intended to do with Jesus originated and said: 'Allah chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imran above the worlds. They were descendants one of another and Allah is a Hearer, a Knower.' Then he mentioned the affair of 'Imran's wife and how she said: 'My Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my womb as a consecrated offering,' i.e. I have vowed him and made him entirely devoted to God's service subservient to no worldly interest. 'Accept (him) from me. Thou art the Seer the Knower. And when she was delivered of him she said: O my Lord, I have given birth to a female--and Allah knew best of what she was delivered--and the male is not as the female,' i.e. the two were not the same when I vowed her to thee as a consecrated offering. 'I have called her Mary and I put her in Thy keeping and her offspring from Satan the damned.' Allah said: 'And her Lord accepted

her with kindly acceptance and made her grow up to a goodly growth and made Zachariah her guardian' after her father and mother were dead (328).

He mentions that she was an orphan and tells of her and Zachariah and what he prayed for and what He gave him when He bestowed on him Yahya. Then He mentions Mary and how the angels said to her, 'O Mary, Allah hath chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the worlds. O Mary, be obedient to Thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow with those that bow', saying, 'That is some of the tidings of things hidden. We reveal it to thee. Thou wast not present with them,' i.e. thou wast not with them 'when they threw their arrows to know which of them should be the guardian of Mary' (329)

Later her guardian was Jurayj, the ascetic, a carpenter of B. Isra'il. The arrow came out for him so he took her, Zachariah having been her guardian heretofore. A grievous famine befell B. Isra'il and Zachariah was unable to support her so they cast lots to see who should be her guardian and the lot fell on Jurayj the ascetic and he became her guardian. 'And thou was not with them when they disputed,' i.e. about her. He tells him about what they concealed from him though they knew it to prove his prophethood and as an argument against them by telling them what they had concealed from him.

Then He said: 'Then the angels said: O Mary, Allah giveth thee good tidings of a word from Him whose name is the Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary,' i.e. thus was his affair not as you say concerning him, illustrious in this world and the next,' i.e. with Allah 'and of those who are brought near. (sc. 'to God' or 'by God'.) He will speak to men in his cradle and as a grown man, and he is of the righteous ones,' telling them of the phases of life through which he would pass like the other sons of Adam in their lives young and old, although Allah marked him out by speech in his cradle as a sign of his prophethood and to show mankind where his power lay. 'She said, O my Lord, how can I have a child when no man hath touched me? He said: Thus (it will be) Allah creates what He will,' i.e. He does what He wishes, and creates what He wills of mortal or non-mortal. 'When He decrees a thing He merely says to it Be' of what He wills and how He wills 'And it is' as He wishes.

Then He tells her of His intention in regard to him: 'And He will teach him the book and the wisdom and the Torah' which had been with them from the time of Moses before him 'and the Gospel,' another book which Allah initiated and gave to him; (See p.254, n.1.) they had only the mention of him that he would be one of the prophets after him. 'And an apostle to B. Isra'il (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord,' i.e. confirming thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. 'I will create for you from clay the likeness of the form of birds and I will breathe into them and they will become birds by God's permission,' Who has sent me unto you, He being my Lord and yours 'and I will heal him who was born blind and the leper' (330). 'And I will quicken the dead by God's permission and I will tell you of what you eat and store up in your houses. Therein is a sign for you' that I am an apostle from Allah to you, 'if you become believers. And confirming that which was before me of the Torah,' i.e. what of it preceded me, 'and to make lawful to you some of that which was forbidden you,' i.e. I tell

you about it that it was forbidden you and you abandoned it; then I make it lawful to you to relieve you of it and you can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties. 'And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear Allah and obey me. Allah is my Lord and your Lord,' i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord (is God). 'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that to which I urge you and bring you. 'But when Jesus perceived their disbelief' and enmity against him 'He said, Who are my helpers towards God? The disciples said: We are God's helpers. We believe in God.' This is their saying by which they gained favour from their Lord. 'And bear witness that we are Muslims,' not what those who argue with thee say about Him. 'O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write us down among the witnesses,' i.e. thus was their saying and their faith.

Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided to kill him and says: 'And they plotted and Allah plotted and Allah is the best of plotters.' Then He tells them--refuting what they assert of the Jews in regard to his crucifixion--how He took him up and purified him from them and says: 'When Allah said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and to exalt thee to Myself and to purify thee from those who disbelieve' when they purposed as they did, 'and am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.' The narration continues until the words 'This which We recite unto thee,' O Muhammad, 'of the signs and the wise warning,' the final, the decisive, the true, in which no falsehood is mingled, of the story of Jesus and of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. 'The likeness of Jesus with God,' And listen! 'is as the likeness of Adam whom god created of earth; then said to him: Be; and he was. The truth is from thy Lord,' i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, 'so be not of the doubters,' i.e. the truth has come to thee from thy Lord so do not be doubtful about it; and if they say, Jesus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam from earth by that same power without a male or a female. And he was as Jesus was: flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without a male is no more wonderful than this. 'Whose argues with thee about him after knowledge has come to thee,' i.e. after I have told thee his story and how his affair was, 'Then say: Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves, then let us pray earnestly (As the sequel shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on which of us is lying'.) and invoke God's curse upon the liars' (331). 'Verily this' which I have brought you of the story of Jesus 'is the true story' of his affair. 'There is no Allah but God, and Allah is Mighty Wise. If they turn back Allah knows about the corrupt doers. Say, O Scripture folk, Come to a just word between us that we will worship only Allah and associatae nothing with Him and some of us will not take others as lords beside God. And if they turn back say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.' Thus he invited them to justice and deprived them of their argument.

When there came to the apostle news of Jesus from Allah and a decisive judgement between him and them, and he was commanded to resort to mutual invocation of a curse if they opposed him, he summoned them to begin. But they said: 'O Abu'l-Qasim, let us consider our affairs; then we will come to you later with our decision.' so they left him and consulted with the 'Aqib who was their chief adviser and asked him what his opinion was. He said: 'O Christians, you know right well that Muhammad is a prophet sent (by

God) and he has brought a decisive declaration about the nature of your master. You know too that a people has never invoded a curse on a prophet and seen its elders live and its youth grow up. If you do this you will be exterminated. But if you decide to adhere to you religion and to maintain your doctrine about your master, then take you leave of the man and go home.' So they came to the apostle and told him that they had decided not to resort to cursing and to leave him in his religion and return home. But they would like him to send a man he could trust to decide between them in certain financial matters in dispute among them.

Muhammad b. Ja'far said: The apostle said, 'If you come to me this evening I will send a firm and trusty man.' 'Umar used to say, 'I never wanted an office more than I wanted that one and hoped that I should get it. I went to the noon prayer in the heat and when the apostle had concluded it he looked to right and left and I began to stretch myself to my full height so that he could see me; but he kept on searching with his eyes until he saw Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah and calling him he said, "Go with them and judge between them faithfully in matters they dispute about."' So, said 'Umar, Abu 'Ubayda went with them.

118 - SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that when the apostle came to Medina the leader there was 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul al-'Aufi of the clan of B. al-Hubla; none of his own people contested his authority and Aus and Khazraj never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abu 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Sayfi b. al-Nu'man, one of B. Dubay'a b. Zayd, the father of Hanzala, 'the washed' on the day of Uhud. (v.i.) He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called 'the monk'. These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

'Abdullah b. Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when Allah sent His apostle to them; so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with enmity realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abu 'Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abu Umama from one of the family of Hanzala b. Abu 'Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer'.

Ja'far b.'Abdullah b. Abu'l-Hakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abu 'Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.'

'that is what I follow'.

'you do not.'

'But I do! You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Hanifiya things which do not belong to it.'

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May Allah let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!'(meaning the apostle if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May Allah so reward him!'

That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Ta'if; When Ta'if became Muslim went to Syria and died there a lonely ,homeless,fugitive.

Now there went with him 'Alqama b. Ulatha b.'Auf b.al-Ahwas b.Ja'far b.Kilab,and Kinanab 'Ad Yalilb'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafi. When he died they brought their rival claims to his property before Caesar, lord of Rome.(i.e. Nova Roma) Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and let nomads inherit nomads.' So kinana b. 'Abd Yalil inherited his property and not 'Alqama.

Kab'b. Malik said of Abu 'Amir and what he had done:

Allah save me from an evil deed
Like yours against your clan, O 'Abdu "Amr.

You said, 'I have honour and wealth',
But of old you sold your faith for infidelity (332).

'Abdullah b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the apostle rode to Sa'd b. 'Ubada to visit him during his illness, mounted on an ass with a saddle surmounted by a cloth of Fadak with da bridle of palm-'Abdullah b. Ubayy as he was sitting in the shade of his fort Muzaham (333). Round him were sitting some of his men, and when the apostle saw him his sense of politeness would not allow him to pass without alighting. So he got off the animal and sat for a little while reciting the Quran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air, uttered not a word. Finally, when the apostle had finished speaking he said, "There wouldbe nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it; but don't importune those who do not come to you, and don't come into a man's gathering with talk which he does not like." 'Abdullah b. Rawaha, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, "Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For by Allah it is what we love and what Allah has honoured us with, and guided us to." When 'Abdullah b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said:

When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliated
And your adversaries will overthrow you. (Ibn Qutayba, Muqaddima, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1947, p.22, has ya'luka for yasra'ka. G-D. translates maulaka by 'ton patron'. The word is a homonym and in its context seems to require the meaning I have given.)
Can the falcon mount without his wings?
If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (334).

'Al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usama told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubada, his face showing the emotions raised by Ibn Ubayy, the enemy of God. Sa'd asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa'd said: 'Don't be heard on him; for Allah sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by Allah he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.'

119 - FEVER ATTACKS THE APOSTLE'S COMPANIONS

Hisham b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abdullah b. 'Urwa from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'A'isha said: When his apostle came to Medina it was the most fever-infested land on earth, and his companions suffered severely from it, though Allah kept it from His apostle. 'Amir b. Fuhayra and Bilal, freedmen of Abu ;Bakr, were with him in one house when the fever attacked them, and I came in to visit them, for the veil had not then been ordered for us. Only Allah knows how much they suffered from the fever. I came to my father and asked him how he fared and he said:

Any man might be greeted by his family in the morning
While death was nearer than the thong of his sandal.

I thought that my father did not know what he was saying. Then I went to 'Amir and asked him how he was and he said:

I have experienced death before actually tasting it:
The coward's death comes upon his as he sits.
Every man resists it with all his might
Like the ox who protects his body with his horns (335).

I thought that 'Amir did not know what he was saying. Bilal when the fever left him lay prostrate in a corner of the house. Then he lifted up his voice and said:

Shall I ever spend a night again in Fakhkh
(Cf. Yaq.iii.854. II, and Bukhari, i.471.13. Fakhkh is a place outside Mecca. Majanna in the lower part of
Mecca was a market of the Arabs in pagan days.)
With sweet herbs and thyme around me?
Will the day dawn when I come down to the waters of Majanna
Shall I ever see Shama and Tafil again? (336)

I told the apostle what they had said and he remarked that they were delirious and out of their minds with a high temperature. He said, "O God, make Medina as dear to us as Mecca and even dearer! And bless to us its food, and carry its fever to Mahya'a." Mahya'a is al-Juhfa.' (Cf. Yaq. i. 35.16, who says it was once a large village with a pulpit on the road from Medina to Mecca about four stagaes distant from the latter. It was the rendezvous of the Egyptians and Syrians if they wished to avoid Medina.)

Ib Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. al-'As mentioned that, when the apostle came to Medina with his companions, the fever of Medina smote them until they were extremely ill (though Allah turned it away from his prophet) to such a degree that they could \only pray sitting. The apostle came out to them when they were praying thus and said: 'Know that the prayer of the sitter is only half as valuable as the ;prayer of the stander.' Thereupon the Muslims painfully struggled to their feet despite their weakness and sickness, seeking a blessing.

Then the apostle prepared for war in pursuance of God's command to fight his enemies and to fight those polytheists who were near at hand whom Allah commanded him to fight. This was thirteen years after his call.

120 - THE DATE OF THE HIJRA

By the preceding isnad from 'Abdullah b. Hisham who said Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i from Muhammad b. Ishaq told me that the apostle came to Medina on Monday at high noon on the 12th of Rabi'u'l-awwal.

The apostle on that day was fifty-three years of age, that being thirteen years after Allah called him. He stayed there for the rest of Rabi'u'l-awwal, the monght of Rabi'u'l-Akhir, the two Jumadas, Rajab, Sha'ban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja (when the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage), and Muharam. Then he went forth raiding in Safar at the beginning of the twelth month from his coming to Medina (337).

121 - (THE RAID ON WADDAN WHICH WAS HIS FIRST RAID)

until he reached Waddan, which is the raid of al-Abwa', making for Quraysh and B. Damra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana. The B. Damra there made peace with him through their leader Makhshi b. 'Amr al-Damri. Then he returned to Medina without meeting war and remained there for the rest of Safa and the beginning of Rabi'u'l-awwal (338).

122 - THE EXPEDITION OF 'UBAYDA B. AL-HARITH

During that stay in Medina the apostle sent 'Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib with sixty or eighty riders from the emigrants, there not being a single one of the Ansar among them. He went as far as water in the Hijaz below Thaniyatu'l-Murra, where he encountered a large number of Quraysh. No fighting took place except that Sa'd b. Abu ;Waqqas shot an arrow on that day. It was the first arrow to be shot in Islam. Then the two companies separated, the Muslims having a rearguard. Al-Miqdad b. 'Amr al-Bahrani, an ally of the B. Zuhra, and 'Utba b. Ghazwan b. ;Jabir al-Mazini, an ally of the B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf, fled from the polytheists and joined the Muslims to whom they really belonged. They had gone out with the unbelievers in order to be able to link up with the Muslims. 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl was in command of the Meccans (339).

Concerning this raid Abu Bakr composed the following (340).

Could you ;not sleep because of the spectre of Salma in the sandy valleys,
And the important event that happened in the tribe?
You see that neither admonition nor a prophet's call
Can save some of Lu'ayy from unbelief;
A truthful prophet came to them and they gave him the lie,
And said, 'You shall not live among us.'
When we called them to the truth they turned their backs,
They howled like bitches driven back panting to their lairs;
With how many of them have we ties of kinship,
Yet to abandon piety did not weigh upon them;
If they turn back from their unbelief and disobedience
(For the good and lawful is not like the abominable);
If they follow their idolatry and error
God's punishment on them will not tarry;
We are men of Ghalib's highest stock
From which nobility comes through many branches;
I swear by the lord of camels urged on at even by singing
Their feet protected by old leather thongs,
Like the red-backed deer that haunt Mecca
Going down to the well's slimy cistern;
I swear, and I am no perjurer,
If they do not quickly repent of their error,
A valiant band will descend upon them,
Which will leave women husbandless.
It will leave dead men, with vultures wheeling round,
It will not spare the infidels as Ibn Harith did. (i.e. 'Ubayda.)
Give the Banu Sahm with you a message
And every infidel who is trying to do evil;
If you assail (Abu Dharr refers the meaning of this word to the divine omniscience. In this line possibly 'ancestry' rather than 'honour' is the meaning of 'ird.) my honour in your evil opinion
I will not assail
(Abu Dharr refers the meaning of this word to the divine omniscience. In this line possibly 'ancestry' rather than 'honour' is the meaning of 'ird.) yours.

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmi replied thus:

Does your eye weep unceasingly
Over the ruins of a dwelling that the shifting sand obscures?
And one of the wonders of the days
(For time is full of wonders, old and new)
Is a strong army which came to us
Led by 'Ubayda, called Ibn Harith in war,
That we should abandon images venerated in Mecca,

Passed on to his heirs by a noble ancestor.
When we met them with the spears of Rudayna,
And noble steeds panting for the fray,
And swords so white they might be salt-strewn
In the hands of warriors, dangerous as lions,
wherewith we deal with the conceited (Lit., the turning away of him who turns to one side. Possibly the writer has in mind Sura 31.17, 'Turn not thy cheek in scorn towards people'.)
And quench our thirst for vengeance without delay.
They withdrew in great fear and awe,
Pleased with the order of him who kept them back.
Had they not done so the women would have wailed,
Bereft of their husbands all of them.
The slain would have been left for those concerned
And those utterly heedless to talk about
Give Abu Bakr with you a message:
You have no further part in the honour (See n.2 on the previous page.) of Fihr,
No binding oath that cannot be broken
That war will be renewed is needed from me (341).

Sa d b. Abu Waqqas, according to reports, said about his having shot an arrow:

Has the news reached the apostle of God
That I protected my companions with my arrows?
By them I defended their vanguard
In rough ground and plain.
No archer who shoots an arrow at the enemy
Will be counted before me, O apostle of God.
'Twas because thy religion is true
Thou hast brought what is just and truthful.
By it the believers are saved
And unbelievers recompensed at the last.
Stop, thou hast gone astray, so do not slander me.
Woe to thee Abu Jahl, lost one of the tribe! (342).

The flag of 'Ubayda b. al-Harith according to my information was the first flag which the apostle entrusted to a believer in Islam. Some scholars allege that the apostle sent him when he came back from the raid of al-Abwa' before he got to Medina.

123 - HAMZA'S EXPEDITION TO THE SEA-SHORE

While he was staying there he sent Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib to the seashore in the neighbourhood of Al-'Is (T. in the territory of Juhayna) with thirty riders from the emigrants; none of the helpers took part. He met Abu Jahl with three hundred riders from Mecca on the shore, and Majdi b. 'Amr al-Juhani intervened between them, for he was at peace with both parties. So the people separated one from another without fighting.

Some people say that Hamza's flag was the first which the apostle gave to any Muslim because he sent him and 'Ubayda at the same time, and thus people became confused on the point. They alleged that Hamza had composed poetry in which he says that his flag was the first which the apostle entrusted to anyone. Now if Hamza actually said that, it is true if Allah wills. He would not have said it if it were not true, but Allah knows what happened. We have heard from learned people that 'Ubayda was the first man to receive a flag. Hamza said concerning that, so they allege (343):

Wonder, O my people, at good sense and at folly,
At lack of sound counsel and at sensible advice, At those who have wronged us, while we have left
Their people and their property inviolate,
As though we had attacked them;
But all we did was to enjoin chastity and justice
And call them to Islam, but they received it not,
And they treated it as a joke.
They ceased not so until I volunteered to attack them
Where they dwelt, desiring the satisfaction of a task well done
At the apostle's command--the first to march beneath his flag,
Seen with none before me,
A victorious flag from a generous, mighty God,
Whose acts are the most gracious.
At even they sallied forth together,
Each man's pot burning with his companion's rage;
When we saw each other, they halted and hobbled the camels,
And we did the same an arrow-shot distant.
We said to them, 'God's rope is our victorious defence,
You have no rope but error.'
Abu Jahl warred there unjustly,
And was disappointed, for Allah frustrated his schemes.
We were but thirty riders, while they were two hundred and one.
Therefore, O Lu'ayy, obey not your deceivers,
Return to Islam and the easy path,
For I fear that punishment will be poured upon you
And you will cry out in remorse and sorrow.

Abu Jahl answered him, saying:

I am amazed at the causes of anger and folly
And at those who stir up strife by lying controversy,
Who abandon our father's ways.
Those noble, powerful men,
They come to us with lies to confuse our minds,
But their lies cannot confuse the intelligent.
We said to them, 'O our people, strive not with your folk--

Controversy is the utmost folly--
For if you do, your weeping women will cry out
Wailing in calamity and bereavement.
If you give up what you are doing,
We are your cousins, trustworthy and virtuous.'
They said to us, 'We find Muhammad
One whom our cultured and intelligent accept.'
When they were obstinately contentious
And all their deeds were evil,
I attacked them by the sea-shore, to leave them
Like a withered leaf on a rootless stalk.
Majdi held me and my companions back from them
And they helped me with swords and arrows
Because of lan oath binding on us, which we cannot discard,
A firm tie which cannot be severed.
But for Ibn 'Amr I should have left some of them
Food for the ever-present vultures, unavenged:
But he had sworn an oath, which made
Our hands recoil from our swords.
If time spares me I will come at them again,
With keen, new polished swords,
In the hands of warriors from Lu'ayy, son of Ghalib, Generous in times of dearth and want (344). (The language of this 'poem' and its predecessor owes much to the Quran.)

42 - THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kinana and Qays `Aylan, fought in the sacred month. The chief of Quraysh and Kinana was Harb b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kinana(125).

125 - THE RAID ON AL-'USHAYRA

Then he raided the Quraysh (346). He went by the way of B. Dinar, then by Fayfa'u-l-Khabar, and halted under a tree in the valley of Ibn Azhar called Dhatu'l-Saq. There he prayed and there is his mosque. Food was prepared and they all ate there. The place occupied by the stones which supported his cooking-pot is still known. He drank from a watering place called al-Mushtarib. (Tab. and Suhayli have 'al-Mushayrib.) Then he went on leaving al-Khala'iq (According to Yaqut there is a place of this name near Medina which belonged to 'Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Jahsh.) on the left and went through a glen called 'Abdullah to
this day; then he bore to the left (Reading yasar for W.'s Sad. Cf. Suhayli in loc.) until he came down to Yalyal and halted where it joins al-Dabu'a. He drank of the well at al-Dabu'a and then traversed the plain of Malal until he met the track in Sukhayrat al-Yamam which carried him straight to al-'Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu' where he stopped during Jumada'l-Ula and some days of the following month. He made a treaty of

friendship there with B. Mudlij and their allies B. Darma, and then returned to Medina without a fight. It was on this raid that he spoke the well-known words to 'Ali.

Yazid b. Muhammad b. Khaytham al-Muharibi from Muhammad b. Ka'b. al'Qurazi from Muhammad b. Khaytham the father of Yazid from 'Ammar b. Yasir told me that the latter said: 'Ali and I were close companions in the raid of al-'Ushayra and when the apostle halted there we saw some men of B. Mudlij working at a well and on the date palms. 'Ali suggested (In T.(1271 ult.) the suggestion is made to 'Ali by 'Ammar. Someone has been guilty of a deliberate alteration.) that we should go and see what the men were doing, so we went and watched them for a time until we were overcome by drowsiness and we went nd lay down under some young palms and fell fast asleep in the soft fine dust. And then who should wake us but the apostle himself as he stirred us with his foot! It was as we were dusting ourselves that the apostle said to 'Ali when he saw him covered with dust, 'What have you been up to, Abu Turab (father of dust)?' Then he went on, 'Shall I tell you of the two most wretched creatures? Uhaymir of Thamud who slaughtered the camel, and he who shall strike you here, 'Ali'--and he put his hand to the side of his head--'until this is soaked from it'--and he took hold of his beard.

A learned traditionist told me that the real reason why the apostle called 'Ali Abu Turab was that when 'Ali' was angry with Fatima he would not speak to her. ; He did not say anything to annoy her, but he used to sprinkle dust on his head. Whenever the apostle saw dust on 'Ali's head he knew that he was angry with Fatima and he would say, 'What is your trouble, O Abu Turab?' But Allah knows the truth of the matter.

43 - THE APOSTLE OF ALLAH MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraysh were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of Allah accepted the proposal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Maysara and asked who the man was who was resting beneath the tree. He told him that he was of Quraysh, the people who held the sacturary; and the monk exclaimed: `None but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sod the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or thereabouts. Maysara for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which Allah willed to honour her. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of Allah and -so the story goes- said:

`O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in Quraysh, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.

Khadija was the daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Fatima d. Za'ida b. al-Asamm b. Rawaha b. Hajar b. `Abd b. Ma`is b. `Amir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Hala d. `Abdu Manaf b. al-Harith b. `Amr b. Munqidh b. `Amr b. Ma`is b. `Amir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Hala's mother was Qilabad. Su`ayd b. Sa`d b. Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

The apostle of Allah told his uncles of Khadija's proposal, and his uncle Hamza b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib went with him to Khuwaylid b. Asad and asked for her hand and he married her (127).

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrahim, namely al-Qasim (Whereby he was known as Abu'l-Qasim); al-T^ahir, al-Tayyib,(Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets (The Pure, The Good) applied to the one son `Abdullah.) Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthum, and Fatima(128).

Al-Qasim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tahir died in p[aganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian ho had studied the scriptures and was a scholar, what her slave Maysara had told her that the monk had said and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, `If this is true, Khadija, verily Muhammad is the prophet of this people. I knew that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come,' or words to that effect. Waraqa was finding the time of waiting wearisome and used to say `How long?' Some lines of his on the theme are:

I persevered and was persistent in remembering
An anxiety which often evoked tears. And
Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija.
Long have I had to wait, O Khadija,
In the vale of Mecca in spite of my hope
That I might see the outcome of thy words.
I could not bear that the words of the monk
You told me of should prove false:
That Muhammad should rule over us
Overcoming those who would oppose him.
And that a glorious light should appear in the land
To preserve men from disorders.
His enemies shall meet disaster

And his friends shall be victorious.
Would that I might be there then to see,
For I should be the first of his supporters,
Joining in that which Quraysh hate
However loud they shout in the Mecca of theirs.
I hope to ascend through him whom they all dislike
To the Lord of the Throne though they are cast down.
Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him
Who chose him Who raised the starry heights?
If they and I live, things will be done
Which will throw the unbelievers into confusion.
And if I did, 'tis but the fate of mortals
To suffer death and dissolution

127 - THE RAID ON SAFAWAN, WHICH IS THE FIRST RAID OF BADR

The apostle stayed only a few nights, less than ten, in Medina when he came back from raiding Al-'Ushayra, and then Kurz b. Jabir al-Fihri raided the pasturing camels of Medina. The apostle went out in search of lhim (348), until he reached a valley called Safawan, in the neighbourhood of Badr. Kurz escaped him and he could not overtake him. This was the first raid of Badr. Then the apostle returned to Medina and stayed there fore the rest of Jumada'l Akhira, Rajab, and Sha'ban.

128 - EXPEDITION OF 'ABDULLAH B. JAHSH AND THE COMING DOWN OF 'THEY WILL ASK YOU ABOUT THE SCARED MONTH'

The apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab al-Asadi in Rajab on his return from the first Badr. He sent with him eight emigrants, without any of the Ansar. He wrote for him a letter, and ordered him not to look at it until he had journeyed for two days, and to do what he was ordered to do, but not to put pressure on any of his companions. The names of the eight emigrants were, Abu Hudhayfa, 'Abdullah b. Jahsh, 'Ukkasha b. Mihsan, 'Utba b. Ghazwan, Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas, 'Amir b. Rabi'a, Waqid b. 'Abdullah, and Khalid b. al-Bukayr. (As these men have already been named with full particulars of their genealogy and tribes, only their first names are repeated here.)

When 'Abdullah had travelled for two days he opened the letter and looked into it, and this is what it said: 'When you ;have read this letter of mine proceed until you reach Nakhla between Mecca and Al-Ta'if. Lie in wait there for Quraysh and find out for us what they are doing.' Having read the letter he said, 'To hear is to obey.' Then he said to his companions, 'The apostle has commanded me to go to Nakhla to lie in wait there for Quraysh so as to bring him news of them. He has forbidden me to put pressure on any of you, so if anyone wishes for martyrdom let him go forward, and he who does not, let him go back; as for me I am going on as the prophet has ordered.' so he went on, as did all his companions, not one of them falling back. He journeyed along the Hijaz until at a mine called Bahran above al-Furu', Sa'd and 'Utba lost the camel which they were riding by turns, so they stayed behind to look for it, while 'Abdullah and the rest of them went on to

Nakhla. A caravan of Quraysh carrying dry raisins and leather and other merchandise of Quraysh passed by them, 'Amr b. al-Hadrami (349), 'Uthman b. Abdullah b. al-Mughira and his brother Naufal the Makhzumites, and al-Hakam b. Kaysan, freedman of Hisham b. al-Mughira being among them. When the caravan saw them they were afraid of them because they had camped near them. 'Ukkasha, who had shaved his head, looked down on them, and when they saw him they felt safe and said, 'They are pilgrims, ;you have nothing to fear from them.' The raiders took council among themselves, for this was the last day of Rajab, and they said, 'If you leave them alone tonight they will get into the sacred area and will be safe from you; and if you kill them, you will kill them in the sacred month,' so they were hesitant and feared to attack them. Then they encouraged each other, and decided to kill as many as they could of them and take what they had. Waqid shot 'Amr b. al-Hadrami with an arrow and killed him, and 'Uthman and al-Hakam surrendered. ;Naufal escaped and and included them. 'Abdullah and his companions took the caravan and the two prisoners and came to Medina with them. One of 'Abdullah's family mentioned that he said to his companions, 'A fifth of what we have taken belongs to the apostle.' (This was before Allah had appointed a fifth of the booty to him.) So he set apart for the apostle a fifth of the caravan, and divided the rest among his companions.

When they came to the apostle, he said, 'I did not order you to fight in the sacred month,' and he held the caravan and the two prisoners in suspense and refused to take anything from them. When the apostle said that, the men were in despair and thought that they were doomed. Their Muslim brethren reproached them for what they had done, and the Quraysh said 'Muhammad and his companions have violated the sacred month, shed blood therein, taken booty, and captured men.' The Muslims in Mecca who opposed them said that they had done it in Sha'ban. The jews turned this raid into an omen against the apostle. 'Amr b. al-Hadrami whom Waqid had killed they said meant 'amarati'l-harb (war has come to life), al-Hadrami meant hadarati'l-harb (war is present), and Waqid meant waqadati'l-harb (war is kindled); but Allah turned this against them, not for them and when there was much talk about it, Allah sent down to his apostle: 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and war in it. Say, war therein is a serious matter, but keeping people from the way of Allah and disbelieving in Him and in the sacred mosque and driving out His people therefrom is more serious with God.' (Sura 2.214.) i.e. If you have killed in the sacred month, they have kept you back from the way of Allah with their unbelief in Him, and from the sacred mosque, and have driven you from it when you were its people. This is a more serious matter with Allah than the killing of those of them whom you have slain. 'And seduction is worse than killing.' i.e. They used to seduce the Muslim in his religion until they made him return to unbelief after believing, and that is worse with god than killing. 'And they will not cease to fight you until they turn you back from your religion if they can.' i.e. They are doing more heinous acts than that contumaciously.

And when the Quran came down about that and Allah relieved the Muslims of their anxiety in the matter, the apostle took the caravan and the prisoners. Quraysh sent to him to redeem 'Uthman and al-Hakam, and the apostle said, 'We will not let you redeem them until our two companions come,' meaning Sa'd and 'Utba, 'for we fear for them on your

account. If you kill them, we will kill your two friends.' So when Sa'd and 'Utba turned up the apostle let them redeem them. As for al-Hakam he became a good Muslim and stayed with the apostle until he was killed as a martyr at Bi'r Ma'una. 'Uthman went back to Mecca and died there as a martyr at Bi'r Ma'una. 'Uthman went back to Mecca and died there as an unbeliever. When 'Abdullah and his companions were relieved of their anxiety when the Quran came down, they were anxious for reward, and said, 'Can we hope that it will count as a raid for which we shall be given the reward of combatants?' So Allah sent down concerning them: 'Those who believe and have emigrated and fought in the way of God, these may hope for God's mercy, for Allah is forgiving, merciful.' That is, Allah gave them the greatest hopes therein. The tradition about this comes from Al-zuhri and Yazid b. Ruman from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

One of 'Abdullah's family mentioned that Allah divided the booty when He made it permissible and gave four-fifths to whom Allah had allowed to take it and one-fifth to Allah and His apostle. So it remained on the basis of what 'Abdullah had done with the booty of that caravan (350).

Abu Bakr said concerning 'Abdullah's raid (though others say that 'Abdullah himself said it), when Quraysh said, 'Muhammad and his companions have broken the sacred month, shed blood therein, and taken booty and made prisoners' (351):

You count war in the holy month a grave matter,
But graver is, if one judges rightly,
Your opposition to Muhammad's teaching, and your
Unbelief in it, which Allah sees and witnesses,
Your driving God's people from His mosque
So that none can be seen worshipping Him there.
Though you defame us for killing him,
More dangerous to Islam is the sinner who envies.
Our lances drank of Ibn al-Hadrami's blood
In Nakhla when Waqid lit the flame of war,
'Uthman ibn 'Abdullah is with us,
A leather band streaming with blood restrains him.

(Cf. Sura 2.214 f. which these lines endeavour to put into verse.)

129 - THE CHANGE OF THE QIBLA TO THE KA'BA

It is said that the Qibla was changed in Sha'ban at the beginning of the eighteenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina.

130 - THE GREAT EXPEDITION OF BADR

Then the apostle heard that Abu Sufyan b. Harb was coming from Syria with a large caravan of Quraysh, containing their money and merchandise, accompanied by some thirty or forty men, of whom were Makhrama b. Naufal b. Uhayb b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra, and 'Amr b. al-'As b. Wa'il b. Hisham (352).

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri and 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and 'Abdullah ;b. Abu ;Bakr and Yazid b. Ruman from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and other scholars of ours from Ibn 'Abbas, each one of them toldme some of this story and their account is collected in what I have drawn up of the story of Badr. They said that when the apostle heard about Abu Sufyan coming from Syria, he summoned the Muslims and said, 'This is the Quraysh caravan containing their property. Go out to attack it, perhaps Allah will give it as a prey.' The people answered his summons, some eagerly, others reluctantly because they had not thought that the apostle would go to war. When he got near to the Hijaz, Abu Sufyan was seeking news, and questioning every rider in his anxiety, until he got news from some riders that Muhammad had called out his companions against him and his caravan. He took alarm at that an hired Damdam b. 'Amr al-Ghifari and sent him to Mecca, ordering him to call out Quraysh in defence of their property, and to tell them that Muhammad was lying in wait for it with his companions. So Damdam left for Mecca at full speed. A person above suspicion told me on the authority of Ikrima from b. Abbas and Yazid b Ruman from Urwa b. al_Zubayr, saying:`three days before Damdam arrived Atilka saw a vision which frightened her. She sent to her brother al-Abbas saying, "Brother, last night I saw a vision which frightened me and I am afraid that evil and misfortune will come upon your people, so treat what I tell you as confidence." He asked what she had seen, and she said,"I saw a rider coming upon a camel who halted in the valley. Then he cried at the top of his voice, `Come forth, O people do not leave your men to face a disaster that will come in three days time.' (Lit `Come forth ye perfidious to your disaster,' & c. See Suhayli's note in loc) I saw the people flock to him, and then he went into the mosque with the people following him, while
They were round him his camel mounted to the top of the Ka'ba. Then he called out again, using the same words. Then his camel mounted to the top of Abu Qubays, (A mountain hard by) and he cried out again. They he seized a rock and loosened it, and it began to fall, until at the bottom of the mountain it split into pieces. There was not a house or a dwelling in Mecca but received a bit of it." al -Abbas Said, "By God, this is indeed a vision, and you had better keep quiet about it and not tell anyone."Then Abbas went out and met al-Walid b. Utba who was a friend of him, and told him and asked him to keep it to himself. al-Walid told his father and the story spread in Mecca Until Quraysh were talking about it in their public meetings.

Al-Abbas said, "I got up early to go round the temple, while Abu Jahl was sitting with a number of Quraysh talking about,"Atika's vision. When he saw me he said, `Come to us when you have finished going round the temple.' When I had finished I went and sat with them, and he said, O Banu Abdul - Muttalib, since when have you had a prophetess among you?' And what do you mean by that?' I said That vision which Atika saw he answered. I said, `And what did she see?" He said `Are You not satisfied that your men should play the prophet that your women should do so also? Atika has alleged that in her vision someone said,"Come forth to war in three days." We shall keep an eye on you these three days pass and nothing happens, we will write you down as the greatest liars of the temple people among the Arabs.'Nothing much had passed between us except that I contradicted that and denied that she had seen anything. Then we separated. When night came every single woman of B. Abdul-Muttalib came to me and said, `Have you allowed

this evil rascal to attack you men, and then go on to insult your women while you listerned? Have you no shame then go on to insult you women while you listened? Have you no shame that you should listen to such things? I said, By God, I have done something;" nothing much passed between us but I swear by Allah that I will confront him and if he repeats what he has said, I will rid you of him.' On the third day after Atika's vision, while I was enraged, thinking that I had let something slip which I wanted to get from him, I went into the mosque and saw him, and as I was walking towards him to confront him so that he should repeat some of what he had said and I could attack him, for he was a thin man with sharp features, sharp tongue, and a sharp sight, lo he came out towards the door of the mosque hurriedly, and I said to myself, What is the matter with him, curse him, is all this fear that I should insult him?' But lo, he had heard something which I did not hear, the voice of Damdam crying out in the bottom of the wadi, as he stood upon his camel, having cut its nose, turned its saddle round, and rent his shirt, while he was saying, "O Quraysh, the transport camels, the transport camels! Muhammad and his companions are lying in wait for your property which is with Abu Sufyan. I do not think that you will overtake it. Help! Help!' This diverted him and me from our affair."

131 - QURAYSH PREPARE TO GO TO BADR

The men prepared quickly saying, "Do Muhammad and his companions think this is going to be like the caravan of Ibn Hadrami? By God, they will soon know that it is not so." Every man of them either went himself or sent someone in his place. So all went; not one of their nobles remained behind except Abu Lahab. He sent in his place al-As b. Hisham b. al Mughira who owed him four thousand dirhams which he could not pay. So he hired him with them on the condition that he should be cleared of his debt. So he went on his behalf and Abu Lahab stayed behind.'

Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that Umayya b. Khalaf had decided to stay at home. He was a stately old man, corpulent and heavy. Uqba b. Abu Muayt came to him as he was sitting in the mosque among his companions, carrying a censer burning with scented wood. He put in front of him and said, `Scent yourself with that, for you belong to the women!" Allah curse you and what you have brought,' he said, and then got ready and went out with the rest. When they had finished their preparations and decided to start, they remembered the quarrel there was between them and B. Bakr b. Abdul Manat b. Kinana, and were afraid that they would attack them in the rear.

The cause of the war between Quraysh and B. Bakr according to what one of B. Amir b.Luayy from Muhammad b. Said b. al-Musayyab told me, was a son of Hafs b. Al-Akhyaf one of the B. Ma'is b. Amir b. Lu

Now the apostle had no power of binding and loosing in Mecca, his circumstances being circumscribed. Islam had made a division between Zaynab and her husband Abu'l-'As, but they lived together, Muslim and unbeliever, until the apostle migrated. Abu'l-'As joined the expedition to Badr and was captured among the prisoners and remained at Median with the apostle.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbad told me that 'A'isha said: 'When the Meccans sent to ransom their prisoners, Zaynab sent the money for Abu'l-'As; with it she sent a necklace which Khadija had given her on her marriage to Abu'l-'As. When the apostle saw it his feelings overcame him and he said: "If you would like to let her have her captive husband back and return her money to her, do so." The people at once agreed and they let him go and sent her money back.'

132 - ZAYNAB SETS OUT FOR MEDINA

Now the apostle had imposed a condition on Abu'l-'As, or the latter had undertaken it voluntarily--the facts were never clearly established--that he should let Zaynab come to him. At any rate, after Abu'l-'As had reached Mecca the apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha and one of the Ansar with instuctions to stop in the valley of Yajaj (About 8 miles from Mecca.) until Zaynab passed, and then to accompany her back to him. About a month or so after Badr they went off to take up their position. Meanwhile Abu'l-'As came to Mecca and told Zaynab to rejoin her father, and she went out to make her preparations.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he had been told that Zaynab said that while she was making her preparations she was met by Hind d. 'Utba who inquired whether she was going off to rejoin Muhammad. When she said that she did not wish to go, Hind offered to give her anything she needed for the journey as well as money. She need not be shy of her, for women stood closer together than men. However, though she thought she was sincere she was afraid of her and denied that she had any intention of going. But she went on with her preparations.

133 - ABU'L-AS B. AL-RABI' BECOMES A MUSLIM

When Islam thus came between them Abu'l-'As lived in Mecca while Zaynab lived in Medina with the apostle until, shortly before the conquest, (sc. of Mecca.) Abu'l-'As went to Syria trading with his own money and that of Quraysh which they entrusted to him, for he was a trustworthy man. Having completed his business he was on his way home when one of the apostle's raiding parties fell in with him and took all he had, though he himself escaped them. When the raiders went off with their plunder Abu'l-'As went into Zaynab's house under cover of night and asked her to give him protection. She at once did so. He came to ask for his property. When the apostle went out to morning prayer--so Yazid b. Ruman told me--and said 'Allah akbar' followed by all present, Zaynab cried from the place where the women sat 'O you men, I have given protection to Abu'l-'As b. al-Rabi'. '(Zaynab called out in a moment of complete silence at the beginning of prayer.) His prayers over, the apostle turned round to face the men and asked them if they had heard what he had heard, and when they said that they had he swore that he knew nothing about the matter until Zaynab made her declaration, adding, 'the meanest Muslim can give protection on their behalf'. He went off to see his daughter and told her to honour her guest but not to allow him to approach her for she was not lawful to him.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that the apostle sent to the raiding party which had taken Abu'l-'As's goods saying: 'This man is related to us as you know and you have taken

property of his. If you think well to restore it to him we should like that; but if you will not it is booty which Allah has given you and you have the better right to it.' They replied that they would willingly give it back and they were so scrupulous that men brought back old skins and little leather bottles and even a little piece of wood until everything was returned and nothing withheld. Then Abu'l-'As went to Mecca and paid everyone what was due, including those who had given him money to lay out one their behalf, and asked them' if anyone of them had any further claim on him. 'No,' they said, 'Allah reward you; we have found you both trustworthy and generous.' 'Then', said he, 'I bear witness that there is no Allah but the Allah and that Muhammad is his servant and his apostle. I would have become a Muslim when I was with him but that I feared that you would think that I only wanted to rob you of your property; and now that Allah has restored it to you and I am clear of it I submit myself to God.' Thus saying he went off to rejoin the apostle.

Dawud b. al-Husayn from 'Ikrima from b. 'Abbas told me that the apostle restored Zaynab to him according to the first marriage *after six years had passed* (These words are not in W.) without any new procedure (397).

Among the prisoners who, I was told, were given their freedom without having to pay ransom were: Abu'l-'As whom the ;prophet freed after Zaynab his daughter had sent his ransom; al-Muttalib b. Hantab b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayda b. 'Umar b. Makhzum who belonged [by capture] to some of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj (He was left in their hands until they let him go, and he went to his people.) (398); Sayfi b. Abu Rifa'a b. 'Abid b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum. (He was left in the hands of his captors and when no one came to ransom him they let him go on condition that he should send his ransom, but he broke his word to them. Hassan b. Thabit said in reference to that:

Sayfi is not the man to fulfil his pledge
The back of a fox tired at some waterhole or other; (Diwan, L. The line is not clear to me.)

and Abu 'Azza 'Amr b. 'Abdullah b. 'Uthman b. Uhayb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah. He was a poor man whose family consisted of daughters, and he said to the apostle: 'You know that I have no money, and am in real need with a large family, so let me go without ransom.' The apostle did so on condition that he should not fight against him again. Praising him and mentioning his kindness among his people Abu 'Azza said:

Who will tell the apostle Muhammad from me
You are true and the divine King is to be praised? You call men to truth and right guidance,
Allah himself witnesses to you.
You are a man given a place among us
To which there are steps hard and easy.
Those who fight you die miserably,
Those who make peace live happily.
When I am reminded of Badr and its people

Sorrow and a sense of loss come over me (399). (I prefer the reading fuqudu to qu'udu. This is perhaps the most blatant forgery of all the 'poems' of the Sira. The heathen author's record was so bad that the prophet ordered his execution and yet he is made to utter fulsome praise of him and devotion to Islam.)

134 - UMAYR B. WAHB BECOMES A MUSLIM

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Umayr was sitting with Safwan b. Umayya in the hijr shortly after Badr. Now 'Umayr was one of the leaders of Quraysh who used to molest the apostle and his companions and cause them distress while he was in Mecca, and his son Wahb was among the prisoners taken at Badr (400). He mentioned those who were thrown into the well and Safwan said, 'By God, there is no good in life now they are dead.' 'You are right,' said 'Umayr, 'were it not for a debt outstanding against me which I cannot pay and a family I cannot afford to leave unprovided for, I would ride to Muhammad and kill him, for I have good cause against the lot of them, my son being a prisoner in their hands.' Safwan took him up and said: 'I will discharge your debt and take care of your family with my own so long as they live. All that I have shall be theirs.' 'Umayr and he agreed to keep the matter secret.

Then 'Umayr called for his sword and sharpened it and smeared it with poison and went off to Medina. While 'Umar was talking with some of the Muslims about Badr and mentioning how Allah had honoured them in giving them victory over their enemies he suddenly saw 'Umayr stopping at the door of the mosque girt with his sword, and said, 'This dog the enemy of Allah is 'Umayr b. Wahb. By Allah he's come for some evil purpose. It was he who made mischief among us and calculated our numbers for the enemy at Badr.' Then 'Umar went into the apostle and said, 'O prophet of God, this enemy of Allah 'Umayr b. Wahb has come girt with his sword.' He told him to let him come in and 'Umar advanced and seizing his bandoleer he gripped him round the neck with it. He told the Ansar who were with him to come in and sit with the apostle and to watch the rascal carefully, for he was not to be trusted. When the apostle saw 'Umayr and 'Umar grasping the bandoleer round his neck he told 'Umar to let go and 'Umayr to advance. He came up and said 'Good morning', for that was the greeting of paganism. The apostle said, 'Allah has honoured us with a better greeting than thine, 'Umayr. It is Salam, the greeting of the inhabitants of Paradise.' 'By God, Muhammad, you have taken to it only recently.' (Reading Kunta for C. and W.'s Kuntu, but perhaps the meaning is 'It is new to me'.) 'What brought you?' 'I have come about this prisoner you have that you may treat him well.' 'Then why have you a sword round your neck?' 'Allah damn the swords. Have they done us any good?' 'Tell me the truth. Why have you come?' 'I came only for the reason I have told you.' 'Nay, but you and Safwan b. Umayya sat together in the hijr and talked about the Quraysh who were thrown into the well. Then you said "But for debts and family reasons I would go and kill Muhammad." And Safwan assumed responsibility for both if you would kill me for him, but Allah intervened.' 'I testify that you are the apostle of God. We used to call you a liar when you brought us tidings from heaven and we denied the revelation you brought. But this is a matter to which only I and Safwan were privy, and none can have told you of it but God. Praise be to Allah who has guided me to Islam and led me thus.' Then he testified to the truth and the apostle

said, 'Instruct your brother in his religion, read the Quran to him, and free his prisoner for him,' and they did so.

Then he said, 'I used to be active in extinguishing the light of Allah and in persecuting those who followed God's religion. I should like you to give me permission to go to Mecca to summon them to Allah and His apostle and to Islam that perhaps Allah may guide them; and if not I will persecute them in their religion as I used to persecute your companions.' The apostle agreed and he went to Mecca. When 'Umayr had left, Safwan was saying, 'You will soon have some good news which will make you forget what happened at Badr.' Safwan kept questioning riders until one came who told him of 'Umayr's Islam, and he swore that he would never speak to him again nor do him a service. When 'Umayr came to Mecca he stayed there summoning people to Islam and treating those who opposed him violently so that through him many became Muslims.

I was told that it was either 'Umayr or al-Harith b. Hisham who saw the devil when he turned on his heels on the day of Badr and said, 'Where are you going, O Suraqa?' And the enemy of Allah lay on the ground and disappeared. (In another tradition quoted by Suhayli ii. 85 it is the devil who knocks down al-Harith.) So Allah sent down concerning him, 'And when Satan made their works seem good to them and said None can conquer you today for I am your protector' (Sura 8.50.) and he mentions how the devil deceived them and took the form of Suraqa b. Malik b. Ju'shum when they remembered the quarrel they had with B. Bakr. Allah said, 'And when the two armies saw each other' and the enemy of Allah saw the armies of angels by which Allah strengthened His apostle and the believers against their enemies 'he turned on his heels and said, "I am quit of you, for I see what you do not see." The enemy of Allah spoke the truth for he did see what they could not see and said, "I fear Allah for Allah is severe in punishment."' I was told that they used to see him in every camp whenever he appeared in the form of Suraqa not suspecting him until on the day of Badr when the two armies met he turned on his heels and betrayed them after he had led them on (401).

Hassan b. Thabit said:

My people it was who sheltered their prophet
And believed in him when all the world were unbelievers,
Except a chosen few who were forerunners
To the righteous, helpers with the Helpers.
Rejoicing in God's portion
Saying when he came to them, noble of race, chosen,
Welcome in safety and comfort,
Goodly the prophet the portion and the guest.
They gave him a home in which a guest of theirs
Need have no fear--an (ideal) home.
They shared their wealth when the refugees came
While the share of the stubborn opponent is hell.
To Badr we went--they to their death.

Had they known what they should have known they would not have gone; The devil deluded and then betrayed them.
Thus does the evil one deceive his friends.
He said I am your protector and brought them to an evil pass
Wherein is shame and disgrace.
Then when we fought them they deserted their leaders,
Some fleeing to high ground others to the plain (402).

135 - THE QURAYSH WHO FED THE PILGRIMS

The names of the Quraysh who used to feed the pilgrims are as follows:

From B. Hashim: Al-'Abbas b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.
From B. 'Abdu Shams: 'Utba b. Rabi'a.
From B. Naufal: al-Harith b. 'Amir and Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy by turns.
From B. Asad: Abu'l-Bakhtari and Hakim b. Hizam by turns.
From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalda b. 'Alqama (403).
From B. Makhzum: Abu Jahl.
From B. Jumah: Umayya b. Khalaf.
From B. Sahm: Nubayh and Munabbih sons of al-Hajjaj b. 'Amir by turns.
From B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams (404).

136 - THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA ANFAL (Sura 8)

When Badr was over, Allah sent down the whole Sura Anfal about it. With regard to their quarreling about the spoils there came down: 'They will ask you about the spoils, say, the spoils belong to Allah and the apostle, so fear God and be at peace with one another, and obey Allah and His apostle if you are believers.'

'Ubada b. al-Samit, so I have hear, when he was asked about this Sura said: 'It came down about us, the people of Badr, when we quarrelled about the booty on that day, and Allah took it out of our hands when we showed an evil disposition and gave it to the apostle, who divided it equally among us. In that there was the fear of God, and obedience to Him and to His apostle, and peace among us.'

Then He mentions the army, and their journey with the apostle when they knew that Quraysh had come out against them, and they had only gone out making for the caravan because they wanted booty, and He said, 'As thy Lord brought thee out of thy house in truth when a part of the believers were unwilling, they disputed with thee about the truth after it had become plain, as though they were being driven to their death while they looked on.' i.e. Unwilling to meet the army and disliking to confront Quraysh when they were told of them.

'And when Allah promised you that one of the parties should be yours, and you wanted to have the one that was not armed.' i.e. Booty and not war.

'And Allah wanted to establish the truth by His words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers.' i.e. By the disaster which He brought upon the chiefs and leaders of Quraysh on the day of Badr.

'When you asked your Lord for help.' i.e. Their prayers when they looked at the multitude of their enemies and their own small numbers.

'And He answered you.' i.e. The prayer of His apostle and your prayers.

'I will reinforce you with a thousand angels, one behind another. When He made you slumber as a reasSurance from Him.' i.e. I sent down reasSurance upon you when you slumbered unafraid.

'And He sent down water from heaven upon you.' i.e. The rain that came upon them that night and prevented the polytheists from getting to the water first, and left the way clear to the Muslims.

'That He might cleanse you by it, and take from you the impurity of Satan, and strengthen your hearts, and confirm your steps.' i.e. To take from you the doubt of Satan when he made them afraid of the enemy, and the hardening of the ground for them so that they got to their halting-place before the enemy arrived.

Then Allah said, 'Then thy Lord revealed to the angels, I am with you so strengthen those that believe.' i.e. help those that believe.

'I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve, so strike off their heads and cut off all their fingers, because they opposed Allah and His apostle and he who opposes Allah and His apostle (will find) God severe in punishment.'
Then He said, 'O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelive on the march, do not turn your backs. He who turns his back except in maneuvring or intending to join another section, incurs the wrath of God, and his destination is Hell, a miserable end.' i.e. Inciting them against their enemy so that they should not withdraw from them when they met them, Allah having promised what He had promised.

Then Allah said concerning the apostle's throwing pebbles at them, 'When you threw, it was not you that threw, but God.' i.e. Your throwing would have had no effect unless Allah had helped you therein and cast terror into their hearts when He put them to flight.

'And to test the believers with a good test.' i.e. To let them know of His favour towards them in giving them victory over their enemies in spite of their small number that they might know thereby His truth, and be thankful for His favour.

Then He said, 'If you sought a judgement, a judgement came to you.' i.e. With reference to what Abu Jahl said, 'O God, he who is the worst in severing relations and bringing us things that are unacceptable destroy him this morning.' (v.s. W.445 med.) Istiftah means to pray for what is just.

Allah said, 'If you cease,' that is addressed to Quraysh, 'it is better for you, and if you return (to the attack) We will return.' i.e. With a similar blow to that which We gave you on the day of Badr.

'And your army will avail you nothing however numerous, and (know) that Allah is with the believers.' i.e. That your number and multitude will not avail you at all while I am with the believers, helping them against those that oppose them.

Then Allah said, 'O you that believe, obey Allah and His apostle, turn not away from him while you are listening.' i.e. Do not contradict his orders when you hear him speak and while you assert that you are on his side.

'And be not like those who said, "We hear" when they did not hear.' i.e. Like the hypocrites who pretend to be obedient and are secretly disobedient to him.

'The worst of beasts with Allah are the deaf and the dumb who do not understand.' i.e. The hypocrites whom I have forbidden you to imitate. Dumb in reference to good, deaf to truth, not understanding and not knowing the vengeance and consequence which will come upon them.

'Had Allah known that there was good among them, He would have made them listen.' i.e. In performing for them the words which they spoke with their tongues, but their hearts contradicted them and if they had come forth with you, 'they would have turned their backs, going aside.' i.e. Would not have been faithful to you in the purpose for which they had come out.

'O you who believe, respond to Allah and the apostle when he summons you to that which will quicken you.' i.e. to the war in which Allah exalted you after humiliation, and made you strong after weakness, and protected you from your enemies after you had been overcome by them.

'And remember when you were few, despised in the land, fearing that men would pluck you away, and He gave you refuge and strengthened you by His help and nourished you with good things that you might be thankful. O you who believe, betray not Allah and His apostle and betray not your trust knowingly.' i.e. Do not show Him what is right, which pleases Him, and then oppose Him secretly in something else, for that is destroying your trust and treachery to yourselves.

'O you who believe, fear Allah and He will make for you a furqan, (I.I.'s explanation of the meaning of furqan is adopted by Tabari on 2.50 and it admirably suits the sense of the verb in Arabic; but Baydawi on 21.49 and Zamakhshari on 8.29 (this verse) collect a number of meanings. If the word were purely Arabic, it would be difficult to see why there was any doubt about it. The facts are that in Aramaic furqan means 'deliverance,' and in Christian Aramaic it is the common word for 'salvation'. In the Quran it often means, or seems to mean, some sort of book, 2.50; 3.2; and 21.49, & c., but in 8.42 (v.i.)

'The day of the furqan, the day when the two hosts met', 'deliverance' seems to be the most probable meaning, and the same would seem to apply to this verse. For an illuminating discussion of the evidence and theories formed thereon see Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 225-9.) and wipe away your evil acts and pardon you. Allah is exceeding bountiful.' i.e. A distinction between true and false by which Allah shows you truth and extinguishes the falsehood of those who oppose you.

Then He reminds the apostle of His favour towards him when the people plotted against him 'to kill him, or to wound him, or to drive him out; and they plotted and Allah plotted, and Allah is the best of plotters.' i.e. I deceived them with My firm guile so that I delivered you from them.

Then He mentions the folly of Quraysh in asking for a judgement against themselves when they said, 'O God, if this is the truth from Thee,' i.e. what Muhammad has brought, 'then rain upon us stones from heaven.' i.e. As you rained them upon the ;people of Lot.

'Or bring us a painful punishment.' i.e. Some of that by which you punished the peoples before us.

They ;used to say, Allah will not punish us when we ask for His pardon, and He will not punish a people whose prophet is with them until He has sent him away from them. That is what they said when the apostle was among them, and Allah said to His apostle, mentioning their ignorance and folly and the judgement they asked against themselves when He reproached them with their evil deeds. 'Allah will not punish them while you are with them, and Allah will not punish them while they ask for forgiveness.' i.e. When they said, 'We ask for forgiveness and Muhammad is among us.'

Then He said, 'What (plea) have they that Allah should not punish them?' though you are among them and though they ask for forgiveness as they say.

'While they bar the way to the sacred mosque.' i.e. Against those who believe in Allah and His servant. i.e. You and those who follow you.

'And they are not its guardians, its guardians are only the God-fearers,' who observe its sanctity and perform prayer by it. i.e. You and those who believe in you.

'But most of them do not know and their prayer at the temple,' i.e. By which they assert that evil is kept from them, 'Is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands' (405).

And that is what Allah does not approve of and does not like and what they were not ordered to do.

'So taste the punishment for what you are disbelieving.' i.e. When He brought death upon them at the battle of Badr.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbad from 'A'isha, who said that only a little time elapsed between the coming down of 'O thou that art enwrapt'

(Sura 73.1 and II-14.) and the word of Allah about it, 'Leave Me to deal with the liars living at ease, and let them alone for a little. We have fetters and fire and food which chokes, and a painful punishment,' until Allah smote Quraysh on the day of Badr (406).

Then Allah said,

'Those who disbelieve, spending their wealth to keep men from the way of Allah will expend it, then they will suffer loss, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell.' He means those who went to Abu Sufyan and to everyone of the Quraysh who had money in that merchandise, and asked them to help them with it in the war against the apostle, and they did so.

Then He said, 'Say to those who disbelieve, if they cease, they will be pardoned for what is passed, and if they return', to fight you, 'the example of the ringleaders has been made.' (Normally awwalin would mean 'the men of old') i.e. those who were killed at Badr.

Then He said, 'Fight them so that there is no more persecution, (fitna. This word contains the ideas of paiful trial, rebellion, and seduction.) and religion, all of it, shall belong to God.' i.e. So that no believer is persecuted from his religion, and monotheism may be pure, Allah having no partner and no rivals.

'If they cease, then Allah sees what they do, and if they turn away,' from thy commandment to their unbelief, 'then know that Allah is your friend,' who glorified you and helped you against them on the day of Badr in spite of their great numbers and your small force.

'A fine friend, and a fine helper.'

Then He taught them how to divide the spoil and His judgement about it when He made it lawful to them and said: 'And know that what you take as booty a fifth belongs to Allah and the apostle and next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer, if you believe in Allah and what We sent down to Our servant on the day of furqan, the day the two armies met; and Allah is able to do all things,' i.e. the day I divided between the true and the false by My power the day the two armies met--you and they 'when you were one the nearer side' of the wadi 'and they on the further side' of the wadi towards Mecca 'and the caravan was below you,' i.e. the caravan of Abu Sufyan which you had gone out to capture and they had gone out to protect without any appointment between you. 'And if you had arranged to meet you would have failed to meet,' i.e. had you arranged to meet and then you had heard of their multitude compared with your force you would not have met them; 'but that Allah might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. that He might accomplish what He willed in His power, namely to exalt Islam and its followers and to abase the unbelievers without your fighting hard. He did what He willed in His goodness. Then He said: 'That he who died should die with a clear proof and he who lived should live by a clear proof. Allah is a Hearer, a Knower,' i.e. that he who disbelieved should disbelieve after the proof in the sign and example which he had seen

and he who believed should believe by the same warrant.

Then He mentioned His kindness and His plotting for him: 'When Allah showed thee in thy sleep that they were few, and if He had shown them to thee as many you would have failed and quarrelled over the affair; but Allah saved you. He knows what is within the breasts.' What Allah showed him was one of His favours by which He encouraged them against their enemy, and kept from them what would have frightened them because of their weakness, because He knew what was in them (407). 'And when you met them He made you see them as few making you seem small in their eyes that Allah might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. to unite them for war to take vengeance on whom He willed and to show favour to those Whom He willed so to bless, who were of the number of His friends.

Then He admonished and insturcted and taught them how they ought to conduct their wars and said: 'O believers, when you meet an army' whom you fight in the way of Allah 'Stand firm and remember Allah often' to Whom you devoted yourselves when you gave your allegiance to Him 'so that you may propser. And obey Allah and His apostle and wrangle not lest you fail,' i.e. do not quarrel so that your affairs become disordered 'and your spirit depart,' i.e. your bravery go, 'and be steadfast. Allah is with the steadfast,' i.e. I am with you when you do that. 'And be not like those who went forth from their houses boastfully to be seen of men,' i.e. do not be like Abu Jahl and his companions who said, 'We will not go back until we have been to Badr and saughtered camels there and drunk wine and the singing girls have made music for us and the Arabs will hear of it,' i.e. let not your affair be outward show and the subject of gossip, nor concerned with men, and purify your intention towards Allah and your efforts for the victory of your religion and the help of your prophet. Simply do that and do not aim at anything else. Then He said: 'And when Satan made their deeds seem good to them and said, "No man can conquer you today for I am your protector"' (408).

Then Allah mentions the unbelievers and what they will meet when they die, and describes them, and tells His prophet about them until He says: `If you come upon them in war, deal with them so forcibly as to terrify those who follow them, haply they may take warning,' i.e. make a severe example of them to those that come after, that haply they may understand. `And prepare what strength you can against them, and cavalry by which you may strike terror into the enemy of Allah and your enemy' as far as His words, `And whatever you spend in the way of Allah will be repaid to you: you will not be wronged,' i.e. you will not lose your reward with Allah in the next life and a rapid recompense in this world. Then He said, `And if they incline to peace incline thou to it,' i.e. if they ask you for peace on the basis of Islam then make peace on that basis, `and rely on Allah,' verily Allah will suffice thee, `He is the Hearer, the Knower' (409). `And if they would deceive thee, Allah is sufficient for thee,' He being behind thee, `He it is who strengthens thee with His help' after weakness `and by the believers. And He made them of mind' by the guidance with which Allah sent thee to them. `Hadst thou spent all the world's wealth thou hadst not made them of one mind but Allah made them of one mind' by His religion to which He gathered them. `He is mighty, wise.'

Then He said: `O prophet, Allah is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow thee. O prophet, exhort the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast ones among you they will overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they are a senseless people,' i.e. they do not fight with a good intention nor for truth nor have they knowledge of what is good and what is evil.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih from `Ata' b. Abu Ribah from `Abdullah b. `Abbas told me that when this verse came down it came as a shock to the Muslims who took it hard that twenty should have to fight two hundred, and a hundred fight a thousand. So Allah relieved them and cancelled the verse with another saying: `Now has Allah relieved you and He knows that there is weakness amongst you, so if there are a hundred steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you they shall overcome two thousand by Allah's permission, for Allah is with the steadfast.' (`Abdullah) said, `When they numbered half of the enemy it was wrong for them to run from them; but if they were less than half they were not bound to fight and it was permissible for them to withdraw.'

Then Allah reproached him about the prisoners and the taking of booty, no other prophet before him having taken booty from his enemy. Muhammad Abu Ja`far b. `Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle said: `I was helped by fear; the earth was made a place to pray, and clean; I was given all-embracing words; booty was made lawful to me as to no prophet before me; and I was given the power to intercede; five privileges accorded to no prophet before me.'

Allah said, `It is not for any prophet.' i.e. before thee, `to take prisoners' form his enemies `until he had made slaughter in the earth', i.e. slaughtered his enemies until he drives them from the land. (Commentators explain that ithkhan here means reduce to straits',but in view of what Ibn Ishaq goes on to say this improbable and in view of what T (1357) reports from him via Salama impossible when the words 'it is nor for any prophet ' came down the apostle said, If punishment had come down from heaven ,none would escape from it but Sa'd Mu'adg because he said, I would rather be slaughtered in battle than be spared to live among them.`You desire the lure of this world,' i.e, its goods, the ransom of the captives. `But Allah desires the next world,' i.e. their killing them to manifest the religion which He wishes to manifest and by which the next world may be attained. `Had there not previously been a book from Allah there would have come upon you for what you took,' i.e. prisoners and booty,`an awful punishment,' i.e. had it not previously gone forth from Me that I would punish only after a prohibition-and He had not prohibited them-I would have punished you for what you did. Then He made it lawful to him and to them as a mercy from Him and a gift from the Compassionate, the Merciful. He said, `So enjoy what you have captured as lawful and good, and fear Allah. Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.' Then He said: `O prophet, Say to those captives in your hands, If Allah knows any good in your hearts He will give you something better than that which has been taken from you and Allah will pardon you. Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.'

He incited the Muslims to unity and made the Refugees and the Helpers friends in religion and the unbelievers friends one of another. Then He said: `If you do not do so, there will be confusion in the land and a great corruption,' i.e. unless believer becomes friend to believer to the exclusion of the unbeliever even though he is of his kin. `There will be confusion in the land,' i.e. doubt about the true and the false and the rise of corruption in the land if the believer takes the side of the unbeliever against the believer.

Then He assigned inheritances to next of kin of those who became Muslims after the friendship between Refugees and Helpers and said: `And those who believed afterwards and migrated and strove along with you they are of you; and those who are akin are nearer to one another in Allah's book,' i.e. in inheritance `Allah knoweth all things'.

137 - THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE PRESENT AT BADR

The names of those who were present at Badr are: Of Quraysh of B. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf and B. al-Muttalib b. `Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka`b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr b. Kinana:

Muhammad, Allah's apostle the lord of the sent ones, b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim; Hamza b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim, the lion of Allah of His apostle, the apostle's uncle; `Ali b. Abu Talib b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim; Zayd b. Haritha b. Shurahbil b. Ka`b b.`Abdu'l-Uzza b. Imru'u'l-Qays al-Kalbi (410); Anasa the apostle's freedman; and Abu Kabsha likewise (411); Abu Marthad Kannaz b. Hisn b. Yarbu` b. `Amr b. Yarba` b. Kharasha b. Sa`d b. Tarif b. Jillan b. Ghanm b. Ghaniy b. Ya`sur b. Sa`d b. Qays b. `Aylan (412), and his son Marthad b. Abu Marthad, allies of Hamza; `Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib, and his two brothers al-Tufayl and al-Husayn;and Mistah whose name was `Auf b. Uthatha b. `Abbad b. al-Muttalib. Total 12 men.

Of B. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf: `Uthman b. `Affan b. Abu'l-`As b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams; (He stayed behind on account of his wife Ruqayya the apostle's daughter, so the apostle assigned him his portion. He asked `And my reward (from Allah) as well? `Yes', said the apostle.) Abu Hudhayfa b. `Utba b. Rabi`a b. `Abdu Shams, and Salim his freedman (413). They allege that Subayh freedman of Abu'l-`As b. Umayya got ready to marth with the apostle, but fell sick and mounted on his camel Abu Salama b. `Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum. Afterwards Subayh was present at all the apostle's battles.

Of B. `Abdu Sham's allies, of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: `Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. Ya`mar b. Sabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan; `Ukkasha b. Mihsan b. Hurthan b. Qays b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dudan; Shuja` b. Wahb b. Rabi`a b. Asad b. Suhayb b. Malik b. Kabir, &c., and his brother `Uqba b. Wahb; Yazid b. Raqaysh b. Ri'ab, &c. Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan b. Qays brother of Ukkasha b. Mihsan, and his son Sinan b. Abu Sinan; and Muhriz b. Nadla b. b. `Abdullah b. Murra b. Kabir, &c.; and Rabi`a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. `Amr b. Lukayz b. `Amir b. Ghanm b. Dudan.

Of the allies of B. Kabir; Thaqf b. `Amr and his two brothers Malik and Mudlij (414). They belonged to the B. Hajr, a clan of B. Sulaym; Abu Makhshi an ally of their (415). Total 16 men.

Of B. Naufal b. `Abdu Manaf; `Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir b. Wahb b. Nusayb b. Malik b. al-Harith b. Mazin b. Mansur b. `Ikrima b. Khasafa b. Qays b. `Aylan; and Khabbab freedman of `Utba. Total 2 men.

Of B. Asad b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Qusayy; al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad; Hatib b. Abu Balta`a; and Sa`d freedman of Hatib (416). Total 3 men.

Of B. `Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy; Mus`ab b. `Umayr b. Hashim b. `Abdu Manaf and Suwaybit b. Sa`d b. Huraymila b. Malik b. `Umayla b. al-Sabbaq b. `Abdu'l-Dar. Total 2 men.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilab: `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf b. `Abdu `Auf b. `Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra; Sa`d b. Abu Waqqas, who was Malik b. Uhayb b. `Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra, and his broher `Umayr. Of their allies: al-Miqdad b. `Amr b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. Rabi`a b. Thumama b. Matrud b. `Amr b. Sa`d b. Zuhayr b. Thaur b. Tha`laba b. Malik b. al-Sharid b. Hazl b. Qa'ish b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahra' b. `Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda`a (417) and Dahir b. Thaur; and `Abdullah b. Mas`ud b. al-Harith b. Shamkh b. Makhzum b. Sahila b. Kahil b. al-Harith b. Tamim b. Sa`d b. Hudayl; Mas`ud b. Rabi`a b. `Amr b. Sa`d b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Hamala b. Ghalib b. Muhallim b. `A'idha b. Subay` b. al-Hun b. Khuzayma of al-Qara (418). Dhu'l-Shimalayn b. `Abd `Amr b. Nadla b. Ghubshan b. Sulaym b. Mallikan b. Afsa b. Haritha b. `Amr b. `Amir of Khuza`a (419) and Khabbab b. al-Aratt (420). Total 8 men.

Of B. Taym b. Murra; Abu Bakr whose full name was `Atiq b. `Uthman b. `Amir b. `Amr b. Ka`b b. Sa`d b. Taym (421). Bilal his freedman, born a slave among the B. Jumah. Abu Bakr bought him from Umayya b. Khalaf. His name was Bilal b. Rabah. He had no offspring; `Amir b. Fuhayra (422) and Suhayb b. Sinan from al-Namr b. Qasit (423) and Talha b. `Ubaydullah b. `Uthman b. `Amr b. Ka`b, &c. He was in Syria and did not turn up until the apostle had returned from Badr. Nevertheless, he allotted him a share in the booty as he had done in the case of `Uthman. Total 5 men.

Of b. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra: Abu Salama b. `Abdu'l-Asad whose name was `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum; and Shammas b. `Uthman b. al-Sharid b. Suwayd b. Harmiy b. `Amir (424); and al-Arqum b. `Abdu Manaf b. Asad, Asad being Abu Jundub b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. Makhzum; and `Ammar b. Yasir (425); and Mu`attib b. `Auf b. `Amir b. al-Fadl b. `Afif b. Kulayb b. Hubshiya b. Salul b. Ka`b b. `Amr, an ally of theirs from Khuza`a known as `Ayhama. Total 5 men.

Of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b: `Umar b. al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Riyah b. `Abdullah b. Qurt b. Razah b. `Adiy and his brother Zayd; and Mihja`, `Umar's freedman from the Yaman (he was the first Muslim to fall at Badr, being shot by an arrow.) (426);

and `Amr b. Suraqa b. Anas b. Adhat b. `Abdullah b. Qurt...and his brother `Abdullah; Waqid b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu Manaf b. `Arin b. Tha`laba b. Yarbu` b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim, an ally of theirs, and Khauliy b. Abu Khauliy and Malik b. Abu Khauliy, two alies of theirs (427); and `Amir b. Rabi`a, and ally of the family of al-Khattab from `Anaz b. Wa'il (428); and `Amir b. al-Bukayr b. `Abdu Yalil b. Nashib b. Ghira of the B. Asad b. Layth; and `Aqil and Khalid and Iyas sons of al-Bukayr, allies of B. `Adiy b. Ka`b; and Sa`id b. Zayd b. `Amr b. Nufayl b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. `Abdullah b. Qurt b. Riyah b. Rizah b. `Adiy b. Ka`b who came from Syria after the apostle's return from Badr and was given a share in the booty. Total 14 men.

Of B. Jumah b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b: `Uthman b. Maz`un b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah and his son al-Sa'ib and `Uthmans's two brothers Qudama and `Abdullah; Ma`mar b. al-Harith b. Ma`mar b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah. Total 5 men.

Of B. Sahm b. `Amr b. Husays b. Ka`b: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. `Adiy b. Sa`d b. Sahm. Total 1 man.

Of B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy of the subdivision B. Malik b. Hisl b. `Amir: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Abu Qays b. `Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl; `Abdullah b. Makhrama b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza, &c.; `Abdullah b. Suhayl b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Wudd, &c.(he had gone forth to war with his father Suhayl and when the people camped at Badr he fled to the apostle and took part in the battle on his side); and `Umayr b. `Auf, freedman of Suhayl; and Sa`d b. Khaula an ally of theirs (429). Total 5 men.

Of B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Abu `Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was `Amir b. `Abdullah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith; and `Amr b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad b. Rabi`a b. Hilal b. Uhayb, &c.; and Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabi`a b. Hilal, &c., and his brother Safwan who were the two sons of Baida', and `Amr b. Rabi`a b. Hilal b. Uhayb. Total 5 men.

The total number of the Emigrants who took part in the battle of Badr to whom the apostle allotted shares in the booty was 83 men (430).

138 - THE HELPERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS WHO WERE AT BADR

Of al-Aus b. Haritha b. Tha`laba b. `Amr b. `Amir of the subdivision B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. `Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus: Sa`d b. Mu`adh b. al-Nu`man b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Zayd b. `Abdu'l-Ashhal; `Amr b. Mu`adh b. al-Nu`man; and al-Harith b. Aus b. Mu`adh b. al-Nu`man; and al-Harith b. Anas b. Rafi` b. Imru'ul-Qays.

Of B. `Ubayd b. Ka`b b. `Abdu'l-Ashhal: Sa`d b. Zayd b. Malik b. `Ubayd.

Of B. Za`ura b. `Abdu'l-Ashhal (431): Salama b. Salama b. Waqash b. Zughba; `Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqash b. Zughba b. Za`ura; Salama b. Thabit b. Waqash; Rafi` b. Yazid b. Kurz b. Sakan b. Za`ura; al-Harith b. Khazama b. `Adiy b. Ubayy b. Ghanm b.

Salim b. `Auf b. `Amr b. `Auf b. al-Khazraj an ally of theirs from B. `Auf b. al-Khazraj; Muhammad b. Maslama b. Khalid b. `Adiy b. Majda`a b. Haritha b. al-Harith an ally from the B. Haritha b. al-Harith; and Salama b. Aslam b. Harish b. `Adiy b. Majda`a b. Haritha an ally from the B. Haritha b. al-Harith (432); and Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyahan; and `Ubayd b. al-Tayyahan (433) and `Abdullah b. Sahl (434). Total 15 men.

Of B. Zafar of the section B. Sawad b. Ka`b, Ka`b being Zafar (435): Qatada b. al-Nu`man b. Zayd b. `Amir b. Sawad, and `Ubayd b. Aus b. Malik b. Sawad (436). Total 2 men.

Of B. `Abd b. Rizah b. Ka`b: Nasr b. al-Harith b. `Abd and Mu`attib b. `Abd; and `Abdullah b. Tariq from their Bali allies. Total 3 men.

Of B. Haritha b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. `Amr b. Malik b. Aus: Mas`ud b. Sa`d b. `Amir b. `Adiy b. Jusham b. Majda`a b. Haritha (437); and Abu `Abs b. Jabr b. `Amr b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Majda`a b. Haritha; and of their Bali allies: Abu Burda b. Niyar whose full name was Hani' b. Niyar b. `Amr b. `Ubayd b. Kilab b. Duhman b. Ghanm b. Dhubyan b. Humaym b. Kahil b. Dhuhl b. Hunayy b. Bali b. `Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda`a. Total 3 men.

Of B. `Amr b. `Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus of the section of B. Dubay`a b. Zayd b. Malik b. `Auf b. `Amr b. `Auf: `Asim b. Thabit b. Qays-Qays Abul'l-Aqlah b. Isma b. Malik b. Amat b. Dubay'a-and Mu'attib b. Qushayr b. Mulayl b. Zayd b. al-'Attaf b. Dubay'a; and Abu Mulayl b. al-A'zar b. al-'Attaf; and 'Umar b. Ma'bad b. al-Az'ar,& c.(438); and Sahl b. Hunayf b. Wahib b.Tha'laba al-'Ukaym b. Thallaba b. Majda'a b. al-Harith b. 'Amr who was called Bahzaj b. Hanash b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf. Total 5 men.

Of B. Umayya b. 'Zayd b. Malik: Mubashshir b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar b. Umayya and Rifa'a his brother; Sa'd b. 'Ubayd b. al-Nu'man b. Qays b. Amr b. Zayd b. Umayya; 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida; Rafi' b. 'Unjuda (439); and 'Ubayd b. Abu 'Ubayd; and Tha'laba b. Hatib. It is alleged that Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir and al-Harith b. Hatib went out with the apostle, and he sent them back, putting the former in charge of Medina. He gave them both shares in the booty of Badr (440). Total 9 men.

Of B. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik: Unays b. Qatada b. Rabi'a b. Khalid b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayd: of their Bali allies: Ma'nb. 'Adiy b.al-Jadd b. al-'Ajlan b.Dubay'a; Thabit b.Aqram b. Tha'laba 'Adiy b. al-'Ajlan; 'Abdullah b. Salama b. Malik b. al-Harith b. 'Adiy b. al-'Ajlan; Zayd b. Aslam b. Tha'laba b. 'Adiy b. al-Ajlan; Rib'i b. Rafi'b. Zayd b. Haritha b. al-Jadd b. 'Ajlan. 'Adiy b. al-Jadd b. al-'Ajlan went forth to fight but the apostle sent him back, afterwards giving his share of the booty. Total 7 men.

Of B. Tha'laba b. Amr b.'Auf: 'Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Mu'man b. Umayya b. al-Burak whose name was Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'lada; and 'Asim b. Qays (441); and Abu Dayyah b. Thabit b. al-Jadd b. al-Nu'man b. Umayya,& c.; and Abu Hanna (442); and Salim b. "Umayr b. Thabit b. al-Nu'man,& c. (443); and al-Harith b. al-Nu'man whom the apostle gave share of the booty. Total 7 men.

Of B. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. Auf 'Amr b. 'Auf: Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Uhayha b. al-Julah b. al-Harish b. Jahjaba b. Kulfa (444); and of their allies from the B. Unayf: Abu 'Aqil b. 'Abdullah b. Tha'laba b. Bayhan b. 'Amir b. al-Harith b. Malik b. 'Amir b. 'Umayla b. Qasmil b. Faran b. Bali b. 'Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda'a (445). Total 2 men.

Of B. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus: Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Harith b. Qudama b. 'Arfaja; and Malik b. Qudama b. 'Arfaja (446); and al-Harith b. 'Arfaja; and Tamim freedman of the B. Ghanm (447). Total 5 men.

Of B. Mu'awiya b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Jabr b. 'Atik b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Haysha b. al-Harith b. Umayya b. Mu'awiya; and Malik b. Numayla an ally from Muzayna; and al-Nu'man b. 'Asar, a Bali ally. Total 3 men.

The total number of Aus who fought at Badr with the apostle and of those who were given a share of the booty was 61 men.

Of Khazraj b. Haritha b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Amir of the tribe of B. Harith subdivision B. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Kharraj :Kharija b.Zayd b.Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imru'ul-Qays; Sa'd b. Rabi b. 'Amr b. Abu Zuhayr, Abdulla b. Zuhayr b. Malik b. Rawaha b. Tha'laba b. Imru'ul-Qays b. 'Amr b. Imru'ul-Qays; Khalled b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Haritha b. Imru'ul-Qays. Total 4 men.

Of B. Zayd b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Bashir b. Tha'laba b. Tha'bala b. Khilas b. Zayd (448) and his brother Simak. Total 2 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Subay'b. Qays b. 'Aysha b. Umayya b. Malik b. 'Amir b. 'Adiy; and 'Abbad b. Qays b. Aysha, his brother (449);and 'Abdullah b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abs. Total 3 men.

Of B. Ahmar b. Haritha b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Yazid b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Malik b. Ahmar who was known as Ibn Fushum (450). Total 1 man.

Of B. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj and Zayd b. al-Harith who were twin brothers; Khubayb b. Isaf b. 'Itaba (So A'Dh W. has 'Utba) 1 b. 'Amr b. Khadij b. 'Amir b. Jusham; 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Abdu Rabbihi b. Zayd; and his brother Hurayth so they allege; and Sufyan b. Bashr (451)(dr. Arafat notes that the usual form of this name is Bishr and that in his Tabellen W. has Nasr. (This latter is in agreement with A.Dh. as well as I.H.). Total 4 men.

Of B. Jidara b. 'Auf b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Tamim b. Ya'ar b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidara; 'Abdullah b. 'Umayr of the B. Haritha (452); Zayd b. al-Muzayyan b.

Qays b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Jidara (453); and 'Abdullah b. 'Urfuta b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Umayya b. Jidara. Total 4 men.

Of B. al-Abjar b. 'Auf b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: 'Abdullah b. Rabi'b . Qays b. 'Amr b. 'Abbad b. al-Abjar. Total 1 man.

Of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. 'Ubayd b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf who were the B. al-Hubla (454): 'Abdullah b. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Malik b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayd best known as b. Salul. Salul was a woman, the mother of Ubayy; and Aus b. Khauli b. 'Abdullah b. al-Harith b. 'Ubayd. Total 2 men.

Of B. Jaz'b. 'Adiy b. Malik b. Ghanm: Zayd b. Wadi'a b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Jaz'; 'Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalada, an ally from the B. 'Abdullah b. Ghatafan; Rifa'a b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm; 'Amir, b. Salama b. Amir an ally from the Yaman (455); Abu Humayda Ma'bad b. 'Abbad b. Quashayr b. al-Muqaddam b. Salim b. Ghanm (456); and 'Amir b. al-Bukayr, an ally (457). Total 6 men.

Of B. Salim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-'Ajlan b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: Naufal b. 'Abdullah b. Nadla b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan. Total 1 man.

Of B. Asram b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Salim b. 'Auf (458): 'Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram and his brother Aus. Total 2 men.

Of B. Da'd b. Fihr b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm: al-Nu'man b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Da'd; this man was known as Qauqal . Total 1 man.

Of B. Quryush b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. Laudhan b. Salim (459): Thabit b. Hazzal b. 'Amr b. Quryush. Total 1 man.

Of B. Mardakha b. Ghanm b. Salim : Malik b. al-Dukhsham b. Mardakha (460). Total 1 man.

Of B. Laudhan b. Salim: Rabi'b. Iyas b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Umayya b. Laudhan, and his brother Waraqa; and 'Amr b. Iyas an ally of theirs from the Yaman (461). Total 3 men.

Of their allies from Bali of the clan of B. Ghusayna (462): al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad b. 'Amr b. Zumzuma b. 'Amr b. 'Umara b. Malik b. Ghusayna b. 'Amr b. Butayra b. Mashnu b. Qasr b. Taym b. Irash b. 'Amir b. 'Umayla b. Qismil b. Faran b. Bali b. 'Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda'a (463); and 'Ubada b. al-Khashkhash b. 'Amr b. Zumzuma, and Nahhab b. Tha'laba b. Hazama b. Asram b. 'Amr b. 'Umara (464); and 'Abdullah b. Tha'laba Hazama b.Asram;and they allege that 'Utba b.Rabia b.Khalid b. Mu'awiya, an ally from Bahra', was at Badr (465). Total 5 men.

Of B. Sa'ida b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Tha'laba b. Sa'ida: Adu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha (466); and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr b. Khunays b. Haritha b. Laudhan b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba (467). Total 2 men.

Of B. al-Badiy b. 'Amir b. 'Auf b. Haritha b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Saida: Abu Usayd Malik b. Rabi'a b. al-Badiy, and Malik b. Mas'ud who was attached to al-Badiy (468). Total 2 men.

Of B. Tarif b. al-Khazraj b. Sa'ida: 'Abdu Rabbihi b. Haqq b. Aus b. Waqsh b. Tha'laba b. Tarif. Total 1 man.

And of their allies from Juhayna: Ka'b b. Himar b. Tha'laba (469); and Damra and Ziyad and Basbas the sons of 'Amr (470); and 'Abdullah b. 'Amir from Bali. Total 5 men.

From B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham of the subdivision B. Haran b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima: Khirash b. al-Simma b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh b. Zayd b. Haram; and al-Hubab b. al- Mundhir b. al-Jamuh, & c.; and 'Umayr b. al-Humam b. al-Jamuh, & c.; and Tamim freedman of Khirash b. al-Simma; and 'Abdullah b. "Amr b. Haram b. Tha'laba b. Haram; and Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh and Khallad and Mu'awwidh his brothers; and 'Uqba b. 'Amir b. Nabi b. Zayd b. Haram and Habib b. Aswad their freedman; and Thabit b. Tha'laba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Haram; and Tha'laba who was called al-Jidh'; and 'Umayr b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba b. al-Harith b. Haram (471). Total 12 men.

Of B. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiy b. Ghanm bb. Ka'b b. Salima of the clan of B. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd: Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'rur b. Sakhr b. Malik b. Khansa'; al-Tufayl b. Malik and al-Tufayl b. al-Numan; and Sinan b. Sayfi b. Sakhr; and 'Abdullah b. al- Jadd b. Qays b. Sakhr; and 'Utba b. 'Abdullah b. Sakhr; and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya; and Kharija b. Humayyir ; and Abdullah b. Humayyir, two allies from Ashja of B. Duhman (472). Total 9 men.

Of B. Khunnas b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd: Yazid b. al-Mundhir b. Sarh and Maiqil his brother; and 'Abdullah b. al-Nu'man b. Baldama(473); and al-Dahhak b. Haritha b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiy; and Sawad b. Zurayq b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiy (474) and Ma'bad b.Qays b.Sakhr b.Haran b.Rabiab b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima (475); and 'Abdullah b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Haram b. Rabi a b. 'Adiy b. Ghanm. Total 7 men.

Of B. al-Nu'man b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd: 'Abdullah B. 'Abdu Manaf b. al-Nu'man; and Jabir B. 'Abdullah b. Ri'ab b. al-Nu'man; and Khulayda b. Qays and al-Nu'man b. Sinan their freedman. Total 4 men.

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima, of the clan of B. Hadida; 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad (476): Abu'l-Mundhir Yazid b. 'Amir b. Hadida; Sulaym b. 'Amr; Qutba b. 'Amir and 'Antara freedman of Sulaym b. 'Amr (477). Total 4 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. Nabi b. 'Amr B. Sawad b. Ghanm: 'Abs b. 'Amir b. 'Adiy; and Tha'laba b. Ghanama b. 'Adiy; and Abu'l-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Abbad b.Amr b.Ghanm b.Sawad; and Sahl b. Qays b.Abu Qays b. Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Ka'b b. Sawad ; and 'Amr b. Talq b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Sinan b. Ka'b b. Ghanm; and Mu'adh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Aus b. 'A' idh b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. 'Adiy b. Udayy b. Sa'd b. "Ali Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Haritha b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Amir (478). Total 6 men. Those who smashed the idols of B. Salima were Mu'adh b. Jabal; 'Adbullah b. Unays; and Tha'laba b. Ghanama, they being among B. Sawad b. Ghanm.

Of B. Zurayq b. 'Amir b. Zurayq b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Mukhallad b. 'Amir b. Zurayq (479): Qays b. Mihsan b. Mukhalled (480); and Abu Khalid al-Harith b. Qays b. Khalid b. Mukhalled and Jubayr b. Iyyas b. Khalid b. Mukhalled; and Abu 'Ubada Sa'da Sa'd b. "Uthman b. Khalada b. Mukhalled and his brother 'Upba b. 'Uthman, & c.; and Dhakwan b. 'Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhalled; and Mad'ud b. Khalada b. 'Amir b. Mukhallad. Total 7 men.

Of B. Khalid b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: 'Abbad b. Qays b. 'Amir b. Khalid. Total 1 man.

Of B. Khalada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: As'ad b. Yazid b. al-Fakih b. Zayd b. Khalada; and al-Fakih b. Bishr b. al-Fakih b. Zayd b. Khalada (481); and Mu'adh b. Ma'is b. Qays b. Khalada and his brother 'Aidh; and Mas'ud b.Sa'd b.Qays b.Khalada Total 5 men.

Of B. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amr b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: Rifa'a b. Rafi'b al-'Ajlan and his brother Khallad; and 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. 'Amir b. al-'Ajlan. Total 3 men.

Of B. Bayada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq: Ziyad b. Labid b. Tha'laba b. Sinan b. 'Amir b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Bayada; and Farwa b. 'Amr b. Wadhafa b. 'Abid b. 'Amir (482); and Khalid b. Qaya b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amir; and Rujayla b. Tha'laba Khalid b.Tha'laba b. 'Amir (483); and 'Atiya b. Nuwayra b. 'Amir b. 'Atiya b. 'Amir; and Khulayfa (484) b. 'Adiy b. 'Amr b. Malik b. 'Amir b. Fuhayra. Total 6 men.

Of B. Habib b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj: Rafi'b. al-Mu'alla b. Laudhan b. Haritha b. 'Adiy b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Zaydu Manat b. Habib. Total 1 man.

Of B. Najjar who was Taymullah b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj of the clan of B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar of the subdivision of B. Tha'laba b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Ghanm: Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Tha'laba. Total 1 man.

Of B. 'Usayra b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Ghanm: Thabit b. Khalid b. al-Nu'man b. Khansa' b. 'Usayra (485). Total 1 man.

Of B. 'Amr b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Ghanm: 'Umara b. Hazm b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. 'Amr; and Suraqa b. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Ghaziya b. 'Amr. Total 2 men.

Of B. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm: Haritha b. al-Nu'man b. Zayd b. 'Abid; and Sulaym b. Qays b. Qahd who was Khalid b. Qays b. 'Abid (486). Total 2 men.

Of B. 'A'idh b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm (487): Suhayl b. Rafi'b. Abu 'Amr b. 'A'idh; 'Adiy b. al-Raghba, an ally from Juhayna. Total 2 men.

Of B. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm: Mas'ud b. Aus b. Zayd; and Abu Khuzayma B. Aus b. Zayd b. Asram b. Zayd; and Rafi' b. al-Harith b. Sawad b. Zayd. Total 3 men.

Of B. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm: 'Auf and Mu'awwidh and Mu'adh sons of al-Harith b. Rifa'a b. Sawad by 'Afra (488); and al-Nu'man b. 'Amr b. Rifa'a b. Sawad (489) and 'Amir b. Mukhalled b. al-Harith b. Sawad; and 'Abdullah b. Qays b. Khalid b. Khalada b. al-Harith; and 'Usayma an ally from Ashja; and Wadi'a b. 'Amr an ally from Juhayna; and Thabit b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Adiy. They allege that Abu'l-Hamra, freedman of al-Harith b. 'Afra' was at Badr (490). Total 10 men.

Of B. 'Amir b. Malik b. al-Najjar, 'Amir being Mabdhul of the clan of B. 'Atik b. 'Amr b. Mabdhul: Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Mihsan b. 'Amr b. 'Atik b. 'Amr b. Mabdhul: Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Mihsan b. 'Amr b. 'Atik; and Sahl b. 'Atik b. 'Amr b. al-Nu'man; and al-Harith b. al-Simma b. 'Amr; his leg was broken at al-Rauha and the apostle gave him his share in the booty. Total 3 men.

Of B. 'Amr; b. Malik b. al-Najjar, the B. Hudayla, of the clan of B. Qays b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mu'awiya b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar (491): Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays; and Anas b. Mu'adh b. Anas b. Qays. Total 2 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Najjar (492): Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. 'Amr b. Zaydu Manat b. 'Adiy; and Abu Shaykh Ubayy b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. Zaydu Manat b. 'Adiy (493); and Abu Talha who was Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Haram b. 'Amr b. Zaydu Manat b. 'Adiy. Total 3 men.

Of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar of the clan of B. 'Adiy b. 'Amir b. Ghanm b. al-Najjar: Haritha b. Suraqa b. al-Harith b. 'Adiy b. Malik b. 'Adiy b. 'Amir; 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Wahb b. 'Adiy b. Malik b. 'Adiy b. 'Amir known as Abu Hakim; Salit b. Qays b. ;Amr b. Atik b. Malik b. 'Adiy b. 'Amir; Abu salit Usayra b. 'Amr; and 'Amr Abu Kharija b. Qays b. Malik b. Adiy b. Amir,Thabit b. Khansa ' b. Amr b.Malik &C .;'Amir b.Umayyya b.Zayd b. al-Hashas b. Malik, & c.; and Muhriz b. 'Amir b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Hashs b. Malik & c.; and Muhriz b. 'Amir b. Malik b. 'Adiy; and Sawad b. Ghaziya b. Uhayb an ally from Bali (494). Total 8 men.

Of B. Haram b. Jundub b. 'Amir b. Ghanm b. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar: Abu Zayd Qays b. Sakan b. Qays b. Za'ura' b. Haram; and Abu'l-A'war b. al-Harith b. Zalim b. 'Abs b. Haram (495); and Sulaym b. Milhan and Haram his brother. Milhan's name was Malik b. Khalid b. Zayd b. Haram. Total 4 men.

Of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar of the clan of B. 'Auf b. Madhul b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Abu Sa'sa'a whose name was 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Auf ; and 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Auf; and 'Usayma an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Total 3 men.

Of B. Khansa'b. Mabdhul b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin: Abu Da'ud U'mayr b. 'Amir b. Malik b. Khansa'; and Suraqa b. 'Amr b. 'Atiya. Total 2 men.

Of B. Tha'laba b. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Mukhalled b. Tha'laba b. Sakhr b. Habib b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba. Total 1 man.

Of B. Dinar b. al-Najjar of the clan of B.masu'd b.'Abdu'l-Ashnal b.Haritha b.Dinar : al-Nu'man b. 'Abdu 'Amr b. Mas'ud; and al-Dahhak 'Abdu 'Amr b. Mad'ud; and Sulaym b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. Haritha brother of al-Dahhak and al-Nu'man the sons of 'Abdu 'Amr by the same mother; Jabir b. Khalid b. 'Abdu'l -Ashhal b. Haritha; and Sa'd b. Suhayl b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal. Total 5 men.

Of B. Qays b. Malik b. Kab b. Haritha b. Dinar b. al-Najjar: Ka'b b. Zayd b. Qays; and Bujayr b. Abu Bujayr, an ally (496). Total 2 men.

The men of al-Khazraj who were at Badr number 170 (497).

Thus the total number of Muslims, emigrants, and Helpers who were at Badr and were allotted a share in the booty was 314, the emigrants providing 83, Aus 61, and Khazraj 170.

139 - THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO DIED AS MARTYRS AT BADR (As these persons' names have already been given in full their genealogies are shortened here.)

Of Quraysh of the clan of B. al-Muttalib: 'Ubayda b. al-Harith whom 'Utba b. Rabi'a slew by cutting off his leg. He afterwards died in al-Safra. Total 1.

Of B. Zuhra b. Kilab: 'Umayr b. Abu Waqqas (498) and Dhu'l-Shimalayn b. 'Abdu 'Amr an ally from Khuza'a of B. Ghubshan. Total 2.

Of B. 'Adi b. Ka'b: 'Aqil b. al-Bukayr an ally from B. Sa'd b. Layth; and Mihja' freedman of 'Umar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Harith b. Fihr: Safwan b. Bayda. Total 1 Grand total 6.

Of the Helpers: of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Sa'd b. Khaythama, and Mubashshir b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar. Total 2.

Of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Yazid b. al-Harith known as Ibn Fusham. Total 1.

Of B. Salama of the clan of B. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm: 'Umayr b. al-Humam. Total 1.

Of B. Habib b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham: Rafi'b. al-Mu'alla. Total 1.

Of B. al-Najjar: Haritha b. Suraqa b. al-Harith. Total 1.

Of B. Ghanm B. Malik b. al-Najjar: 'Auf and Mu'awwidh the two sons of al-Harith b. Rifa'a by 'Afra'. Total 2 Grand total 8.

140 - THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE SLAIN AT BADR

The Quraysh losses at Badr were as follow:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Hanzala b. Abu Sufyan (499); al-Harith b. al-Hadrami and 'Amir b. al-Hadrami, two allies of theirs (500); and 'Umayr b. Abu 'Umayr and his son two freedmen of theirs (501); and 'Ubayda b. Sa'id b. al-'As b. Umayya whom al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam killed; and al-'As b. Sa'id whom Ali killed; and 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt whom 'Asim b. Thabit killed (502); and 'Utba b. Rabi'a whom 'Ubayda b. al-Harith killed (503); and Shayba b. Rabi'a whom Hamza killed; and al-Walid b. 'Utba whom 'Ali killed; and 'Amir b. 'Abdullah, an ally from B. Anmar b. Baghid whom 'Ali killed. Total 12.

Of B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf: al-Harith b. 'Amir whom Khubayb b. Isaf is said to have killed; and Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy b. Naufal whom 'Ali killed while others say Hamza killed him. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: Zama'a b. al-Aswad (504); and al-Harith b. Zama'a (505); and 'Uqayl b. al-Aswad (506); and Abu'l-Bakhtari who was al-'As b. Hisham whom al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi killed (507); and Naufal b. Khuwaylid who was b.al- 'Adawiya the 'Adiy of Khuza'a; it was he who bound Abu Bakr and Talha b. 'Ubaydullah with a rope when they became Muslims and so were called 'the-two-tied-together-ones'. He was one of the principal men of Quraysh. 'Ali killed him. Total 5 men.

Of 'Abdu'l-Dar: al-Nadr b. al-Harith whom they say that 'Ali executed in the presence of the apostle at al-Safra' (508); and Zayd b. Mulays freedman of 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf (509). Total 2.

Of B. Taym b. Murra: 'Umayr b. 'Uthman (510); and 'Uthman b. Malik whom Suhayb b. Sinan killed. Total 2.

Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Abu Jahl b. Hisham (Mu'adh b. 'Amr struck off his leg. His son 'Ikrima struck off Mu'adh's hand and he threw it from him; then Mu'awwidh b. 'Afra' struck him so that he disabled him leaving him at the last gasp; then 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud quickly dispatched him and cut off his head when the apostle ordered that search should be made among the slain for him); and al-'AS B. Hisham whom 'Umar killed; and Yazid b. 'Abdullah, an ally from B. Tamim (511); and Abu Musafial- Ash'ari, an ally (512); and Harmala b.Amr , an ally (513); and Mas'ud b.Abu Umayya (514); amd Abu

Qays b. al-Walid (515); and Abu Qays b. al-Fakih (516); and Rifa'a b. Abu Rifa'a (517); and al-Mundhir b. Abu Rifa'a (518); and 'Abdullah b. al-Mundhir (519); and al-Sa'ib b. Abu'l Sa'ib (520); and al-Aswad b.'Abdu'l - Asad whom Hamza killed and Hajib b.al-Sa;id(521);and 'Uwaymir b. al-Sa'ib (522); and 'Amr b. Sufyan; and Jabir b. Sufyan; and Jabir b. Sufyan, two allies from Tayyi' (523). Total 17.

Of B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Munabbih b. al-Hajjaj whom Abu'l-Yasar killed; and his son al-'As(524); and Nubayh b. al-Hajjaj (525); and Abu'l-'As b. Qays (526); and 'Asim b. 'Auf (527). Total 5.

Of B. Jumah: Umayya b. Khalaf whom a Helper of B. Mazin killed (528); and his son 'Ali b. Umayya whom 'Ammar killed; and Aus b. Mi'yar (529). Total 3.

Of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Mu'awiya b. 'Amir an ally from 'Abdu'l-Qays whom 'Ali killed (530); and Ma'bad b. Wahb. an ally from B. Kalb b. 'Auf whom Khalid and Iyas the two sons of al-Bukayr killed (531). Total 2.

Thus the total number of Quraysh slain at Badr as given to us is 50 men (532).

141 - A LIST OF THE QURAYSH POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER AT BADR

From B. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Aqil b. Abu Talib and Naufal b. al-Harith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.(Here one would expect that the number of the Hashimite prisoners would be given, but it is not. A.Dh. says: 'He does not mention al-'Abbas along with these two prisoners because he had become a Muslim, and used to conceal his religion because he was afraid to his tribesmen.' However, since I.I at the end of the list says that the total number was 43, whereas only 43 are named, it is obvious that he must have included 'Abbas among the prisoners. I.H.'s note that one prisoner, whose name is not mentioned, is missing from the list.)

From B. al-Muttalib b. 'Abdu Manaf: al-Sa'ib b.Ubayd b.'Abdu Yazid and Nu'man b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama. 2.

From B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Amr b. Abu Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya and al-Harith b. Abu Wajza b. Abu 'Amr b. Umayya (533); and Abu'l-'As b. al-Rabi'b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza; and Abu'l-'As b. Naufal; and of their allies Abu Risha b. Abu 'Amr; and 'Amr b. al-Azraq; and 'Uqba b. 'Abdu'l-Harith b. al-Hadrami. 7.

From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Adiy b. al-Khiyar b. 'Adiy; and 'Uthman b. 'Abdu Shams nephew of Ghazwan b. Jabir, an ally of theirs from B. Mazin b. Mansur; and Abu Thaur, an ally. 3.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy: Abu 'Aziz b. 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf; and al-Aswad b. 'Amir, an ally. They used to say 'We are the B. al-Aswad b. Amir b.'Amr b.al-Harith b.al-Sabbaq's from B.Asad b.'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Sa'ib b. Abu

Hubaysh b. al-Muttalib b. Asad; and al-Huwayrith b. 'Abbad b. 'Uthman (534) b. Asad, and Salim b. Shammakh an ally. 3.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza b. Murra: Khalid b. Hisham b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar; and Umayya b. Abu Hudhafa b. al-Mughira; and Walid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira; and 'Uthman b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. ;Umar; and Sayfi b. Abu Rifa'a b. 'Abid b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar; and Abu'l-Mundhir his brother; and Abu 'Ata' 'Abdullah b. Abu'l-Sai'b b. "Abid b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar; and Khalid b. al-A'lam an ally, who they say was the first to turn his back in flight. He it was who said:

The wounds that bleed are not on our backs
But the blood drops on to our feet. 9(535)

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Husays b. Ka'b: Abu Wada'a b. Dubayra b. Su'ayd b. Sa'd who was the first prisoner to be redeemed. His son al-Muttalib paid his ransom money. Farwa b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Hudhafa b.Sa'd; and Hanzala b.Qabisa b.Sa'd ;a and al- Hajjaj b.'Uthman b. Wuhayb b. Hudhafa and al-Fakih. freedman of Umayya b. Khalaf. After that Rabah b. al-Mughtarif claimed him asserting that he was of B. Shammakh b. Muharib b. Fihr. It is said that al-Fakih was the son the Jarwal b. Hidhyam b. 'Auf b. Ghadb b. Shammakh b. Muharib b. Fihr; and Wahb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa; and Rabi'a b. Darraj b. al-'Anbas b. Lu'ayy: Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl (Malik b. al-Dukhshum brother of B. Salim b. 'Auf took him prisoner); and 'Abd b. Zama'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl; and 'Abdu'l-Rahman b.Mashnu'b Waqdan b.Qays b. Abdu shams b.'Abdu Wudd b.Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl b. 'Amir. 3.

From B. al-Harith b. Fihr: al-Tufayl b. Abu Qunay'; and 'Utba b. 'Amr b. Jahdam. 2.

The total number reported to me was 43 men (536).

142 - SOME POETRY ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BADR

Of the poetry about the battle of Badr which the two parties bandied between them in reference to what happened therein are the lines of Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib (537):

Surely one of time's wonders(Lit. Did you see a thing was one of time's wonders? That a people, & c.
(Though roads to death are plain to see)
Is that a people should destroy themselves and
perish(Reading fahanu with C.
By encouraging one another to disobedience and disbelief.
The night they all set out for Badr
And became death's pawns in its well. We had sought but their caravan, naught else,
But they came to us and we met unexpectedly.('ala qadrin, lit by (Allah's) decree.
When we met there was no way out
save with a thrust from dun-coloured straight-fashioned shafts

And a blow with swords which severed their heads,
Swords that glittered as they smote.
We left the erring 'Utba lying dead
And Shayba among the slain thrown in the well;
'Amr lay dead among their protectors
And the keening women rent their garments for him,
The noble women of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib
Who surpass the best of Fihr.
Those were folk who were killed in their error
And they left a banner not prepared for victory-
A banner of error whose people Iblis led.
He betrayed them (the evil one is prone to treachery).
when he saw things clearly he said to them
I am quit of you. I can nno longer endure,(Cf.Sura 8.50. The preceding lines seem to be the work of the man who wrote the poem attributed to Hassan. Cf.W. 475, line 2.
I see what you do not see, I fear Allah's punishment
For He is invincible.'
He led them to death so that they perished
While he knew what they could not know.
On the day of the well they mustered a thousand,
We three hundred like excited white stallions.
With us were Allah's armies when he reinforced us with them
In a place that will ever be renowned.
Under our banner Gabriel attacked with them
In the fray where they met their death.

Al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira answered them thus:

Help, O my people, in my longing and loss
My sorrow and burning heart!
Tears flow copiously from my eyes
Like pearls falling from the cord of the woman who strings them,
Weeping for the sweet-natured hero
Death's pawn at the well of Badr.
Bless you, 'Amr kinsman and compansion of most generous nature.
If certain men chanced to meet you when your luck was out,
Well, time is bound to bring its changes.
In past times which are gone
You brought upon them a humiliation which is hard to bear.
Unless I die I shall not leave you unavenged.
I will spare neither brother nor wife's kin.
I will slay as many dear to them
As they have slain of mine.
Have strangers whom they have collected deceived them
While we are the pure stock of Fihr?
Help, O Lu'ayy, protect your sanctuary and your Allahs;

Give them not up to the evil man!(The text has fakhr. This must be one of the words which I.H. says that he altered.)
Your fathers handed them down and you inherited their foundations,(Or 'columns'.)
The temple with its roof and curtain.
Why did the reprobate want to destroy you?(Reading dhamim or
la'im for halim in the text.)
Forgive him not, O tribe of Ghalib,
Fight your adversary with all your might and help one another.
Bear one another's afflictions with endurance.
You may well avenge your brother, Nothing matters if you fail to take revenge on 'Amr's slayers.
With waving swords flashing in your hands like lightning
Sending heads flying as they glitter.
As it were the tracks of ants on their blades
When they are unsheathed against the evil-eyed enemy(538).

'Ali b. Abu Talib said:
Have you not seen how Allah favoured His apostle
With the favour of a strong, powerful, and gracious one;
How He brought humiliation on the unbelievers
Who were put to shame in captivity and death,
While the apostle of Allah's victory was glorious
He being sent by Allah in righteousness.
He brought the Furqan sent down from Allah,
Its signs(Or 'its messages'.) are plain to men of sense.
Some firmly believed in that and were convinced
And (thanks to Allah) became one people;(shaml, or 'lived in harmony'. See Lyall, The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'ah, Cambridge, 1919 p.14.
Others disbelieved, their minds went astray
And the Lord of the throne brought repeated calamities upon them;
And an angry army who did valiantly.
They smote them with their trusty swords,
Furbished well, and polished.
How many a lusty youngster,
Many a hardy warrior did they leave prone.
Their keening women spent a sleepless night,
Their tears now strong, now weak.
They keen for erring 'Utba and his son,
And Shayba and Abu Jahl
And Dhu'l-Rijl(i.e. Al-Aswad whose leg Hamza hewed off, v.s.) and Ibn Jud'an also,
With burning throats in mourning garb displaying bereavement.
Dead in Badr's well lay many
Brave in war, generous in times of dearth;
Error called them and some responded
(For error has ways easy to adopt).
Now they are in Hell,

Too occupied to rage furiously against us.

Al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira answered him thus:

I wonder at folk whose fool sings
Of folly captious and vain,
Singing about the slain at Badr
When young and old vied in glorious endeavour,
The brave swordsman of Lu'ayy, Ibn Ghalib,
Thrusting in battle feasting the hungry in times of dearth
They died nobly they did not sell their family
For strangers alien in stock and homeland,
Like you who have made Ghassan your special friends
Instead of us-a sorry deed,
An impious, odious crime, and a severing of the ties of blood;
Men of judgement and understanding perceive your wrongdoing.
True, they are men who have passed away,
But the best death is on the battlefield.
Rejoice not that you have killed them,
For their death will bring you repeated disaster.
Now they are dead you will always be divided,
Not one people as you desire,
By the loss of Ibn Jud'an, the praiseworthy, And 'Utba, and him who is called Abu Jahl among you.
Shayba and Al-Walid were among them,
Umayya, the refuge of the poor, and Dhu'l-Rijl.(Apparently al-Aswad the Makhzumite whose leg was cut off as he tried to drink from the well at Badr is meant. See W. 442.
Weep for these and not for others,
The keening women will bewail their loss and bereavement,
Say to the people of Mecca, Assemble yourselves
And go to palmy Medina's forts,
Defend youselves and fight, O people of Ka'b,
With your polished and burnished swords
Or pass the night in fear and trembling
By day meaner than the sandal that is trodden underfoot.
But know, O men that by Al-Lat, I am sure
That you will not rest without taking vengence.
All of you, don your mail, take the spear,
The helmet, sharp sword and arrows.

Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr said:

I wonder at the boasting of Aus when death is coming to them tomorrow
(Since time contains its warnings)
And at the boasting of the Banu'l-Najjar because certain men died there,

For all of them were steadfast men.
If some of our men were left dead
We shall leave others dead on the field.(i.e. of the enemy. C. and W. differ in this line.)
Our flying steeds will carry us among you,
Till we slake our vengeance, O Banu'l-Aus,
We shall return to the charge in the midst of the Banu'l-
Najjar,
Our horses snorting under the weight of the spearmen clad in mail.
Your dead we shall leave with vultures circling round
To look for help but a vain desire.
Yathrib's women will mourn them,
Their nights long and sleepless
Because our swords will cut them down,
Dripping with the blood of their victims.
Though you won on the day of Badr
Your good fortune was plainly due to Ahmad
And the chosen band, his friends,
Who protected him in battle when death was at hand,
Abu Bakr and Hamza could be numbered among them
And `Ali among those you could mention,
Abu Hafs and `Uthman were of them,
Sa`d too, if anyone was present,
Those men-not the begettings of Aus and Najjar-
Should be the object of your boasting,
But their father was from Lu'ayy Ibn Ghalib,
Ka`b and `Amir when noble families are reckoned.
They are the men who repelled the cavalry on every front,
The noble and glorious on the day of battle.

Ka`b b. Malik brother of the B. Salima said:

I wonder at Allah's deed, since He
Does what He wills, none can defeat Him.
He decreed that we should meet at Badr
An evil band (and evil ever leads to death).
They had summoned their nighbours on all sides
Until they formed a great host. At us alone they came with ill intent,
Ka`b and `Amir and all of them.
With us was Allah's apostle with Aus round him
Like a strong impregnable fortress
The tribes of Banu Najjar beneath his banner
Advancing in light armour while the dust rose high.
When we met them and every steadfast warrior
Ventured his life with his comrades
We testified to the unity of Allah

And that His apostle brought the truth.
When our lihght swords were unsheathed
'Twas as though fires flashed at their movement.
With them we smote them and they scattered
And the impious met death,
Abu Jahl lay dead on his face
And 'Utba our swords left in the dust.(Reading `afiru with some authorities for `athiru, though these letters sometimes
interchange.)
Shayba and Al-Taymi they left on the battlefield,
Everyone of them denied Him who sitteth on the throne.
They became fuel for Hell,
For every unbeliever must go there.
It will consume them, while the stoker
Increases its heat with pieces of iron and stone.(Cf. Sura 18. 95.)
Allah's apostle had called them to him
But they turned away, saying, `You are nothing but a sorcerer.'
Because Allah willed to destroy them,
And none can avert what He decrees

`Abdullah b. al-Ziba`ra al-Sahmi(an ally of the B. `Abdu'l-Dar), (In deference to the text these words have been retained; but (1) they occur after I H.'s interpolation in which he ascribes the poem to al-A`sha b. Zurara, an ally of B. `Abdu Naufal, and (2) `Abdullah, though he belonged to Sahm who were in the ahlaf alliance with B. `Abdu'l-Dar, could hardly be called a halif. Therefore it looks as if the words refer to al-`Asha. Whether I.H. inserted them because he knew that I.I. differed from him, or whether someone else did for the same reason, it is impossible to say.) bewailing the slain at Badr, Said (539):

What noble warriors, handsome men, lie round Badr's battlefield.
They left behind them Nubayh and Munabbih and
The two sons of Rabi`a', best fighters against odds,
And the generous Harith, whose face shone
Like the full moon illuminating night;
And al-`As b. Munabbih, the strong,
Like a long lance without a flaw.
His origin and his ancestors
And the glory of his father's and his mother's kin raise him high.
If one must weep and show great grief
Let it be over the glorious chief Ibn Hisham,
Allah, lord of creatures, save Abu'l-Walid and his family,
And grant them special favour.

Hassan b. Thabit al-Ansari answered him:
Weep, may your eyes weep blood,
Their rapid flow ever renewed.
Why weep for those who ran to evil ways?

Why have you not mentioned the virtues of our people
And our glorious, purposeful, tolerant, courageous one,
The prophet, soul of virtue and generosity,
The truest man that ever swore an oath?
One who resembles him and does his teaching
Was the most praised there not without effect.(The line is clumsy and the syntax questionable.)

Hassan also said:
A maiden obsesses thy mind in sleep
Giving the sleeper a drink with cool lips
Like musk mingled with pure water
Or old wine red as the blood of sacrifices.
Wide in the rump, her buttocks ripples of fat,
Vivacious, not hasty in swearing an oath.
Her well-covered hips as she sits
Form a hollow in her back like a marble mortar,
So lazy she can hardly go to bed,
Of beautiful body and lovely figure.
By day I never fail to think of her,
By night my dreams inflame my desire for her.
I swear I will not forget to think of her
Until my bones lie in the grave.
O woman who foolishly blames me,
I refuse to accept blame on account of my love;
She came to me at dawn after I woke
When life's troubles were at hand.
She told me that man is sad all his life
Because he lacks plenty of camels;
If you lied in what you said
May you escape the consequences as Al-Harith b. Hisham did.
He left his friends fearing to fight in their defence
And escaped by giving his horse free rein.
It left the swift steeds behind in the desert;
As the weighted rope drops down the well.
His mare galloped away at full speed while
His friends remained in their evil plight
His brothers and his family were in the battle
In which Allah gave the Muslims victory-
For Allah accomplishes His work-war ground them to powder,
Its fire blazed (with them as fuel).
But for Allah and the animal's speed (our houses) had left him
A prey to wild beasts trodden under their hoofs.(These three verses are abviously a later interpolation. The syntax requires that the partitive min should follow its antecedent `his friends'. Moreover, the ostentatious piety of these verses is foreign to Hassan.)

Some of them firmly bound prisoners (though they were)
Hawks protecting (their young) when they met the spears;
Some prostrate never to answer to the call
Till the highest mountains cease to be,
In shame and plain disgrace when they saw
The sword blades driving every resolute chief before them.
Swords in the hands of noble valiant cheifs,
Whose noble ancestry in vindicated without searching
inquiry.
Swords that strike fire from steel
Like lightning 'neath the storm clouds.

Al-Harith answered him and said:

The people know well (C. has `Allah knows best', but this is almost certainly wrong. I have followed the text of W. I did not leave the fight until my steed was foaming with blood
I knew that if I fought alone I should be killed; my death would not injure the enemy
So I withdrew and left my friends meaning to avenge them another day.

This is what Al-Harith said in excuse for running away from the battle of Badr (540).

Hassan also said: (Diwan lxxvi)
Quraysh knew on the day of Badr,
The day of captivity and violent slaughter,
That when the lances crossed we were the victors
In the battle of Abu'l-Walid.
We killed Rabi`a's two sons the day they came
Clad in double mail against us.
Hakim fled on the day that the Banu'l-Naajjar
Advanced upom them like lions.
All the men of Fihr turned tail,
The miserable Harith abandoned them from afar.
You met shame and death
Quick, decisive, under the neck vein.
All the force turned tail together.
They paid no heed to ancestral honour.

Hassan also said: (Diwan cli).

O Harith, you took a base decision in war
And the day when ancestral fame is shown,
When you rode a swift-footed noble mare,
Rapid-paced and long in flank,
Leaving your people behind to be slain,
Thinking only of escape when you should have stood fast.

Could you not have shown concern for your mother's son
Who lay transfixed by spears, his body stripped?
Allah hastened to destroy his host
In shameful disgrance and painful punishment! (541).

Hassan also said (542): (Diwan xxxvi.)

A bold intrepid man-no coward-
Led those clad in light chain armour.
I mean the apostle of Allah the Creator
Who favoured him with piety and goodness above all;
You had said you would protect your caravan
And that Badr's waters could not reached (Reading maurud for mardud. Dhimar includes anything that must be protected). by us.
There we had come down, not heeding your words so that
We drank to the full without stint,
Holding fast to an unseverable rope,
The well plaited rope of Allah that stretches far.
We have the apostle and we have the truth which we follow
To the death; we have help unlimited
Faithful to his promise, intrepid, a brilliant star,
A full moon that casts light on every noble man(543).

Hassan also said: (Diwan ccvii.)

The Banu Asad were disappointed and their raiders returned
On the day of the Well in misery and disgrace.
Abu'l-`As soon lay dead on the ground:
Hurled from the back of his galloping steed:
He met his end with his weapons, good fighters as he was
When he lay still in death.
The man Zam`a we left with his throat severed,
His life blood flowing away,
His forehead cushioned in the dust,
His nostrils defiled with filth;
Ibn Qays escaped with a remnant of his tribe
Covered with wounds, at the point of death.

Hassan also said: (Diwan xliv.)

Can anyone say if the Meccans know
How we slew the unbelievers in their evil hour?
We killed their leaders in the battle
And they returned a shattered force;
We killed Abu Jahl and `Utba before him,
And Shayba fell forward with his hands outstretched.

(The true reading is yakbu. W.'s yabku is an obvious misprint.
The widely different reading in H.'s Diwan is markedly inferior.)
We killed Suwayd and `Utba after him.
Tu`ma also in the dust of combat.
Many a noble, generous man we slew
Of lofty line, illustrious among his people.
We left them as meat for hyaenas
Later to burn in Hell fire. (A reminiscence of Sura 88. 4.)
I'faith Malik's horsemen and their followers were no protection
When they met us at Badr (544).

Hassan also said (Diwan lxxx.)

Hakim's speed saved him on the day of Badr
Like the speed of a colt from al-A`waj's mares,(A horse as famous in pagan sages as Black Bess in English legend.)
When he saw Badr's vally walls
Swarming with the black-mailed squadrons of Khazraj
Who do not retire when they meet the enemy.
Who march boldly in the middle of the beaten track.
How many a valiant chief they have,
Heroes where the coward turns at bay,
Chiefs giving lavishly with open hand
Crowned ones bearing the burden of blood-wits,
Ornaments in conclave, persistent in battle,
Smiting the bold with their all-piercing swords (545).

Hassan also said:

Thanks to Allah we fear not an army
How many they be with their assembled troops.
Whenever they brought a multitude against us
The gracious Lord sufficed us against their swords;
At Badr we raised our spears aloft,
Death did not dismay us.
You could not see a body of men
More dangerous to those they attack when war is stirred up,
(The metaphor is that of the untimely address of the he-camel to the mare.)
But we put our trust [in Allah] and said:
`Our swords are our fame and our defence'.
With them we met them and were victorious
Though but a band against their thousands.

Hassan also said, satirizing B. Jumah and those of them who were slain:

Banu Jumah rushed headlong to disaster (Here there is a pun on the name Fumah.) because of their unlucky star
(The mean man inevitably meets humiliation).
They were conquered and slain at Badr,
They deserted in all directions,
They rejected the scripture and called Muhammad liar. But Allah makes the religion of every apostle victorious;
Allah curse Abu Khuzayma and his son,
The two Khalids Sa`id b. `Aqil.

`Ubayda b. al-Harith said about the battle of Badr, and the cutting off of his foot when it was smitten in the fight, when he and Hamza and `Ali fought their enemies (546):

A battle will tell the Meccans about us:
It will make distand men give heed,
When `Utba died and Shayba after him
And `Utba's eldest son had no cause to be pleased with it. (`Utba's firstborn al-Walid was also slain at Badr.)
You may cut off my leg, yet I am a Muslim,
I hope in exchange for a life near to Allah
With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
With the highest heaven for those who mount there.
I have bought it with a life of which I have tasted the best (Reading ta`arraftu.)
And which I have tried until I lost even my next-of-kin.
The Merciful honoured me with His favour
With the garment of Islam to cover my faults.
I did not shrink from fighting them
The day that men called on their peers to fight them,
When they asked the prophet he sought only us three
So that we came out to the herald;
We met them like lions, brandishing our spears,
We fought the rebellious for Allah's sake;
We three did not move from our position
Till their fate came upon them (547).

When `Ubayda died of the wound in his leg at the battle of Badr, Ka`b b. Malik, the Ansari, wrote this elegy on him:
O eye, be generous, not niggardly,
With the true tears; spare them out
For a man whose death appalled us,
Noble in deed and in descent,
Bold in attack with sharpened sword,
Of noble repute and goodly decent. (Or reading makshari, `of sweet breath'.)
`Ubayda has passed away, we cannot hope
For good or evil from him,
On the eve of battle he used to protect our rearguard with his sword.

Ka`b also said:

Have Ghassan heard in their distant haunt
(The best informant is one with knowledge thereof),
That Ma`add shot their arrows at us,
The whole tribe of them were hostile,
Because we worship Allah, hoping in none other,
Hoping for heaven's gardens since their prophet has come to us. (Lit. `guarantor'.)
A prophet with a glorious inheritance among his people,
And truthful ancestors whose origin made them pure;
Both sides advanced, and we met them like lions
Whose victims have nothing to hope for;
We smote them in the battle
Till Lu'ayy's leader fell upon his face;
They fled, and we cut them down with our sharp swords,
Their allies and their tribesmen alike.

Ka`b also said:

By your father's life, ye sons of Lu'ayy,
Despite your deceit and pride,
Your horsemen did not protect you at Badr,
They could not stand fast when they met us;
We came there with Allah's light
Clearing away the cover of darkness from us.
Allah's apostle led us, by Allah's order,
An order He had fixed by decree;
Your horsemen could not conquer at Badr
And returned to you in evil case;
Do not hurry, Abu Sufyan, and watch
For the fine steeds coming up from Kada', (A place near Mecca. Cf. W. 829, line 8.)
By Allah's help the holy spirit is among them (i.e.Gabriel.)
And Michael, what a goodly company!

Talib b. Abu Talib, praising the apostle and lamenting the men of Quraysh who were thrown into the pit at Badr, said:

My eye wept copiously
Over Ka'b, though it sees them not.
Ka`b, deserted one another in the wars, and
Fate destroyed them they having greatly sined.

(The language is reminiscent of Sura 45. 20.

And `Amir this morning are weeping for the misfortunes (that befell them)
Shall I ever see them closer (to each other)?
They are my brothers their mother no harlot,
And never their guest suffered wrong;

O our brothers `Abdu Shams and Naufal, may I be your ransom,
Put not war between us. After the love and friendship we had Become not (the subject of) stories in which all of you have something to complain of.
Do you not know what happened in the war of Dahis
And when Abu Yaksum's army filled the ravine?
Had not Allah the Sole Existent saved you
You could not have protected your people
We among Quraysh have done no great wrong
But merely protected the bestman that ever trod the earth;
A standby in misfortunes, generous,
Noble in reputation, no niggard, no wrongdoer.
His door is thronged by those seeking his bounty,
A sea of generosity, vast, unfailing.
By Allah, my soul will ever be sad,
Restless, until you smite Khazraj well and truly.

Dirar b. al-Khattab al-Fihri lamenting Abu Jahl said:

Alas for my eye that cannot sleep
Watching the stars in the darkness of the night!
It is as though a mote were in it,
But there is naught but flowing tears.
Tell Quraysh that the best of their company,
The noblest man that ever walked,
At Badr lies imprisoned in the well;
The noble one, not base-born and no niggard.
I swear that my eyes shall never weep for any man
Now Abu'l-Hakam our chief is slain.
I weep for him whose death brought sorrow to Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
To whom death came at Badr where he remains.
You could see fragments of spears in his horse's chest,
Scraps of his flesh plainly intermingled with them.
No lion lurking in the valley of Bisha,
Where through jungled vales the waters flow,
Was bolder than he when lances clashed,
When the cry went forth among the valiant `Dismount' (Or perhaps, To battle!)
Grieve not overmuch, Mughira's kin, be resolute
(Though he who so grieves is not to be blamed).
Be strong, for death is your glory,
And thereafter at life's end there is no regret.
I said that victory will be yours
And high renown-no man of sense will doubt it (548).

Al-Harith b. Hisham, bewailing his brother Abu Jahl, said:

Alas my soul for `Amr!

But can grief avail one whit?(A happy suggestion of the editors of C. is to read fatil, a Quranic figure for complete insignificance. This is much to be preferred to the obvious qatil of the MSS.

Someone told me that `Amr
Was the first of his people to go into the old abandoned pit.
I have always thought it right (that you should be the first),
Since your judgement in the past was sound.
I was happy while you were alive;
Now I am left in a miserable state.
At night when I cannot see him I feel
A prey to indecision and full of care.
When daylight comes once more
My eye is weary of remembering `Amr (549).

Abu Bakr b. al-Aswad b. Shu`ub al-Laythi, whose name was Shaddad, said:

Ummu Bakr gave me the greeting of peace,
But what peace can I have now my people are no more?
In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What singing girls and noble boon companions!
In the pit, the pit of Badr
What platter piled high with choicest camel-meat
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many camels straying freely were yours!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many flags(Or possibly, `great intentions'.)and sumptuous gifts!)
What friends of the noble Abu `Ali,
Brother of the generous cup and boon companions!
If you were to see Abu `Aqil
And the men of the pass of Na`am
You would mourn over them like the mother of a new-born camel
Yearning over her darling.
The apostle tells us that we shall live,
But how can bodies and wraiths meet again?

(Sada. The old Arabs believed that when a man had been killed and his slayers was still at large a bird like an owl came forth from his head crying, `Give me to drink' sc. the slayer's blood . The word sada afterwards came to be applied to the head or brain, and to the corpse itself, which seems to be the meaning here. Hama also means the head of a man or the bird emerging therefrom which could be conceived as a wraith. For the liqa' of our text Bukh. iii. 45. 13 has baqa' `persist' while Shahrastani. Milal, 433, has the reading quoted by I.H.A poem, this is recognizably another version, will be found in the Risalatu'l-Ghufrar (F.R.A.S. 1902.p.1918). For the last verse Abu'l-`Ala heard: `Does Ibn Kabsha promise us that we shall live?' This must be early because such a designation of the prophet would hardly have been coined in later times. Commentators explain that the prophet was called Ibn Kabsha (for Ibn Abu Kabsha) after a man of that name who during the pagan era abandoned the religion of his fathers.) (550)

Umayya b. Abu'l-Salt, lamenting those who died at Badr, said:

Would'st thou not weep over the nobles,
Sons of nobles, prasied by all,
As the doves mourn upon the leafy doughs,
Upon the bending branches,
Weeping in soft dejected notes
When they return at night fall.
Like them are the weeping women,
The keeners who lift up their voices.
He who weeps them weeps in real sorrow,
He who praises them tells the truth.
What chiefs and leaders
At Badr and al-`Aqanqal,
At Madafi`u'l-Barqayn and Al-Hannan,
At the end of al-Awashih,
Grey-beards and youths, Bold leaders,
Raiders impetuous!
See you not what I see
When it is plain to all beholders,
That the vale of Mecca has altered,
Become a valley deserted
By every chief, son of chief,(bitriq (patricius) by this time little more than an honorary title in the Eastern Empire. The word must have been well known to the Arabs because it occurs frequently in early literature.
(My colleague, Professor Lewis, reminds me that Harith b. Jabala was appointed phylarch and patricius by Justinian in 529.)
Fair-skined, illustrious,
Constantly at the gate of kings,
Crossing the desert, victorious,
Strong-necked, stout of body,
Men of eminence, successful in enterprise,
Who say and do and order what is right,
Who feed their guests on fat meat
Served on brad white as a lamb's stomach;
Who offer dishes and yet more dishes
As large as water pools.
The hungry finds them not empty
Nor wide without depth,
To guest after guest they send them
With broad open hand,
Givers of hundreds from hundreds of milch camels
To hundreds of their guests,
Driving the camel herds to the herds,
Returning from Baladih.

Their nobles have a distinction
Outweighing the nobility of others
As the weights send down the scale
As the balancer holds it.
A party deserted them, while they protected
Their women from disgrace,
Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy
With broad-bladed Indian swords;
Their voices pained me as they
Called for water crying aloud;
How fine were the sons of `Ali all of them! (The reference to the death of Husayn at Karbela and the call to the Alids to rise and revenge themselves is unmistakable.
About a thousand or two thousand
Mailed men and spearmen (551). (Abu Dharr has an interesting note here of a tradition going back to Abu Hurayra which reads thus: `The apostle gave us permission to recite the poetry of the pagan era except the ode of Umayya b. Abu al- Salt about Badr (i.e. this ode) and the ode of al A`sha which begins `ahdi biha' (lines 10-18 in No.18 of the Diwan ed. Geyer which has many variants). The apostle forbade the recitation of this ode because it lamented the death of the unbelievers and attacked the reputation of the prophet's companions. It was only for that reason that Ibn Hisham omitted two verses from Umayya's ode. Similarly al-A`sha's verse prasied `Amr b. Tufayl and satirized `Alqama b. `Ulatha. `Amr died an unbeliever. `Alqama became a Muslim and when the king of the Byzantines asked him about the apostle he spoke well of him, and the prophet held that in his favour and remembered him. Some scholars say that the prohibition to recite these two odes in the early days of Islam was because of the feeling between Muslims and unbelievers, but when Islam was generally accepted and hatred and enmity ceased, there was no harm in citing them.

Umayya also said, lamenting Zama`a b. al-Aswad and the B. Aswad who were slain:
O eye, weep with overflowing tears for Abu'l-Harith
And hold not thy tears for Zama`a.
Weep for `Aqil b. Aswad, the bold lion,
On the day of battle and the dust of war.
Those Banu Aswad were brother like the Gemini,
No treachery and no deceit was in them,
They are the noblest family of Ka`b,
The very summit of excellence.
They produced sons as many as the hairs of the head
And established them in impregnable positions.
(Mana`a is explained by the Taj, vol. v,p.516. In the plural mana`at is `bastions and strongholds'. As mana`a is a mountain in Hudayl territory and mana`is high ground in Jabal Tayyi', the general meaning seems clear.)
When misfortune visited their kinsmen
Their hearts ached for them.
They gave their food when rain failed,
When all was dry and no cloud could be seen (552).

Abu Usama Mu`awiya b. Zuhayr b. Qays b. al-Harith b. Dubay`a b. Mazin b. `Adiy b. Jusham b. Mu`awiya, an ally of B. Makhzum (553), passed Hubayra b. Abu Wahb as they were running away on the day of Badr. Hubayra was exhausted and threw away his coat of mail and (Mu`awiya) picked it up and went off with it. He composed the following lines (554):

When I saw the army panic,
Running away at top speed
And that their leaders lay dead,
Methought the best of them
Were like sacrifices to idols.
Many of them lay there dead,
And we were made to meet our fate at Badr.
We left the way and they overtook us
In waves, like an overwhelming flood;
Some said, `Who is Ibn Qays?'
I said, `Abu Usama, without boasting,
I am the Jushamite, that you may know me,
I will announce my lineage,
Answering challenge by challenge.
If you are of the best born of Quraysh,
I am from Mu`awiya ibn Bakr.'
Tell Malik, when we were attacked,
For you, O Malik, know of me;
Tell Hubayra of us if you meet him,
For he is wise and influential,
That when I was called to Ufayd (Commentators differ as to whether this is the name of a place, or a man, or a body of men, the leaders of an attack.)
I returned to the battle with undaunted heart,
The night the hapless were left unheeded
Old friends and mother's kindred.
So that is your brother, O B Lu'ayy,
And that is Malik, O Umm `Amr,(The hyaenas.) for
Had I not been there striped hyaenas,
Mothers of cubs would have had him,
Digging at the graves with their claws,
Their faces as black as a cooking-pot;
I swear by Him Who is my Lord
And by the blood-stained pillars of the stoning places
You will see what my true worth is When men become as fierce as leopards. (Lit. `when skins are changed to leopards' skins'. See note on 741. 3.)
No lion from his lair in Tarj-
Bold, menacing, fathering cubs in the jungle,
Who has made his den taboo against intruders
So that none can approach him even with a force.(Reading binafri.)

In the sand, bands of men are helpless
He leaps upon all who try to drive him away-
Is swifter than I
When I advance roaring and growling at the enemy
With arrows like sharp lances
Their points like burning coals.
And a round (Or, reading aklaf, `black'.)shield of bull's hide And a strongly fashioned bow, and
A glittering sword which `Umayr, the polisher,
Whetted for a fortnight.
I let its lanyard trail, and strode proudly forward
With body at full stretch, as a lion walks.
Sa`d the warrior said to me, Here is a gift,(A.Dh.says that `a prisoner' is meant here.)
I answered, Perhaps he is bringing treachery,
And I said, O Abu `Adiy, do not go near them
If you will obey my orders today
As they did with Farwa when he came to them
And he was led away bound with cords (555).

Abu Usama also said:

Who will send a messenger from me
With news that a shrewd man will confirm?
Do not you know how I kept returning to the fight at Badr
When the swords flashed around you,
When the army's leaders were left prostrate,
Their head like slices of melon?
A gloomy fate, to the people's hurt,
Came upon you in the valley of Badr;
My resolution saved them from disaster
And Allah's help and a well-conceived plan.
I returned alone from al-Abwa'
When you were surrounded by the enemy,
helpless, if anyone attacked you,
Wounded and bleeding by the side of Kurash (A mountain in the territory of Hudhayl; Yaq.iv.247;Bakri, 473.)
Whenever a comrade in distress called
For my aid in an evil day,
A brother or ally in such case,
Much as I love my life I answered his call.
I returned to the fray, dispelling gloom,
And shot, when faces showed hostility.
Many an adversary have I left on the ground
To rise painfully like a broken twig.(W. reads qatif `from which the fruit has been plucked'.
When battle was joined Idealt him a blow

That drew blood-his arteries murmured aloud:
That is what I did on the day of Badr.
Before that I was resourceful and steadfast,
Your brother as you know in war and famine
Whose evils are ever with us,
Your champion undaunted by darkest night or superior numbers.
Out into the bitter black night I plunged(Sarra means (a) multitude, (b) intense cold. As suh. says, the latter must be the meaning because of the mention of the cold wind in the second hemistich.)
When the freezing wind forces dogs to shelters (556).

Hind d. `Utba b. Rabi`a bewailing her father on the day of Badr said:

O eyes, be generous with thy tears
For the best of Khindif's sons
Who never returned (home).
His clan fell upon him one morning,
The sons of Hashim and the sons of al-Muttalib
They made him taste the edge of their swords,
They attacked him again when he was helpless,
They dragged him stripped and spoiled
With the dust upon his face;
To us he was a strong mountain,
Grass-clad, pleasing to the eye;
As for al-Bara' I do not mention him,
May be get the good he counted on.

She also said:

Fate is against us and has wronged us,
But we can do naught to resist it.
After the slain of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
Can a man care about his death or the death of his friend?
Many a day did he rob himself of wealth
By lavishing gifts morning and evening.
Give Abu Sufyan a message from me:
If I meet him one day I will reprove him.
'Twas a war that will kindle to avenge (557).

She also said:
What an eye which saw a death like the death of my men!
How many a man and woman tomorrow
Will join with the keening women;
How many did they leave behind on the day of the pit,
The morning of that tumultuous cry!
All generous men in years of drought

When the stars withheld their rain.(ancient Arabs thought that the stars brought rain.)
I was afraid of what I saw
And now my fear is realized.
I was afraid of what I saw
And today I am deside myself.
How many a woman will say tommorrow
Alas Umm Mu`awiya! (558)
O eye, weep for `Utba, the strong-necked chief,
Who gave his food in famine,
Our defence on the day of victory,
I am grieved for him, broken-hearted, demented.(Suh here presses for the meaning `clad in mourning', mustaliba, but as all adjectives are psychological such a sense seems out of place out here.)
Let us fall on Yathrib with an overwhelming attack
With horses kept hard by,
Every long-bodied charger.

Safiya d. Musafir b. Abu `Amr b. Umayya b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Manaf, bewailing the slain in the pit of Badr, said:

Alas for my eye painful and bleared
The night far spent, the rising sun still hid!
I was told that the noble chieftains
Fate had seized for ever,
That the riders fled with the army and
Mothers neglected their children that morning.
Arise, Safiya, forget not their relationship,
And if you weep, it is not for those who are distant.
They were the supports (I follow C. in reading suqub.)of the tent.
When they broke, the roof of the tent was left unsupported (559).

Safiya also said:
Alas my eye, weeping has exhausted its tears
Like the two buckets of the Waterman
Walking among the tress of the orchard.
No lion of the jungle with claws and teeth,
Father of cubs, leaping on his prey,
Exceeding fierce and angry, Is equal to my love when he died
Facing people whose faces were changed in anger,
In his hand a sharp sword of the finest steel.
When you thrust with a spear you made great wounds
From which came hot foaming blood (560).

Hind d. Uthatha b. `Abbad b. al-Muttalib lamenting `Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib said:

Al-Safra'(A place between Mecca and Medina.) holds glory and authority,
Deep-rooted culture, ample intelligence.
Weep for `Ubayda, a mountain of strength to the strange guests,
And the widow who suckles a dishevelled baby;
To the people in every winter
When the skies are red from famine;
To the orphans when the wind was violent.
He heated the pot which foamed with milk as it seethed;
When the fire burned low and its flame died
He would revive it with thick brushwood.
Mourn him for the night traveller or the one wanting food,
The wanderor lost whom he put at his ease (561).

Qutayla d. al-Harith, sister of al-Nadr b. al-Harith, weeping him said:

O Rider, I think you will reach Uthay (A place near Media between Badr and Wadi Safra.)
At dawn of the fifth night if you are lucky.
Greet a dead man there for me.
Swift camels always carry news from me to thee.
(Tell of) flowing tears running profusely or ending in a sob.
Can al-Nadr hear me when I call him,
How can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
O Muhammad, finest child of noble mother,
Whose sire a noble sire was,
`Twould not have harmed you had you spared him.
(A warrior oft spares though full of rage and anger.)
Or you could have taken a ransom,
The Dearest price that could be paid.(Noldeke's Delectus, p.67.has a different text here.)
Al-Nadr was the nearest relative you captured
With the best claim to be released.
The swords of his father's sons came down on him.
Good Allah, what bonds of kinship there were shattered!
Exhausted he was led to a cold-blooded death,
A prisoner in bonds, walking like a hobbled beast (562). (Some MSS., followed by Suh. and W., make I.H.responsible for its inclusion in the Sira.)

The apostle left Badr at the end of the month of Ramadan or in Shawwal.

143 - THE RAID ON B. SULAYM IN AL-KUDR

The apostle stayed only seven nights in Medina before he himself made a raid against B. Sulaym (563). He got as far as their watering place called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights, returning to Medina without any fighting. He stayed there for the rest of Shawwal

and Dhu'l Qa`da, and during that time he accepted the ransom of most of the Quraysh prisoners.

144 - THE RAID OF AL-SAWIQ

Abu Muhammad `Abdu'l-Malik b. Hisham from Ziyad b. `Abdullah al-Bakkai from Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi said: Then Abu Sufyan b. Harb made the raid of Sawiq in Dhu'l-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage that year. Muhammad b. Ja`far b. al-Zubayr and Yazid b. Ruman and one whose veracity I do not suspect from `Abdullah b. Ka`b b. Malik who was one of the most learned Helpers told me that when Abu Sufyan returned to Mecca and the Quraysh fugitives returned from Badr. he swore that he would not practise ablution(A euphemism for abstaining from sexual intercourse.)until he had raided Muhammad. Accordingly he sallied forth with two hundred riders from Quraysh to fulfil his vow. He took the Nejd road and stopped by the upper part of a watercourse which led to a mountain called Thayb about one post distance from Medina. Then he sallied forth by night and came to the B. al-Nadir under over of darkness. He came to Huyayy b. Akhtab and knocked upon his door, but as he was afraid of him he refused to open the door, so he went to Sallam b. Mishkam, who was their chief at that time, and keeper of the public purse. He asked permission to come in and Sallam entertained him with food and drink, and gave him secret information about the Muslims. He rejoined his companions at the end of the night and sent some of them to Medina. They came to an outlying district called Al-`Urayd and there they burnt some young palmtrees and finding one of the Helpers and an ally of his working the fields there, they killed them and returned. People got warning of them and so the apostle went out in pursuit (564). He got as far as Qarqaratu'l-Kudr(About eight posts distance from Medina.)and then returned because Abu Sufyan and his companions had eluded him. They saw some of the provisions which the raiders had thrown away in the fields to lighten their baggage so as to get away quickly. When the apostle brought the Muslims back they asked, `Do you hope that this will count(with Allah) in our favour as a raid? and he replied, `Yes' (565).

When he went away Abu Sufyan said of Sallam's treatment of him:
I chose one man out of Medina as an ally,
I had no cause to regret it, though I did not stay long.
Sallam ibn Mishkam gave me good wine,
He refreshed me in full measure despite my haste.
When the raiders turned back I said
(Unwilling to burned him),
`Look forward to raiding and booty.
Consider for the people we the pure stock of hu'ayy
Not a mixed rabble of Jurhum'.
It was no more them(spending) part of the night by a traveller
Who came hungry though not needy and destitute.

[Abu Sufyan had composed some verses to incite Quraysh when he got ready to march from Mecca to Medina:

Return to the attack on Yathrib and the lot of them,
For What they have collected is booty for you.
Though the battle of the cistern went in their favour
The future will restore your fortunes.
I swear that I will not come near women
Nor shall I use the water of purification
Until you destroy the tribes of Aus and Khazraj.
My heart is burning for revenge.
T. Omits the poem in the Sura and in its place has the lines above
Ka`b b. Malik answered him:

The Muslims (Lit `the mother of those who prays of Sura 37.43.) are sorry for Ibn Harb's army,
So futile in the harra
When those who were sick of their provision cast away the burden(The true text is in the corrigenda. I take al-tayra to be the pl. of taira. See Lane, 1904b-1905a.)
Climbing up to the top of the mountain.
The place where their camels knelt can be compared
Only with the hole of foxes(The sense is not very clear. The glossary to Tab. 235 tentatively suggests that the enemy dare not pitch camp there.)
Bare of gold (I follow de Jong's conjecture and read al-nadr for al-nasr.)and wealth and of
The warriors of the vale and their spears.]

145 - THE RAID OF DHU AMARR

When the apostle returned the raid of al-SAWIQ he stayed in Medina for the rest of Dhu'l-Hijja, or nearly all of it. Then he raided Najd, making for Ghatafan. This is the raid of Dhu Amarr (566). He stayed in Medina without any fighting. There he remained for the month of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, or a day or two less.

146 - THE RAID OF AL-FURU' OF BAHRAN

Then he made a raid on Quraysh as far as Bahran, a mine in the Hijaz in the neighborhood of Al-Furu'. (A village near Medina.) He stayed there for the next two months and then returned to Medina without fighting (567).

147 - THE AFFAIR OF THE B. QAYNUQA'

Meanwhile there was the affair of the B. QAYNUQA', The apostle assembled them in their market and addressed them as follows: 'O Jews, beware lest Allah bring upon you the vengeance that He brought upon Quraysh and become Muslims. You know that I am a prophet who has been sent-you will find that in your scriptures and Allah's covenant with you.' They replied, 'O Muhammad, you seem to think that we are your people. Do not deceive yourself because you encountered a people with no knowledge of war and got the better of them; for by Allah if we fight you, you will find that we are real men!'

A freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit from Sa'id b. Jubayr or from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the latter said the following verses came down about them:

'Say to those who disbelieve: you will be vanquished and gathered to Hell, an evil resting place. You have already had a sign in the two forces which met', ie.e the apostle's companions, at badr and the Quraysh. 'One force fought in the way of Allah; the other, disbelievers, thought they saw double their own force with their very eyes. Allah strengthens with His help whom He will. Verily in that is an example for the discerning.' (Sura 3.10.)

'Asim bb. 'Umar b. Qatada said that the B.Qaynuqa' were the first of the Jews to break their agreement with the aostle and to go to war, between Badr and Uhud (568), and the apostle besieged them until they surrendered unconditionally. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul went to him when Allah had put them in his power and said, 'O Muhammad, deal kindly with my clients' (now they were allies of Khazraj), but the apostle put him off. He repeated the words, and the apostle turned away from him, whereupon he thrust his hand into the collar of the apostle's robe (569); the apostle was so angry that his face became almost black. He said, 'Confound y ou, let me go.' He answered, 'No, by Allah, I will not let you go until you deal kindly with my clients. Four hundred men wiithout mail and three hundred mailed protected me from all mine enemies; would you cut them down in one morning? By Allah, I am a man who fears that circumstances may change.' The apostle said, 'You can have them (570).'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from 'Ubada b. al-Qalid b. 'Ubada b. al-Samit who said: when the B. Qaynuqa' fought the apostle' Abdullah b. Ubayy espoused their cause and defended them, and 'Ubada b. al-Samit, who was one of the B. 'Auf, who had the same alliance with them as had 'Abdullah, went to the apostle and renounced all responsibility for them in favour of Allah and the apostle, saying 'O apostle of Allah, I take Allah and His apostle and the believers as my friends, and I renounce my agreement and friendship with these unbelievers.' Concerning him and 'Abdullah b. Ubayy, this passage from the chapter of the Table came down. (Sura 5.56f.)

'O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They arefriends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. Allah will not guide unjust people. You can see those in whose heart there is sickness',i.e. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy when he said, 'I fear a change of circumstances.' 'Acting hastily inregard to them they say we fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure Allah will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are these those who swore by Allah their most binding oath?' (that they were with you), as far as Allah's words, 'Verily Allah and His apostle are your friends, and those who believe, who perform prayer, give alms and bow in homage,'mentioning 'Ubada taking Allah and his apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the B.Qaynuqa','Those who take Allah and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are Allah's party, they are the victorious.'

148 - THE RAID OF ZAYD B.HARITHA TO AL-QARADA

The story of the foray of Zayd who captured the caravan of Quraysh,in which was Abu Sufyan b.Harb, when the apostle sent him to al-Qarada, a watering-place in Najd, is as follows:

Quraysh were afraid to follow their usual route to Syria after what had happened at Badr,so they went by the Iraq route. Some of their merchants went out, among whom was abu Sufyan, carrying a great deal of silver which formed the larger part of their merchandise. They hired a man from the B.Bakr b.Wa'il called Furat b.Hayyan to conduct them by that route (571). The apostle duly sent Zayd, and he met them by that watering-place and captured the caravan and its contents, but the men got away. He brought the spoil to the apostle.

Hassan b.Thabit after Uhud concerning the last raid of Badr taunted Quraysh for taking the Iraq road thus:

You can say good-bye to the streams of damascus, for in between
Are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels who feed on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord
and the hands of men who migrated to their Lord
And His true helpers and the angels.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them, There is no road here(572). (Cf.W.667)

149 - THE KILLING OF KA'B B.AL-ASHRAF

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b.Haritha to the lower quarter and 'Abdullah b.Rawaha to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of Allah's victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. 'Abdullah b.al-Mughith b.abu Burda al-Zafari and 'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr b.Muhammad b.'Amr b.Hazm and 'Asim b.'Umar b.Qatada and salih b.Umama b.Sahl each gave me a part of the following story: Ka'b b.al-Ashraf who was one of the Tayyi' of the subsection B.Nabhan whose mother was from the B.al-Nadir, when he heard the news said, 'Is this true? Did Muhammad actually kill these whom these two men mention?(i.e.Zayd and 'Abdullah b.Rawaha). These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men; by Allah,if Muhammad has slain these people 'twere better to be dead than alive.'(Lit. the inside of the earth is better than the outside.)

When the enemy of Allah became certain that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muttalib b.Abu Wada'a b.dubayra al-Sahmi who was married to 'Atika d.Abu'1-'Is b.Umayya b.'Abdu shams b.'Abdu manaf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at badr. He said:

Badr's mill ground out the blood of its people.

At events like Badr you should weep and cry.
The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
Don't think it strange that the princes were left lying.
How many noble handsome men,
The refuge of the homeless were slain,
Liberal when the stars gave no rain,
Who bore others' burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
Some people whose anger pleases me say
'Ka'b b.al-Ashraf is utterly dejected'.
They are right. O that the earth when they were killed
Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
That he who spread the report had been thrust through
Or lived cowering blind and deaf.
I was told that all the Banu'I-Mughira were humiliated
And brought low by the death of Abu'1-Hakim
And Munabbih and the others did not attain(such honour)as those who were slain.(Or 'Tubba' did not' (so A.Dh.). Waq.has hal for ma and al-tubba'u for watubba'u.)
I was told that al-Harith ibn Hisham
Is doing well and gathering troops
To visit Yathrib with armies,
For only the noble, handsome man protects the loftiest (The reading must be 'ula, because yahmi governs and accusative.) reputation (573)

Hassan b.Thabit answered him thus:

Does Ka'b weep for him again and again
And live in humiliation hearing nothing? (The question is ironical:let him weep if he wants to. The text of this poem is dubious.)
In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
Eyes pouring with tears for them.
Weep ('Atika), for you have made a mean slave weep
Like a pup following a little bitch.
Allah has given satisfaction to our leader
And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
Those whose hearts were torn with fear
Escaped and fled away(574)

A Muslim woman of b.Murayd, a clan of Bali who were allied attach ments of B.Umayya b.Zayd, called al-Ja'adira answered Ka'b (575):
This slave shows great concern
Weeping over the slain untiringly.
May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
And may Lu'ayy b.Ghalib weep double as much!
Would that those weltering in their blood
Could be seen by those who live between Mecca's mountains!
They would know for certain and would see

How they were dragged along by hair and beard.(Or,reading mahazzahum,'the sword cuts above their beards and eyebrows'.)

Ka'b b.al-Ashraf answered her:

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
From talk that has no sense!
do you taunt me because I shed tears
For people who loved me sincerely?
As long as I live Ishall weep and remember The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca's houses.
By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
But now they are become as jackals.
They ought to have their noses cut off
For insulting the two clans of Lu'ayy b.Ghalib.
I give my share in Murayd to Ja'dar
In truth, by Allah's house, between Mecca's mountains.

(T. Then Ka'b returned to Medina and composed amatory verses about Ummu'1-Fadl d. al-Harith, saying:

Are you off without stopping in the valley
And leaving Ummu'1-Fadl in Mecca?
Out would come what she bought from the pedlar of bottles,
Henna and hair dye.
What lies 'twixt ankle and elbow is in motion (Presumably her buttocks are meant; they would be between her ankle and her elbow as she reclined. Large and heavy buttocks were marks of female beauty among the old Arabs.)
When she tries to stand and does not.
Like Umm Hakim when she was with us
The link between us firm and not to be cut.
She is one of B. 'Amir who bewitches the heart,
And if she wished she could cure my sickness.
The glory of women and of a people is their father,
A people held in honour true to their oath.
Never did I see the sun rise at night till I saw her
Display herself to us in the darkness of the night!)

Then he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about the Muslim women. The apostle said -according to what 'Abdullah b.al-Mughith b.Abu Burda told me-'Who will rid me of Ibnu'l-Ashraf?'Muhammad b.Maslama, brother of the B.'Abdu'l-Ashhal,said,'I will deal with him for you, O apostle of Allah, I will kill him.' He said,'Do so if you can.' So Muhammad b.Maslama returned and waited for three days without food or drink, apart from what was absolutely necessary. When the apostle was told of this he summoned him and asked him why he had given up eating and drinking. He replied that he had given him an undertaking and he did not know whether he could fulfil

it. The apostle said,'All that is incumbent upon you is that you should try.' He said,'O apostle of Allah, we shall have to tell lies.' He answered, 'Say what you like, for you are free in the matter.' Thereupon he and Silkan b.Salama b.Waqsh who was Abu Na'ila one of the B.'Abdu'l-Ashhal, foster-brother of Ka'b,and 'Abbad b.Bishr b.Waqsh, and al-Harith b.Aus b.Mu'adh of the B.'Abdu'l-Ashhal and Abu 'Abs b.Jabr of the B.Haritha conspired together and sent Silkan to the enemy of Allah, Ka'b b.Ashraf, before the came to him. He talked to him some time and they recited poetry one to the other, for silkan was fond of poetry. Then he said,'O Ibn Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter which I want to tell you of and wish you to keep secret.' 'Very well,' he replied. He went on, 'The coming of this man is a great trial to us. It has provoked the hostility of the arabs, and they are all in league against us. The roads have become impassable so that our families are in want and privation, and we and our families are in great distress.' Ka'b answered, 'By Allah, I kept telling you, O Ibn Salama, that the things I warned you of would happen.' silkan said to him,'I want you to sell us food and we will give you a pledge of security and you deal generously in the matter.' He replied,'Will you give me your sons as a pledge?' He said,'You want to insult us. I have friends who share my opinion and I want to bring them to you so that you may sell to them and act generously, and we will give you enough weapons for a good pledge.' Silkan's object was that he should not take alarm at the sight of weapons when they brought them. Ka'b answered, 'weapons are a good pledge.' Thereupon Silkan returned to his companions, told them what had happened, and ordered them to take their arms. Then they went away and assembled with him and met the apostle(576).

Thaur b.Zayd from 'Ikrima from Kbn 'Abbass told me the apostle walked with them as far as Baqi'u'l-Gharqad. Then he sent them off, saying, 'Go in Allah's name; O Allah help them.' So saying, he returned to his house. Now it was a moonlight night and they journeyed on until they came to his castle, and Abu Na'ila called out to him. He had only recently married, and he jumped up in the bedsheet, and his wife took hold of the end of it and said, 'You are at war, and those who are at war do not go out at this hour.' He replied, 'It is Abu Na'ila. Had he found me sleeping he would not have woken me.' She answered,'By Allah, I can feel evil in his voice.' Ka'b answered,'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer it.' So he went down and talked to them for some time, while they conversed with him. Then Abu Na'ila said, 'Would you like to walk with us to Shi'b al-'Ajuz, so that we can talk for the rest of the night?, 'If you like,' he answered, so they went off walking together; and after a time Abu Na'ila ran his hand through his hair. Then he smelt his hand, and said,'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on farther and he did the same so that Ka'b suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it for the third time, and cried, 'smite the enemy of Allah!' So they smote him, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Muhammad b.Maslama said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of Allah had made such a noise that every fort around us was showing a light. I thrust it into the lower part of his body, then I bore down upon it until I reached his genitals, and the enemy of Allah fell to the ground. Al-Harith had been hurt, being wounded either in his head or in his foot, one of our swords having struck him. We went away, passing by the B. Umayya b. Zayd and then the B. Qurayza and then Bu'ath until we went up the Harra of al-'Urayd. (Harra is a district of black volcanic stone and 'Urayd is one of the

valleys of Medina.) Our friend al-Harith had lagged behind, weakened by loss of blood, so we waited for him for some time until he came up,following our tracks. We carried him and brought him to the apostle at the end of the night We saluted him as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed Allah's enemy. He spat upon our comrade's wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon Allah's enemy cast terror among the jews,and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.'(A photograph of the ruins of Ka'b's castle is given in The Islamic Review, Sept. 1953, p.12. There Dr. M. Hamidullah writes: Towars the south [of Medina] in the eastern lava plain near Wadi Mudhanib, there is a small hillock. On this the walls of the place of Ka'b Ibn al-Ashraf still stand about a yard or a yard and a quarter in height, built of stone. Inside the place there is a well....In front of the place, on the base of the hillock, there are rims of a big cistern of water, built of lime and divided into several sections, each connected with the other by means of clay pipes.')

Ka'b b.Malik said:

Of them Ka'b was left prostrate there
(After his fall al-Nadir were brought low).
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother to go to Ka'b. He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold (577).

Hassan b. Thabit, mentioning the killing of Ka'b and of Sallam b. Abdu'l-Huqayq, said:

What a fine band you met, O Ibnu'l-Huqayq,
And you too, Ibnu'l-Ashraf,
Travelling by night with their light swords
Bold as lions in their jungle lair
Until they came to you in your quarter
And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578).

150 - THE AFFAIR OF MUHAYYISA AND HUWAYYISA

The apostle said, 'Kill any Jew that falls into your power.' Thereupon Muhayyisa b. Mas'ud leapt upon Ibn Sunayna (579), a Jewish merchant with whom they had social and business relations, and killed him. Huwayyisa was not a Muslim at the time though he was the elder brother. When Muhayyisa killed him Huwayyisa began to beat him, saying, 'You enemy of Allah, did you kill him when much of the fat on your belly comes from his wealth?' Muhayyisa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him ordered me to kill you I would have cut your head off.' He said that this was the begining of Huwayyisa's acceptance of Islam. The other replied, 'By Allah, if Muhammad had ordered you to kill me would you have killed me?' He said, 'Yes, by Allah, had he

ordered me to cut off your head I would have done so.' He exclaimed, 'By Allah, a religion which can bring you to this is marvellous!' and he became a Muslim.

I was told this story by a client of B. Haritha from the daughter of Muhayyisa from Muhayyisa himself.

Muhayyisa composed the following lines on the subject:

My mother's son blames me because if I were ordered to kill him
I would smite his nape with a sharp sword,
A bald white as salt from polishing.
My downward stroke never misses its mark.
It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

After his arrival from Bahran the apostle stopped for the months of the latter Jumada, Rajab, Sha'ban, and Ramadan (in Medina). Quraysh made the raid of Uhud in Shawwal. A.H. 3.

151 - THE BATTLE OF UHUD

I have pieced together the following story about the battle of Uhud, from what I was told by Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri and Muhammad b. Yahya b. Hibban and 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and Al-Husayn b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh and other learned traditionists. One or the other, or all of them, is responsible for the following narrative. When the unbelieving Quraysh met disaster at Badr and the survivors returned to Mecca and Abu Sufyan b. Harb had returned with his carvan, 'Abdullah b. Abu Rabi'a and 'Ikrma b. Abu Jahl and Safwan b. Umayya walked with the men whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed at Badr, and they spoke to Abu Sufyan and those who had merchandise in that caravan, saying, 'Men of Quraysh, Muhammad has wronged you and killed your best men, so help us with this money to fight him, so that we may hope to get our revenge for those we have lost,' and they did so.

A learned person told me that it was concerning them that Allah sent down: (Sura 8.37.) 'Those who disbelieve spend their money to keep others from the way of Allah, and they willspend it, then they will suffer the loss of it, then they willbe overcome, and those who disbelieve willbe gathered to Hell.'

So Quraysh gathered together to fight the apostle when Abu Sufyan did this and the owners of the caravan, with their black troops, and such of the tribes of Kinana as would obey them, and the people of the low country. No Abu 'Azza al-Jumahi had been spared by the apostle at Badr because he was a poor man with a large family. (u.s. W. p. 471.) He had been taken prisoner, and said, 'I am a poor man with a large family and great need, as you know, so spare me,' and the apostle let him go. Safwan said to him, 'Now, Abu 'Azza, you are a poet so help us with your tongue and go fourth with us.' He replied, 'Muhammad spared me and I do not want to go against him.' He said, 'No, but help us

with your presence, and Allah is my witness that if I return I will make you rich; and if you are killed I will treat your daughters as my own. What befalls mine, whether good or ill, shall befall yours.' So Abu 'Azza went though the low country calling the B. Kinana and saying:

Listen, sons of 'Abdu Manat, the steadfast,
You are stout warriors like your father,
Do not promise me your help a year hence, Do not betray me, for betrayal is not right.
(The sting is in the tail where islam is used in the sense of 'betrayal'.)

Musafi'b. 'Abdu Manat b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah went out to the B. Malik b. Kinana string them up and calling them to fight the apostle, saying:

O Malik,Malik,foremost in honour,
I ask in the name of kindred and confederate
'Those who are next-of-kin and those who are not,
In the name of the allience in the midst of the holy city,
At the wall of the venerable Ka'ba.

Jubayr b. Mut'im summoned an Abyssinian slave of his called Wahshi, who could throw a javelin as the Abyssinians do and seldom missed the mark. He said, 'Go forth with the army, and if you kill Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, in revenge for my uncle, Tu'ayma b.'Adiy, you shall be free.' So Quraysh marched forth with the flower of there army, and their black troops, and their adherents from the B. Kinana, and the people of the lowland, and women in howdahs went with them to stir up their anger and with Hind d. 'Utba, and 'Ikrima b. 'Abu Jahl went with Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira; and al-Harith b. Hisham b. al-Mughira went with Fatima d al-Walid b. al-Mughira; and Safwan went with Barza d.Mas'd b. 'Amrb. 'Umayr the Thaqafite who was the mother of 'Abdullah b. Safwan b. Umayya (581). 'Amr b. al-'As went with Rayta d. Munabbih b. al-Hajjah who was Umm 'Abdullah b. 'Amr Talha b. Abu Talha who was 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. 'Uthman b. 'Abdu'l-Dar went with Sulafa d. Sa'd b. Shuhayd al-Ansariya who was mother of the sons of Talha, Musafi', al-Julas and Kilab; they were killed with their father that day. Khunas d. Malik b. al-Mudarrib, one of the women of the B. Malik b. Hisl went with her son Abu Aziz b. 'umayr. She was the mother of Mus'ab b. 'Umayr. 'Amra d. 'Alqama, one of the women of the B. al-Harith b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinanan went out. Whenevr Hind passed Wahashi or he passed by her, she would say, 'Come on, you father of blackness, satisfy your vengeance and ours.' Wahshi had the title of Abu Dasma. They went forward until they halted at 'Aynayn on a hill in the valley of al-Sabkah of Qanat by the side of the wadi opposite Medina. (See M. Hamidullah in R.E.I 1939, 1-13.)

When the apostle heard about them, and the Muslims had encamped, he said o them, 'By Allah, I have seen (in a dream) something that augurs well. I saw cows, and I saw a dent in the blade of my sword, and I saw that I had thrust my hand into a strong coast of mail and I interpreted that to mean Median (582). If you think it well to stop in Medina and leave them where they have encamped, for if they halt they will have halted in a bad position and if they try to enter the city, we can fight them therein, (that is a good plan).'

(T 1387 adds: Quraysh encamped at Uhud on Wednesday and remained there till Friday. When the apostle had finished the Friday prayers he went in the morning to the valley of Uhud and they met on the Saturday half-way through Shawwal.) 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul agreed with the apostle in this, and thought that they should not go out to fight them, and the apostle himself disliked the idea of leaving the city. Some men whom Allah honourd with martyrdom at Uhud and others who were not present at Badr said, 'O apostle of Allah, lead us forth to our enemies, lest they think that we are too cowardly and too weak to fight them.' 'Abdullah said, 'O apostle of Allah, stay in Medina, do not go out to them. We have never gone out to fight an enemy but we have met disaster, and none has come in against us without being defeated, so leave them where they are. If they stay, they stay in an evil predicament, and if they come in, the men will fight them and the women and children will throw stones on them from the walls,and if they retreat they will retreat low=spirited as they came.' Those who wanted to fight Quraysh kept urging the apostle until he went into his house and put on his armour. That was on the Friday when he had finished prayers. on that day one of the Ansar, Malik b. 'Amr one of the B. al-Najjar died, and the apostle prayed over him, and then went out to fight. Meanwhile the people had repented of their design saying, they thought they had persuaded the apostle against his will, which they had no right to do, so that when he went out to them they admitted that and said that if he wished to remain inside the city that would not oppose him. The apostle said, 'I is not fitting that a prophet who has put on his armour should lay it aside until he has fought,' so he marched out with a thousand of his companions (583), until when they reached al-Shaut between Medina and Uhud, 'Abdullah b. Ubayy withdrew with a third of the men, saying, 'He has obeyed them and disobeyed me. We do not know why we should lose our lives here, O men.' So he returned with the waverers and doubters who followed him, and 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram, brother of the B. Salama, followed them, saying, 'O people, I adjure you by Allah not to abandon your people and your prophet when the enemy is at hand.' They replied, 'If we knew that you would fight we would not abandon you, but we do not think that there will be a battle.' So when they withstood him and persisted in withdrawing, he said, 'May Allah curse you, you enemies of Allah, for Allah will makes His prophet independent of you.' Someone, not Ziyad, (Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i.) from Muhammad b. Ishaq from al-Zuhri, said that on that day the Ansar said, 'O apostle, should we not ask help from our allies, the Jews?' He said, 'We have no need of them.' Ziyad said Muhammad b. Ishaq told me that the apostle went h is way until he passed through the harra of the B. Haritha and a horse swished its tail and it caught the pommel of a swored so that it came out of its sheath (584). The apostle, who liked auguries, through he did not observe the flight of birds, said to the owner of the swored, 'Sheath your sword, for I can see that swords will be drawn today.'

Then the apostle asked his companions whether anyone could take them near the Quraysh by a road which would not pass by them. Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, undertook to do so, and he took him through the harra of B. Haritha and their property until he came out in the territory of Mirba' b Qayzi who was a blind man, a disaffected person. When he perceived the approach of the apostle and his men he got up and threw dust in their faces saying, 'You may be the apostle of Allah, but I won't let you through my garden!' I was told that he took a handful of dust and said, 'By Allah,

Muhammad, if I could be sure that I should not hit someone else I would throw it in your face.' The people rushed on him to kill him, and the apostle said, 'Do not kill him, for this blind man is blind of heart, blind of sight.' Sa'd b. Zayd, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, rushed at him before the apostle and forbidden this and hit him on the head with his bow so that he split it open.

The apostle went on until he came down the gorge of Uhud on the high ground of the wadi towards the mountain. He put his camles and army towards Uhud and said, 'Let none of you fight until we give the word.' Now Quraysh had let their camels and horses loose to pasture in some crops which were in al-Samgha, a part of Qanat belonging to the Muslims. When the apostle had forbidden them to fight one of the Ansar said, 'Are the crops of the B. Qayla to be grazed on without our stirking a blow?' The apostle drew up his troops for battle, about 700 men. He put over the archers 'Abdullah b. Jubayr brother of B. 'Amr b 'Auf who was distinguished that day by his white garments. There were 50 archers, and he said, 'Keep the cavalry away from us with your arrows and let them not come on us from the rear whether the battle goes in our favour or against us; and keep your place so that we cannot be got at from your direction.' The apostle then put on two coats of mail and delivered the standard to Mus'ab b. 'Umayr, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar (585).

The Quraysh mustered their troops about 3,000 men with 200 horses which they had led along with them. Their cavalry on the left flank was commanded by Khalid b. al-Walid; and on the right by 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl.

(M. The apostle wore two coats of mail on the day of Uhud, and he took up a sword and brandished it saying) 'Who will take this sword with its right?' (i.e. use it as it ought and deserves to be used.) Some men got up to take it but he withheld it from them until Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha, brother of B. Sa'ida, got up to take it. (M. 'Umar got up to take it, saying, 'I will take it with its right,' but the prophet turned away from him and brandished it a second time using the same words. Then al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam got up and he too was rejected, and the two of them were much mortified. Then Abu Dujana, &c.) He asked, 'What is its right, O Apostle of Allah?' He answered, 'That you should smite the enemy with it until it bends.' When he said that he would take it with its right he gave it him. Now Abu Dujana was a brave but conceited man in battle and whenever he put on this red a brave but conceited man in battle and whenever he put on this red turban of his, people knew that he was about to fight. When he took the sword from the apostle's hand (he began to walk to the fight saying:

I'm the man who took the sword
When 'Use it right' was the prophet's word.
For the sake of Allah, of all the Lord
Who doth to all their food afford.)

And he began to strut up and down between the lines.

Ja'far b. 'Abdullah b. Aslam, client of 'Umar b, al-Khattab, told me on the authority of one of the Ansar of B. Salama that the apostle said when he saw Abu Dujana strutting,

'This is a gait which Allah hates except on an occasion like this.' (In M. (66) the verse given by 1.1 563 follows here.)

(T. Now Abu Sufyan had sent a messenger saying, 'You men of Aus and Khazraj, leave me to deal with my cousin and we will depart from you, for we have no need to fight you'; but they gave him a rude answer.)

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that Abu 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Sayfi b. Malik b. al-Nu'man, one of the B. Dubay'a who had separated from the apostle and gone off to Mecca along with fifty young men of al-Aus (T. among whom was 'Uthman b. Hunayf) though some people say there were only fifteen of them, was promising Quraysh that if he met his people no two men of them would exchange blows with him; and when the battle was joined the first one to meet them was Abu 'Amir with the black troops and the slaves of the Meccans, and he cried out, 'O men of Aus, I am Abu 'Amir.' They replied, 'Then Allah destroy your sight, you impious rascal.' (In the pagan period he was called 'the monk'; the apostle called him 'the impious'.) When he heard their reply he said, 'Evil has befallen my people since I left them.' Then he fought with all his might, pelting them with stones.

Abu Sufyan had said to the standardbearers of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dar, inciting them to battle, 'O Banu 'Abdu'l-Dar, you had change of our flag on the day of Badr-you saw what happened. men are dependent on the fortunes of their flags, so either you must guard our standard efficiently or you mut leave it to us and we will save you the trouble (of defending) it.' They pondered over the matter and threatened him, saying, 'Are we to surrender our flag to you? You will see tomorrow how we shall act when battle is joined' and that was just what Abu Sufayan wanted. When each side drew near to the other Hind b. 'Utba rose up with the women that were with her and took tambourines which they beat behind the men to incite them while Hind was saying:

On ye sons of 'Abdu'l-Dar,
On protectors of our rear,
Smite with every sharpened spear!

She also said:

If you advance we hug you,
Spread soft rugs beneath you;
If you retreat we leave you,
Leave and no more love you (586). (Almost the same words were used by a woman of B. Ijl at the battle of Dhu Qar. Cf. Naqa'id, 641.)

The people went on fighting until the battle grew hot, and Abu Dujana fought until he had advanced far into the enemy's ranks (587).

Whenever he met one of the enemy he killed him. Now among the pagans there was a man who dispatched every man of ours he wounded. These two men began to draw near

one to the other, and I prayed Allah that He would make them meet. They did meet and exchanged blows, and the polytheist struck at Abu Dujana, who warded off the blow with his shield; his sword sank into the shield so that he could not withdraw it, and Abu Dujana struck him and killed him. Then I saw him as his swored hovered over the head of Hind d 'Utba. Then he turned it aside from her. Al-Zubayr said, 'And I said, "Allah and His apostle know best."'

Abu Dujana said, 'I saw a person inciting the enemy, shouting violently, and I made for him, and when I lifted my swored against him, he shrieked, and lo, it was a woman; I respected the apostle's swored too much to use it on a woman.'

Hamza fought until he killed Arta b. 'Abdu Shurahbil b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar who was one of those who were carrying the standard. Then Siba'b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza al-Ghubashani, who was known as Abu Niyar, passed by him, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser.' Now his mother was Umm Anmar, freedwoman of Shariq b.'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi (588), a female circumciser in Mecca. When they closed Hamza smote him and killed him.

Washshi, the slave of Jubayr b. Mut'im, said, 'By Allah, I was looking at Hamza while he was killing men with his sword, sparing no one, like a huge camel, (Lit. 'dust coloured'. Camels of this colour were unusually large so that the speaker means that Hamza towered over his opponents.) when Siba' came up to him before me, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser," and he struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs. He came on towards me, but collapsed and fell. I left him there until he died, when I came and recovered my javelin. Then I went off to the camp, for I had no business with anyone but him.'

'Abdullah b. al-Fadl b. 'Abbas b. Rabi'a b. al-Harith from Sulayman b. Yasar from Ja'far b.'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri told me: 'I went out with 'Ubaydullah b. 'Adiy b. al-Khiyar brother of the B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf in the time of Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan and we made an excursion with the army. When we came back we passed by Hims where Wahshi had taken up his abode. When we arrived there 'Ubaydullah said to me, "Shall we go and see Wahshi and ask him how he killed Hamza?" "If you like," I said. So we went to inquire about him in Hims. While we were doing so a man said to us, "You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He is a man much addicted to wine; and if your find him sober, you will find an Arab and will get what you want from him in answer to your questions; but if you find him in his usual state, then leave him alone.' So we walked off to find him, and there he was in the courtyard of his house upon a carpet, an old man like a bughath (589). He was quite sober and normal We saluted him, and he lifted his head to look at 'Ubaydullah, and said, "Are you the son of 'Adiy b. al-Khiyar?" and when he said he was, he said, "By Allah, I have not seen y ou since I handed you to your Sa'dite mother who nursed you in Dhu Tawa. (A place in Mecca.) I handed you to her when she was on her camel, and she clasped you round your body with her two hands. You kicked (Or, perhaps, 'Your feet looked shiny to me'. In what respect this

person's feet were not normal is not indicated.) me with your feet when I lifted you up to her. By Allah, as soon as you stood in front of me I recognized them." We sat down and told him that we had come to hear his account of how he killed Hamza. He said, "I will tell you as I told the apostle when he asked me about it. I was a slave of Jubayr b. Mut'im, whose uncle Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy had been killed at Badr, and when Quraysh set out for Uhud, Jubayr told me that if I killed Hamza, Muhammads' uncle, in revenge for his uncle, I should be free. So I went out with the army, a young Abyssinian, skilful like my countrymen in the use of the javelin-I hardly even missed anything with it. When the fight began I went out to look carefully for Hamza, until I saw him in the midst of the army, like a great camel, slaying men with his sword, none being able to resist him, and by Allah, I was getting ready for him, making towards him and hiding myself behind trees or rocks so that he might come near me, when suddenly Siba' got to him first, and when Hamza saw him, he said, "Come here, you son of a female circumciser," and struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the marked and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs, and he began to stagger towards me. Then he collapsed, and I left him with the javelin until he died; then I came back and recovered my javelin, and returned to the camp and stayed their, for I had no further business, and my only object in killing him was that I might be freed. When I returned to Mecca I was freed and lived there until the apostle conquered Mecca, when I fled to al-Ta'if, and stayed there for some time. When the envoys of Ta'if went out to the apostle to surrender, I was in an impasse and though that I would go to Syria or the Yaman, or any other country, and while I was in this anxiety a man said to me, "Good heavens, what is the matter? He does not kill anyone who enters his religion and pronounces the shahada." On hearing this I went out of the town to the apostle at Medina, and the first thing to surprise him was to see me standing at his head, witnessing to the truth of Allah and His apostle. When he saw me he said, "Is it Wahshi?" "Yes, O apostle of Allah," I said. He replied, "Sit down and tell me how you killed Hamza." So I told him as I have told you. When I had finished he said, "Woe to you, hide your face from me and never let me see you again." So I used to avoid the apostle wherever he was so that he should not see me, until Allah took him.

"When the Muslims went out against Musaylima, the false prophet, lord of the Yamama, I accompanied them, and I took the javelin with which I had killed Hamza, and when the armies met I saw Musaylima standing with a sword in his hand, but I did not recognize him. I made ready for him and so did one of the Ansar from the other side, both of us intending to kill him. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him, and it pierced him, and the Ansari rushed at him and smote him with his sword, so your Lord knows best which of us killed him. If I killed him, then, I have killed the best man after the apostle and I have also killed the worst man.'"

(When he came to Medina the men said 'O apostle, this is Wahshi' to which he replied, 'Let him alone for that one man should accept Islam is dearer to me that the killing of a thousand unbelievers.') (The passage in brackets is taken from Yunus' riwaya. It is cited from Suhayli (ii. 132 in W. ii in loc.)

'Abdullah b. al-Fadl from Sulayman b. Yasar from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. al-Khattab who was present at Yamama said, I heard someone shouting, 'The black slave has killed him' (590).

Mus'ab b. 'Umayr fought in the defence of the apostle until he was killed. The one who killed him was Ibn Qami'a al-Laythi, who thought he was the apostle, so he returned to the Quraysh and said, "I have killed Muhammad.' When Mus'ab was killed the apostle gave the standard to 'Ali, and 'Ali and the Muslims fought on (591).

Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas killed Abu Sa'd b. Abu Talha; 'Asim b. Thabit b. Abu'l-Aqlah fought and killed Musafi'b. Talha and his brother al-Julas, shooting both of them with an arrow. Each came to his mother, Sulafa, and laid his head in her lap. She said, 'Who has hurt you, my son?' and he replied, 'I heard a man saying as he shot me, "I am Ibn Abu'l-Aqlah, take that!"' She swore an oath that if Allah ever let her get the head of 'Asim she would drink wine from it. It was 'Asim who had taken Allah to witness that he would never touch a polytheist or let one touch him.

'Uthman b. Abu Talha said that day as he was carrying the standard of the polytheists:

It is the duty of standardbearers
To blood their spears until they are broken to pieces.

Hamza killed him.

Hanzala b. Abu 'Amir, the washed one, and Abu Sufyan met in combat, and when Hanzala got the better of him, Shaddad b. al-Aswad, who was Ibn Sha'ub, saw that he had beaten Abu Sufyan, and so he struck him and killed him. The apostle said, 'You companion, Hanzala, is being washed by the angels.' They asked his family about his condition, and when his wife was asked, she said that he had gone out to battle when he heard the cry while in a state of ritual impurity (592).

The apostle said, 'For this reason the angels washed him.' Shaddad said about his killing Hanzala:

I protect my friend and myself
With a thrust that pieces like the rays of the sun.

Abu Sufyan, mentioning his hardihood on that day and the help that Ibn Sha'ub gave him against Hanzala, said:

Had I wished it my swift by could have saved me,
And I should owe no thanks to Ibn Sha'ub.
It remained but a stone's throw off
From early morn till set of sun;
I fought them and cried, 'On, Ghalib!'

I beat them from me with firm strength;
Heed not the remonstrance of others,
Grow not weary of tears and sighs,
Weep for thy father and his brothers who have passed away,
Their fate deserves thy tears;
My former sorrow is relieved
Because I killed the best men of Najjar,
And Hashim's noble stallion and Mus'ab
Who was not cowardly in war.
Had I not slaked my vengeance on them,
My heart had been seared and scarred.

They retired their (Mecca) vagabonds dead (Falabib is said to mean 'leather aprons or coverings', as though it were the plural of jilbab. Though Meccans exported leather, that can hardly have been matter for reproach because leather was sent to the Negus as a gift known to be highly prized in Abyssinia. Moreover, why should Abu Sufyan reproach his fellow townsmen for wearing garments which presumably differed in no way from those worn by other Meccans? It is clear that the word is an insult, and the question is why? Hassan's poem (W. 738, Diwan cxl) attacking the muhajirs begins:

The Jalabib have become powerful and numerous

and I. Salul (W. 726) uses the same words to express his anger and dislike of the emigrants. Therefore it seems that the origin of the insult is to be sought in jalab 'a thing driven or brought from one town to another' and/or jalib 'an imported slave'; and so some such world as 'vagabonds' is as near as one can getto the meaning. See W. Arafat, The Poems ascribed to Hassan ibn Thabit, 146, where he adopts the rendering 'tramps'.)

Thrust through, bleeding, prostrate. (Reading kabibu.)
Those not their equals in blood smote them
And those who were beneath them in rank (593). (The meaning would appear to be that the muhajirs were killed by negroes and brigand mercenaries, though there may be a reference to the killing of Hamza by Wahshi.)

Ibn Sha'ub, mentioning the way he helped Abu Sufyan and defended him, said:

Had I not been there and defended you, Ibn Harb,
You would have been left speechless for ever at the mountain foot.
Had I not brought my horse back there,
Hyaenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

Al-Harith b. Hisham, answering Abu Sufyan, said:

Had you seen what they did at Badr's pool'
You would have returned with fear in your heart as long as you live;
(Or you would have been killed and I should have caused
Weeping women to weep for you,
And you would not have felt sorrow for the loss of a dear one).
I paid them back in kind for Badr

On a spirited galloping prancing horse (595).

Then Allah sent down His help to the Muslims and fulfilled His promise. They slew the enemy with the sword until they cut them off from their camp and there was an obvious rout.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from 'Abdullah b. al-Zubyr from Zubayr said: I found myself looking at the anklets of Hind d. 'Utba and her companions, tucking up their garments as they fled. There was nothing at all to prevent anyone seizing them when the archers turned aside to the camp when the enemy had been cut off from it (T. making for the spoil). Thus they opened our near to the cavalry and we were attacked from behind. Someone called out 'Ha, Muhammad has been killed.' We turned back and the enemy turned back on us after we had killed the standarbearers so that none of the enemy could come near it (596).

A traditionist told me that the standard lay on the ground until 'Amra the Harithite d. 'Alqama took it up and raised it aloft for Quraysh so that they gathered round it. It had been with Su'ab a slave of B. Abu Talha, and Abyssinian. He was the last of them to take it. He fought until his hands were cut off; then he knelt upon it and held the flag between his breast and throat until he was killed over it, saying the while 'O Allah, have I done my duty?' (Lit. 'Am I excused?') He could not pronounce the dhal.

Hassan b. Thabit said about that:

You boasted of your flag, the worst (ground for) boasting
Is a flag handed over to Su'ab.
You have made a slave your boast,
The most miserable creature that walks the earth.
you supposed (and only a fool so thinks,
For it is anything but the truth)
That fighting us the day we met
Was like your selling red leather sacks in Mecca.
It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
Though they were not reddened by dye (597).

Hassan also said about 'Amra and her raising the standard:

When 'Adal were driven to us
They were like fawns of Shirk (A. Dh. gives the forms Shurk and Shirk. Yaqut gives Shark as the name of a place in the Hijaz and Shirk as the name of a waterhole on the other said of the mountain of al Qunan in Asad territory, 'Adal is a tribe of Khuzayma.)
With strongly marked eyebrows.
We attacked them thrusting, slaying, chastising,
Driving them before us with blows on every side. Had not the Harithite woman seized their standard
They would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

The Muslims were put to flight and the enemy slew many of them. It was a day of trial and testing in which Allah honoured several with martyrdom, until the enemy got at the apostle who was hit with a stone so that he fell on his side and one of his teeth was smashed his face scored and his lip injured. The man who wounded him was 'Utba b.Abu Waqqas.

Humayed al-Tawil told me from Anas b. Malik: The prophets's incisor was broken on the day of Uhud and his face was scored. The blood began to run down his face and he began to wipe it away, saying the while, 'How can a people prosper who have stained their Prophets face with blood while he summoned them to their Lord?' So Allah revealed concerning that: 'It is not your affair whether He relents towards them or punishes them, for they are wrongdoers' (Sura 3.123.) (598).

Hassan b. Thabit said of 'Utba:

When Allah recompenses a people for their deeds
And the Rahman punishes them (Reading wardarrahum with C.)
May my Lord disgrace you, 'Utaybab. Malik,
And bring you a deadly punishment before youdie.
You strected out your hand with evil intent against the prophet,
You bloodced his mouth. My your hand be cut off!
Did you forget Allah and the place you will go to
When the final misfortune overtakes you! (599).

According to what al-Husayn b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh told me on the authority of Mahmud b. 'Amr, when the enemy hemmed him in, the apostle said: 'Who will sell his life for us?' and ziyad b. al-Sakan with five of the Ansar arose. (Others say it was 'Umara b. Yazid b al-Sakan.) They fourght in defence of the apostle man after man, all being killed until only Ziyad (or 'Umara) was left fighting until he was disableed. At that point a number of the Muslims returned and drove the enemy away from him. The apostle ordered them to bring him to him and made his foot a suport for his head and he died with his face on the apostle's foot (600).

Abu Dujana made his body a shield for the apostle. Arrows were falling n his back as he leaned over him, until there were many stuck in it. Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas short his arrows in defence of the apostle. He said, 'I have seen him handing me the arrows as he said "Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom" until he would even hand me an arows that had no head, saying "Shoot with that "."

'Asam b. 'Umar b. Qatada said that the apostle went on thooting from his bow until the bottom of it broke. Qatada b. al-Nu'man took it and kept it. That day his eye was so injured that it lay exposed upon his chek. 'Asim told me that the apostle restored it to its place with his hand and it became his best and kenest eye afterwards.

Al-Qasim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Rafi', brother of the B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar, told me that Anas b. al-Nadr, uncle of Anas b. Malik, came to 'Umar b. al-Khattab and Talha b. 'Ubaydullah with men of the Muhajirun and Ansar who were dejected. He said, 'What makes you sit there?' They said, 'The apostle has been killed.' He answared, 'Then what will you do with life henceforth? Getup and die in the way that the apostle had died.' Then he went towards the enemy and fought until he was slain. Anas b. Malik was named after him.

Humayd al-Tawil told me from Anas, 'We found seventy cuts (T. and thruts) in Anas b. al-Nadr that day and no one recognized him except his sister, who knew him by the tips of his fingers (601).'

The first man to recognize the apostle after the rout when men were saying 'The apostle has been killed' was Ka'b b. Malik, according to what al-Zuhri told me. Ka'b said, 'I recognized his eyes gleaming from beneath his helment, and I called out at the top of my voice "Take heart, you Muslims, this is the apostle of Allah," but the apostle signed to me to be silent.' When the Muslims recognized the apostle they took him up towards the glen. He was accompained by Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ali, Talha, al- Zubayr, and al-Harith b. al-Simma and others. When the apostle climbed up the glen Ubayy b. Khalaf overtook him, saying, 'Where is Muhammad? ALet me not escape if you escape.' The people said 'Shall one of use go for him?' The apostle said, 'Let him alone,' and when he came near he too a lance from al-Harith. (I have been told that some people say that when the apostle took it from him he shook himself free from us so that we flew off from him as stinging flies fly off a camel's back when it shakes itself (602).) Then, turning to face him, he thrust him in the neck so that he swayed and fell from his horse (603). Now Ubayy, according to what Salih b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf told me, when he used to meet the apostle in Mecca, would say, 'Muhammad, I have got a horse called 'Aud which I feed every day on many measures of corn. I shall kill you when I am riding it.' The apostle answered, 'No, I shall kill you, if Allah wills.' Now when he returned to Quraysh he had a slight scratch on his neck, which did not even bleed. He said, 'By Allah! Muhammad has killed me.' They answered, 'By Allah! Youhave lost heart. Your are not hurt.' He answered, 'He said to me in Mecca that he would kill me, and, by Allah, if he had spat on me he would have killed me.' The rnemy of Allah died in Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca.

In reference to that Hassan b. Thabit said:

Ubayy showed the disbelef inherited from his father
The day the apostle met him in battle.
You came to him carrying a mouldering bone
And threatened him, ignorant of his office.
Banu'l-Najjar killed Umayya from among you
When he called on 'Aqil for help.
Rabi'a's two sons perished when they obeyed Abu Jahl.
Their mother became childless.
Harith escaped when we were busy taking prisoners.

To capture him was not worth while (604). (Reading asratuhu for unatuhu (so Dr. Arafart).

Hassan b. Thabit also said:

Who will give a message from me to Ubayy?
You have been cast into the nethermost hell;
Long have you pursued error,
Sworn vows that hyou would win.
Long have you indulged in such hopes,
But unbelief leads to disappointment.
A thrust from an angry warrior found you
One of a noble house, no miscreant.
Who surpasses all other creatures
When misfortunes befall.

When the apostle reached the mouth of the glen 'Ali came out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihars (According to some commentators this is the name of a well at Uhud. The word itself can mean a stone trough beside a well.) and brought it to the apostle, who refused to drink it because its evil smell repelled him. However, he used the water to wash the blood from his face and as he poured it over his head he said: 'The warth of Allah is fierce againsthim who blooded the face ofHis prophet.'

Salih b. Kaysan told me from an informant who got it from Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas that the latter used to say: 'I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill 'Utba b. Abu Waqqas; he was, as I know, of evil character and hated among his people. It was enough for me (to hate him) that the apostle should say, 'The wrath of Allah is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet".'

While the apostle was in the glen with a number of his companions suddenly a troop of Quraysh came up the mountain (605). The apostle said, 'O Allah, it is not fitting that they should be above us,' so 'Umar and a number of emigrants fought until they drove them down the mountain.

The apostle made for a rock on the mountain to climb it. He had become heavy by reason of his age, and moreoverthe had put on two coats of mailm, so when he tried to get up he could not do so. Talha b. 'Ubaydullah squatted beneath him and lifted him up until he settled comfortably upon it.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b.'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from al-Zubayr said: 'That day I heard the spostle saying "Talha earned paradise when he did what he did for the apostle (606).""

The army had fled away from the apostle until some of them went as far as al-Munaqqa neaer al-A'was. (A place near Medina.) 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada from Mahmud b. Labid told me that when the apostle went out to Uhud Husayl b. Jabir, who was al- Yaman Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman, and Thabit b. Waqsh were sent up into the forts with the women and children. They were both old men and one said to the other,

'What are you waiting for, confound you? Neither of us will live much longer. (Only as long as a donkey's drink.) We are certain to die today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the apostle. Perhaps Allah will grant us martyrdom with him.' So they took their swords and sallied out until they mingled with the army. No one knew anything about them. Thabit was killed by the polytheists and Husayl bythe swords of the Muslims, who killed him without recognizing him. Hudhayfa said, 'It is my father.' They said, 'By Allah, we did not know him,' and they spoke the truth. Hadhayfa said, 'May Allah forgive you, for He is most compassionate.' The apostle wanted to pay his blood-money, but Hudhayfa gave it as alms to the Muslims and that increased his favour with the apostle.

'Asim also told me that a man called Hatibb. Umayya b. Rafi', who had a son called Yazid, was grievously wounded at Uhud and was brought to his people's settlement at the point of death. His kinsmen gathered round and the men and women began to say to him, 'Good news of the garden (of paradise), O son of Habit.' Now Hatib was an old man who had lived long in the heathen period and his hypocrisy appeared then, for he said, 'What good newsdo you gove him? Of a garden of rue? (The dead were buried with rue at their feet at this time. See Waqidi, B.M.MS. A. 20737,fol.63a.) By Allah, you have robbed this man of his life by your deception (and brought great sorrow on me.' Tab.).

'Asim told me: 'There was a man among us, a stranger of unknown origin called Quzman. The apostle used to say when he was mentioned, "He belongs to the people of hell." ON the day of Uhud he fought firecelyand killed seven or eight polytheists single-handed, hebeing a stoutwarrior. He was disabled by wounds and carried to the quarter of B. Zafar. The Muslims began to say to him, "You have done gallantly, Quzman, be of good cheer!" "Why should I," he said, "I only fought for the honour of my people; but for that I should not have fought." And when the pain of his woundsbecame unbearable he took an arrows from his quiver, (T.cut the vens of his wrist, and blead to death. When the apostle was told of this he said "I testify that I am truly Allah's apostle").' (For the words in brackets I.I. has merely 'and killed himself with it'.)

Among those killed at Uhud was (T. the Jew) Mukhayriq who was one of the B.Tha'laba b. al-Fityun. On that day he addressed the Jews saying: You know that it is your duty to help Muhammad,and when they replied that it was the Sabbasthday, he said, 'You will have no Sabbasth,' and taking his sword and accoutrements, he said that if he was slain his property was to go to Muhammad, who could deal with it as he liked. Then he joined the apostle and fought with him until he was killed. I have heared that he apostle said, 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews."

Al-Harith b. Suwayd b. Samit was a hypocrite. He went out with the Muslims to Uhud, and when the armies met he attacked al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi and Qays b. Zayd, one of the B. Dubay'a, and killed them . Then he joined the Quraysh in Mecca. Now the apostle , as they say, had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he Allah the better of him, but he escaped him and was in Mecca. Then he sent to his brother al-Julas desiring forgiveness so that he might return to his people, and Allah sent down concerning him, as I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas: 'How can Allah guide a

people who have disbelived after their belief, and after that they have testified that the apostle is true and proofs have been given to them. Allah will not guide an evil people' (Sura 3.80.) to the end of the passage (607).

Mu'adh b. 'Afra' had killed Suwayd b. al-Samit treacherously in some other battle. He shot him with an arrow and killed him before the day of Bu'ath. (This is a repetition of what I.I. said on p. 356: Mu'adh killed Suwayd b. al-Samit before Islam. Here he has said that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujadhdhar and Qays treacherously at Uhud as he said on p.356.) Both here and on p.356. I:H. agrees that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujadhdhar and denies that he killed Qays, giving as a proof the fact that I.I. does not mention his among those slain at Uhud. He further asserts that al-Mujadhdhar had killed Suwayd before Islam. The emphatic way in which I.I states that Mu'adh killed him (object before subject) would seem to indicate that I.I. knew of the rival story twice repeated by I.H. but stuck to his guns.)

Al-Husyan b.'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Muadh from Abu Sufyan client of Ibn Abu Ahmad from Abu Hurayra said that he used to say: 'Tell me about a man who entered paradise never having prayed in his life,' and when the people did not know, they asked him who it was and he said, 'Usayrim of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, 'Amr b. Thabit b. Waqsh.' Al-Husayn asked Mahmud b. Asad what were the facts of Usayrim, and he replied that in spite of his people he had refused to accept Islam, but on the day that the apostle marched out to Uhud he accepted it. He took his sword, plunged into the heart of the battle, and fought until he was overcome gby wounds. While the B.'Abdu'l-Ashhal were looking for their dead in the battle suddenly they came upon him and marvelled that he should be there when they had left him showing his dislike for Islam. They asked him what had brought him, whether it was concern for his people or goodwill towards Islam. He replied that it was the latter. 'I believed in Allah and His apostle and became a Muslim. Then I took my sword and fought with the apostle until I met the fate you see.' Soon afterwards he died in their hands. When they mentioned him to the apostle he said, 'Verily, he belongs to the people of paradise.'

My Father Ishaq from shaykhs of the B. Salama told me that Amr b. al-Jamuh was a man who was very lame. He had four lion-like sons who were present at the apostle's battles. On the day of Uhud they wanted to detain him, saying that Allah had excused him. He came to the apostle and told him that his sons wanted to keep him back and prevent his joining the army, 'Yet by Allah, I hope to tread the heavenly garden despite my lameness.' The apostle said, 'Allah has excused you, and fihad is not incumbent on you;' and to his sons he said, 'You need not prevent him; perhaps Allah will favour him with martyrdom,' so he went along with him and was killed at Uhud.

According to what Salih b. Kaysan told me, Hind d. 'Utba and the women with her stopped to mutilate the apostle's dead companions. They cut off their ears and noses and HInd made them into anklets and collars and gave her anklets and cvollars and pendants to Wahshi, the slave of Jubayr b. Mut'im. She cut out Hamza's live and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it and threw it away.(This seems to be a survival of

prehistoice animism. By devouring an enemy's liver it was hoped to absorbhis strength.) Then she mountedahigh rock and shrickedat the top if her voice:

We have paid yhou back for Badr
And a war that follows a war is always vbiolent.
I could not bearthe loss of 'Utba
Normy brother and his uncle and my first-born.
I have slaked my vengenance and fulfilled my vow.
You, O Wahshi, have assuaged the burning in by breast.
I shall thank Wahshi as long as I live
Until my bones rot in the grave.

Hind d. Uthatha. b. 'Abbad b. al-Muttalib answered her:

You were disgraced at Badr and after Badr,
O daughter of a despicable man, great only in disbelief.
Allah brought on you in the early dawn
Tall and white-skined men from Hashim,
Everyone slashing with his sharp sword:
Hamza my lion and 'Ali my falcon.
When Shayba and your father planed to attack me
They reddened their breasts with blood.
Your evil vow was the worst of vows (608).

Hind d. 'Utba also said:

I slaked my vengeance on Hamza at Uhud.
I split his belly to get at his liver.
This took from me what I had felt
Of burning sorrow and exceeding pain.
War will hit you exceeding hard
Coming upon you as lions advance.

Salih b. Kasian told me that he was told that 'Umar said to Hassan, 'O Ibn al-Furay'a (609), I wish you had heard what Hind said and seen her arrogance as she stood upon a rock uttering her taunts against us, reminding us of what she had done to Hamza.' Hassan replied, 'I was looking at the lance as it fell, while I was on the top of Fari"" -meaning his fort-'and I realized that it was not one of the weapons of the Arabs. It seemed to me as though it was directed at Hamza but I was not sure. But recite me some of her verse: I will rid you of her.' So 'Umar quoted some of what she said and Hassan said:

The vile woman was insolent: her habits were vile;
Seeing that disbelief accompained her insolence (610).

Al-Hulays b.Zabbasn, brother of the B. al-Harith b. 'Abdu Manat, who was then chief of the black troops, passed by Abu Sufyan as he was striking the side of Hamza's mouth

with the point of his spear saying, 'Taste that, you rebel.' Hulays exclaimed, 'O B. Kinana, is this the chief of Quraysh acting thus with his dead cousin asyou see?' He said, 'Confound you. Keep the matter quiet, for it was a slip.'

When Abu Sufyan wanted to leave he went to the top of the mountaion and shouted loudly saying, 'YOu have done a fine work; victory in war goes by turns. Today in exchange for the day (T. of Badr). Show your superiority, Hubal,' i.e. vindicate your religion. The apostle told 'Umar to get up and answer him and say, 'Allah is most high and most glorious. We are not equal. Our dead are in paradise; your dead in hell.' At this answer Abu Sufyan said to 'Umar, 'Come here to me.' The apostle told him to go and see what he was up to. When he came Abu Sufyan said, 'I adjure thee by Allah, 'Umar, have we killed Muhammad?' 'By Allah, you have not, he is listening to what you are saying now,' he replied,. He said, 'I regard you as more truthful and reliable than Ibn Qami'a,' referring to the latter's claim that hehad killed Muhammad (611).

Then Abu Sufyan called out, 'There are some mutailated bodies among your dead. By Allah, it gives me no satisfaction, and no anger. I neither prohibited nor ordered mulilation.'When ABu Sufyan and his companions went awayhe called out, 'Your meeting-place is Badr next year.' The apostle told one of his companions to say, 'Yes, it is an appointment between us.'

Then the apostle sent 'Ali to follow the army and see what they were doing and what their intentions were. If they were leading their horses and riding their camels, they would be making for Meca; but if they were riding the horses and driving the camels they would be making for Medina. 'By Allah,' said he, 'f they make for Medina I will go to them there. Then I will fight them.' 'Ali said that he followed their tracks and saw what they were doing. They were leading their horses, riding their camels and going towards Mecca. (T. The apostle had said 'Whatever they do, keep silentabout it until you come to me.' When I saw they had set out for Mecca I came back shouting. I could not hide the fact as the apostle had ordered me because of my joy at seeing them going to Mecca and thus avoiding Medina.)

The people searched for their dead, and the apostle said, according to what Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b.Abu Sa'sa'a al-Mazini, brother of the B. al-Najjar told me, 'Who will find out for me what has happened to Sa'd b. al-Rabi'? Is he alive or among the dead?' One of the Ansar volunteered and found him lying wounded among the slain, at the point of death. He told him that the apostle had ordered him to see if he was alive or among the dead. He said 'I am among the dead. Convey my greetings to the apostle and say: "Sa'd says to you 'May Allah reward you by us better that he has rewarded any prophet by his people,'" and give your people a greeting from me and say "You have no excuse with Allah if anything has if anything has happened to your prophet gwhile you can flutter an eyelied,'" and straightway he died. He said: I came to the apostle and delivered his message' (612).

I have been told that the apostle went out seeking Hamza and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped up and his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the apostle said: 'Were it

not that Safiya would be miserable and it might become a custom after me (This hadith, if it is trustworthy, indicates that the prophet was aware that his every act would form a precedent for future generations. However, it is possible that the four words in the Arabic text have been added.) I would leave him as he is, so that his body might find its way into the bellies of beasts and the crops of birds. If Allah gives me victory over Quraysh in the future I will mutilate 30 of their men.' When the Muslims saw the apostle's grief and anger against those who had thus treated his uncle, they said, 'By Allah, if Allah gives us victory over them in the future we will mutilate them as no Arab has ever mutilated anyone' (613).

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and a man I have no reason to suspect from Ibn 'Abbas told me that Allah sent down concerning the words of the apostle and his companions 'If you punish, then punish as you have been punished. If you endure patiently that is better for the patient. Endure thou patiently. Thy endurance is only in Allah. Grieve not for them, and be not in distress at what they plot.' (Sura 16.127.) So the apostle pardoned them and was patient and forbade mutilation. Humayd al-Tawil from al-Hasan from Samura b. Jundub told me: 'The apostle never stopped in a place and left if without enjoining on us alms giving and forbidding mutilation.'

One whom I do not suspect from Miqsam, a client of 'Abdullah b. al-Harith from Ibn 'Abbas,, told me that the apostle ordered that Hamza should be wrapped in a mantle; then he prayed over him and said 'Allah Akbar' seven times. Then the dead were brought and placed beside Hamza and he prayed over them all until he had prayed seventy-two prayers.

According to what I have been told Safiyf d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib came forward to look at him. He was her full-brother and the apostle said to her son, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam, 'Go to meet her and take her back so that she does not see what has happened to her brother.' He said to her, 'Mother, the apostle orders you to go back,' She said, 'Why? I have heard that my brother has been mutilated and that for Allah's sake (T. is a small thing) He has fully reconciled us to what has happened . I will be calm and patient if Allah will.' When Zubayr returned to the prophet and reported this to him he told him to leave her alone; so she came and looked at Hamzaand prayed over him and said, 'We belong to Allah and to Allah do we return,' and she asked Allah's forgiveness for him. Then the apostle ordered that he should be buried. The family of 'Abdullah b. Jahsh, who was the son of Umaymad. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, Hamza being his maternaluncle, and he having been mutilated in the same way as Hamza except that heis liver had notbeen taken out, asserted that the apostle buried him in the same grave with Hamza; but I heard that story only from his family.

Now some Muslims had carried their dead to Medina and buried them there. The apostle forbade their and told them to bury athem were they lay. Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. Tha'labab. Su'ayr al-'Udhri, and ally of the B.Zuhra, toldme that the apostle said when he looked down on the slain at Uhud: 'I testify concerning these that there is none wounded for Allah's sake but Allah will raise him on the

resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk; look for the one who has collected (i.e learned.) most of the Quran and put him in front of this componions in the grave.' They were burying two and three in one grave.

My uncle Musa b. Yasar told me that he heard Abu Hurayra say: Abu'l-Qasim (i.e. Muhammad.) said, 'There is none wounded for Allah's sake but Allah will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk.'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me on the authority of shaykhs of the B. Salama that when the apostle ordered the dead to be buried he said, 'Look out for 'Amr b. al-Jamuh and 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram; they were close friends in this world, so put them in one grave.' (T. When Mu'awiya dug the canal and they were exhumed they were as free from rigor mortis as though buried but yesterday.) Then the apostle went back on his way to Medina and there met him Hamna d. Jahsh, so I have been told. As she met the army she was told of the death of her brother 'Abdullah and she exclaimed, 'We belong to Allah and to Allah we return,' and asked forgiveness for him. Then she was told of the death of her maternal uncle Hamza,and uttered the same words. Then she was told of the death of her husband Mus'ab b. 'Umayr and she shriked and wailed. The apostle said: 'The woman's husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from her self-control at the death of her brother and uncle and her shrieking over her husband.'

The apostle passed by one of the settlements of the Ansar of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal and Zafar and he heard the sound of weeping and wailing over the dead. The apostle'e eyes filled with tears and he wept and said, 'But there are no weeping women for Hamza.' When Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usayd b. Hudayr came back to the quarter, they ordered their women to gird themselves and go and weep for the apostle's uncle.

Hakim b. Hakim b. 'Abbad b. Hunayf from a man of the b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal told me: 'When the apostle heared their weeping over Hamza at the door of his mosque he said 'Go home; my Allah have mercy on you; you have been a real help by your presence'" (614).

'Abdu'l-Wahid b. Abu'Aun from Isma'il b. Muhammad from Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas told me that the apostle passed by a woman of the B. Dinar whose husband, brother, and father had been killed at Uhud, and when she was told of their death she asked what had happened to the apostle, and when they replied that thanks to Allah he was safe, she asked that she might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, 'Every misfortune now that you are safe is negligible' (using the word jalal in the sense of 'Small') (615).

When the apostle rejioned his family he handed his sword to his daughter Fatima, saying, 'Wash, the blood from this, daughter, for by Allah it has served me well today.' 'Ali also handed her his sword and said, 'This one too, wash the blood from it, for by Allah it has served me well today.' The apostle said, 'If you have fought well, Sahlb. Hunayf and Abu Dujana fought well with you' (616).

The battle was fought on the sabbath in mid-Shawwal; (In W. this sentence is ascribed to I.H. Tab. supports C. Cf. p.1427.) and on the morning of Sunday the 16th of the month the apostle's crier called to the men to go in pursit of the enemy and announced that none should go out with us unless he had been present at the battle on the preceding day. Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram said, 'O apostle of Allah, my father left me behind to look after my seven sisters, saying that it was not right for us both to leave the women without a man and that he was not one to give me the precedence in fighting with the apostle. So I stayedbehind to look after them.' The apostle gave him permission to go and he went out with him. The apostle merely marched out as a demonstration against the enemy to let them know that he was pursing them so that they might think he was in strength, and that their losses had not weakened them.

'Abdullah b. Kharija b. Zayd b. Thabit from Abu 'l-Sa'ib, a freed slave of 'A'isha d. 'Uthman, told me that one of the apostle's companions from the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal was had been present at Uhud said, 'I and one of my brothers were present at Uhud and we came back wounded. When the apostle's crier announcedthat we must pursue the enemy, I said to my brother or he said to me, 'Are we going to stay awayfrom an expedition with the apostle? We have no beast to ride and are severely wounded.' However, we marched out with the apostle and since my wound was less severe, when he was enfeebled I put him on the beast for a time and we walked and rode turn and turn about until we came up to where the Muslims had halted.'

The apostle went as far as Hamra'u'l-Asad, about eight miles from Medina (617). He stayed the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and then returned to Medina.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that Ma'bad b. Abu Ma'bad al-Khuza'i passed by him. The Khuz'a, both their Muslims and polytheists, were confidants of the apostle in Tihama, they having agreed that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Now at this time Ma'bad was a polytheist and he said, 'Muhammad, we are distressed at what has happened to you (T. with your companions) and we wish that Allah would preserve you among them.' Then he went out while the apostle was in Hamra'u'l-Asad until he met Abu Sufyan and his men in al-Rauha' when they had determined to come back to the apostle and his companions. They said, 'We have killed the best of his companins, their leaders and their nobles. Shall we then go back before we have exterminated them? Let us return to the survivors and make an end of them.' When Abu Sufyan saw Ma'bad he said, 'What is the news?' He replied, 'Muhammad he come out with his companions to pursue you with an army whose like I have never seen,burning with anger against you. Those who stayed behind when you fought them have joined him; they are sorry for what they did and are violently enraged against you. Never have I seen anything like it.' He said, 'Confound you, what are you saying.?' He answered, 'By Allah, I do not think that you will move off before you see the forelocks of the cavalry.' He replied, 'But we have determined to attack them to exterminate their survivors.' He answered, 'But I would advise against that. What I saw induced me to utter some verses about them.' When he asked what they were, he recited:

My mount almost fell with fright at the clamour

When the ground flowed with troops of horse
Hastening with noble lion-like warriors
Eager for the fray; firm in the saddle;(Mil is the pl. of amyal 'not fully armed'. It also means 'unsteady in the saddle', a meaning supported by T's khurq. However, the first is a cliche among the poets and is a synonym of ma azil, the word that follows it.) fully armed.
I continued to run, thinking the very earth was moving.
When they came up with the prince who never lacks support
I said, 'Alas for Ibn Harb when he meets you
When the plain is surging with men.'
I warn the people of the sanctuary plainly
Every prudent and sensible man among them
Of Ahmad's army- no poltroons his riders
And the warning I give is true.

The words turned back Abu Sufyan and his followers.

Some riders from 'Abdu'l-Qays passed him and he learned that they were going to Medina for provisions. He said, 'Will you take a meassage to Muhammad for me? And I will load these camels of yours tomorrows with raisins in Ukaz, when you arrive there.' They agreed, and he said, 'Then when you come to him tell him that we have resolved to come to him and his companions to exterminate them.' The riders passed by the apostle when he was in Hamra'u'l-Asad and told him of what Abu Sufyan had said and he exclaimed, 'Allah is our sufficiency, the best in whom to trust (618).'

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that when the apostle came to Medina 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul who had a place which he used to occupy every Friday without opposition out of respect for him personally and his people, he being a cheif, got up when the apostle sat on the Friday addressing the people and would say, 'O people, this is Allah's apostle among you. Allah has honoured and exalted you by him, so help him and strengthen him; listen to his commands and obey them.' Then he used to sit down until when he acted as he did on the day of Uhud and came back with his men, he got up to do as he was wont and the Muslims took hold of his garments and said, 'Sitdown, you enemy of Allah. You are not wrothy of that, having behaved as your did.' So he went out stepping over the necks of the men and saying, 'One would think I had said something dreadful in getting up to strengthen his case.' One of the Ansar met him at the door of the mosque and asked him whata was the matter. He said, 'I got up to strengthen his case when some of his companions leapt upon me and dragged me along with violence. One would think that I had said something dreadful.' He answered, 'Allah back and let the apostle ask forgiveness for you.' He said, 'By Allah, I do not want him to.'

The day of Uhud was a day of trial, calamity, and heart-searching on which Allah tested the believers and put the hypocrites on trial, those who professed faith with their tongue and hid unbelief in their hearts; and a day in which Allah honoured with martyrodom those whom he willed.

152 - PASSAGES IN THE QURAN WHICH DEAL WITH UHUD

Abu Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Hisham told us from Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i from Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi: There are sixty verses in 'The Family of Imran' (Sura 3.117f.) which Allah sent down concerning the day of Uhud in which there is a description of what happened on that day and the blame of those who merited His rebuke.

Allah said to His prophet: 'And when you went forth early from your family your assigned to the believers positions for the fighting, Allah hearing (and) knowing' (619). 'Hearing' what you said; 'knowing' about what you were concealing.

'What two parties of you thought they would fail,' i.e of deserting; and the two parties were the B. Salima b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj and the B. Haritha b. al-Nabit of al-Aus, they being the two wings.

Allah said: 'And Allah was their friend,' i.e. Allah protected them from the cowardice they meditated because it was only the result of weakness and feebleness which overcame them, not doubt in their religion, so He thrust that from them in His mercy and pardon so that they were saved from their weakness and feebleness and stuck to their prophet (626).

Allah said: 'Upon Allah let the believes rely,' i.e the believer who is weak let him rely on Me and ask My help. I will help him in his affair and protect him until I bring him to his appointed time of life and ward off evil from him and strengthen him in his purpose.

'Allah helped you at Badr when you were contemptiable, so fear Allah that you may be thankful,' i.e. fear Me, for that is gratitude for My kindness.

'Allah helped you at Badr' when your numbers and strength were inferior 'when thou didst say to the believers: "Is it not enough for you that your Lord reinforced you with three thousand angels sent down? Nay, if you are steadfast and fear Allah and they come on you suddenly your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked,'" i.e if you are steadfast against My enemy and oby My command and they come on you recklessly I will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked (621).

'Allah did this only as good news for you that your hearts might be at rest therin. Victory comes only from Allah, the Mighty the Wise,' i.e. I mentioned the armies of My angels only us good news for you and that your hearts might be at rest therein, because I know your weakness and victory comes only from Me because of My sovereignty and power for the reason that power and authority belong to Me, not to any one of my creatures.

Then He said: 'that He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or overturn them so that they retire disappointed,' i.e. to cut off a part of the polytheists in a fight in which He will take vengeance on them or drive them back in chagrin, i.e. that those who survive may retreat as frustrated fugitives having achieved nothing that they hoped to attain (622).

Then He said to Muhammad the apostle of Allah: 'It is not your affair whether He changes His attitude to them or punishes them, for they are evil doers,' i.e. your have no

concern with My judgement of My slaves except is so far as I give you orders concerning them or I change towards them in my mercy, for if I wish I shall do so; or I shall punish them for their sins for that is my prerogative; 'for they are evil-doers,' ie. they have deserved that for their disobedience to Me. 'And Allah is forgiving, merciful,' i.e He forgives sins and has mercy on His slaves according to (Or, 'in spite of'.) what is in them.

Then He said: 'O ye who believe, Take not (v.125, lit. 'devour not'.) usury, doubling and quadrupling, 'i.e. Do not devour in Islam, to which Allah has now guided you, what you used to devour when you followed another religion; such is not permitted toyou in your religion. 'And fear Allah, haply you may be prosperous', i.e. So obey Allah, perhaps you may escape from His punishment of which He has warned you, and attain His reward which He has made you desire. 'And fear the fire which is prepared for the disbelievers,' ie.e which has been made a dwelling for those who disbelieve in Me.

Then He said: 'And obey Allah and the apostle, haply you will attain mercy' reproaching those who disobeyed the apostle in the orders he gave them that day and at other times . Then he said : And vie with one another for forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the heavens and the earth prepared for those who fear (Allah) ,'i.e dwelling for those who obey Me and obey My apostle. 'Those who spend (their money) in ease and adversityand who control their wrath and are forgiving to men, for Allah loves those who do well,' i.e that is well doing and I love those who act thus. 'And those who when they act unseemly or wrong themselves, remember Allah and ask forgiginess for their sins- and who forgoves sins but Allah?- and have not persited in their actions knowingly,' i.e if they have acted unseemly or wronged themselves by disobedience, they remember Allah's prohibition and what He has declared evil, and ask forgiveness, knowing that none can forgive sins but He. 'And have not persisted in their actions knowingly', i.e have not contiuned to disobey Me like those who associte those with Me in the extravagance of their disbelief while they know that I havae prohibited the worship of any but Myself. 'The reward of such is forgiveness from their Lord and gardens beneath which run rivers, in which they will abide for ever-a fine reward for workres,' i.e. the reward of the obedient.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe which befell them and the misfortune which came upon them and the trial (of the faith) that was in them and His choice of martyrs from among them, and He said comforting them and telling them of what theyhad done and what He was about to do with them: 'Examples have been made before your time, so go trhough the land and see the nature of the punishment of those who called (apostles) liars,' i.e. vengeance came from me upon those who gave the lie to My apostles and associated others with Me (such as) 'Ad and Thamud and the people of Lot and the men of Midian and they saw what I did to them and to those in like case with them, for I was forbearing to them purely for the reason that they should not think that My vengeance was cut off from your enemy and mine in the time in which I let them get the better of you to test you thereby to show you your true selves.

Then He said: 'This is a plain statement to men and guidance and admonition to those that fear Allah,' i.e. this is an explanation to men if they receive guidance; ' and guidance

and admonition,' i.e. a light and discipline 'to those who fear,' i.e. to those who obey Me and know My commandment; 'and do not wax faint or be sad,' i.e do not become weak and despair at what has befallen you 'you being the superiors,' i.e you will have the victory 'if you believe,' i.e. if you had believed in what My prophet brought from Me. 'If you have received a shock the (Meccan) army received a shock likewise,' i.e. wounds like yours. 'These are days which We alternate among men,' i.e. we change them among men for trial and search; 'and that Allah may know those who believe and may choose martyrs from among you, and Allah loves not wrongdoers', i.e. to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to honours some of the faithful with martyrdom. 'And Allah loves not wrongdoers', i.e the hypocrits who profess obedience with their tongues while their hearts are firm in disobedience; 'and that Allah may try those who believe,' i.e. put to the test those who believe, so that He may purify them by the misfortune which came upon them, and their constancy and certainty; 'and confound the disbelievers,' i.e. bring to naught what the hypocrites say with their tongues that is not in their hearts until He brings to light their disbelief which they are concealing.

Then He said: 'Or do you think that you will enter the garden when Allah does not yet know those of you who are energetic and steadfast?' i.e. Do you think that you willenter the garden and receive the honour of My reward when I have not tested youwith hardship and triedyou with misfortune so that I may know your loyalty by faith in Me and steadfastness in what has befallen you through Me? 'And you used to wish' for martyrdom when you were in the way of truth before you met your enemy. He means those who urgedthe apostle to take them out against their enemy because they had not been present at the battle of Badr before that and longing for the martyrdom which they had escaped there. Hesaid: 'And you used to wish for death before you met it.' He says: 'Now you have seen it with your eyes!' i.e. death by swords in the hands of men with nothing between you and them while you looked on. Then He kept them back from you. 'and Muhammad is nothing but an apostle; apostles have passed away before him. Wile it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? Hewho so turns back will not harm Allah at all, and Allah will reward the thankful' in reference to the men saying 'Muhammad has been killed' and their flight thereat and breaking away from their enemy. 'Will it be if he dies or is killed' you willgo back from your religion disbelievers as you once were and abandon the fight with your enemy, and Allah's book, and what His prophet willhave left behind of his religion with you and in your possession when he has explained to you what he brought from Me to you that he would die and leave your? 'And he who so turns back,' i.e. turns back from his religion 'will not harm Allah at all,' i.e. he willnot diminish His glory and kingdom and sovereginty and ower. 'And Allah will reward the thankful, 'i.e. those who obey Him and do what He has commanded.

'And no soul can die but by Allah's permission in a term that is written,' i.e Muhammad has a fixed time which he willattain and when Allah gives permission in regard to that it will happen. 'And he who desires the reward of this world We will give him it; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him it and We shall reward the thankful,' i.e. he of you who desires this world having no desire for the next We will give him his allotted portion of sustenace and nothing more and he has no share in the next world; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will givehim what

he has been promised together with his reward of sustenace in this world. That is the reward of the thankful, i.e. the pious.

Then He said: 'And with how many a prophet have myridas been slain and they waxed not faint at what befell them in the way of Allah and were not weak nor humiliated for Allah loves the steadfast,' i.e. how many a prophet has death (in battle) befallen and many myriads with him, i.e. a multitude, and they waxed not faint at the loss of their prophet nor showed weakness towards their enemies and were not humiliated when they suffered in the fight for Allah and their religion. That is steadfastness and Allah loves the steadfast. 'All that they said was, Forgive us our sins, O Lord, and our wasted effort in our affair; make our feet firm and give us the victory over a disbelieving people' (623), i.e. say what they said and know that that is for your sins, and ask His forgiveness as they did, and practise your religion as they did, and be no renegades turning back on your heels' and ask Him to makes your feet firm as they did; and ask His help as they did against a desbelieving people. For all that they said actually happened and their prophet was killed, yet they did not do what you did. So Allah gave them the reward of this world by victory over their enemy and a fine reward in the hereafter with what He had promised therein, for Allah loves those who do well.

'O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve they will turn you back on your heels and you will return as losers,' i.e. from your enemy, and will lose this world and the next. 'But Allah is your protector and He is the best of helpers.' If what you say with your tongues is true in your hearts then hold fast to Him and ask victory only of Him and do not turn back, withdrawing from His religion. 'We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve,' i.e. that by which I was helping you against them because they associated with Me that for which I was helping you against them because they associated with Me that for which gave them no warrant; i.e do not think that they will have the final victory over you, while you hold fast to Me and follow My commandment, because of the disaster which befell you through sins which you committed twhereby your went against My commandment in disobeidence and also disobeyed the prophet. 'Allah fulfilled His promise when you routed them by His leave until you failed and disagreed about the order and were disobedient after He had shown you what you were desiring. Some of you desired this world and some desired the hereafter. Then He made you flee from them that He might try you. Yet He forgive you, for Allah is full of kindness to the believers,' i.e. I carried out My promise to give you gictory over your enemy when you routed them with the sword, i.e. killing them by My permission and My giving you power over them and keeping them from you (624). 'Until you failed, ' i.e deserted and disagreed about the order; i.e. you disputed about My order, i.e. you abandoned the order of your prophet and what he had told you to do, meaning the archers. 'After He had shown byou what you were desiring,' i.e victory about which there was no doubt and the flight of the (Meccan) army from their wives and property. 'Some of you desired this world,' i.e. those who desired the spoil in this world and abandoned their orders which carried the reward of the hereafter; 'and some of you desired the hereafter,' i.e those who fought for Allah's sake and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident (A transitory and adventitious advantage.) of this world out of desire for it , hoping for the fine reward that is with the Allah hereafter ; i.e those who fought for religion and did not transgress in going after what they had been

forbiddend for an accident of this world. 'To try you' for some of your sins. Allah pardoned the grated sin in that H did not destroy you for having disobeyed your prophet. But I restored My kindness to you. 'And thus Allah favours the believers.' He punished some sins at once in this world by way of discipline and admonition, but He did not exterminate all for the debt tghey owed Him because they suffered for disobeying Him, out of mercy to them and as a reward for such faith as they had.

Then He reproached them for running away from their prophet and paying no heed when he called to them: 'When you claimbedup and paid no heed to any one while the apostle was calling behind you, He rewarded you with grief for grief, that you might not be sad for what you missed and for what befell you,' i.e. grief after griefby the killing of some of your brethren and your enemy getting the better of you, and what you felt when someone said your prophet had been killed. That was what brought grief for grief to you so that you might not be sad over the victory you had missed after you had seen him with your own eyes, nor over the death of your brethren until I gave you eae of that sorrow. 'And Allah is informed of what you do.' Allah comforted them from the sorrow and grief which they suffered in rebutting the lie of Satan that their prophet had been killed; and when they saw the apostle alive among them what they had missed from the Meccans after the victory over them and their disaster in the loss of their brethrea became easy to bear to bear when Allah had turned death aside from their prophet.

'Then after grief He sent down safety for you, as a sleep. It came upon a party of you while another party were troubled in mind thinking wrongly about Allah thoughts of heathen days, saying, Have we anything to do with the matter? (Or'order'.) Say, the whole matter belongs to Allah. They hide in themselves what they do not reveal to thee. They say, If we had had anything to do with the matter we should not have been killed here. Say: Hadyou been in your houses, those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie. (This has happened) that Allah might test what is in your breasts and prove what is in your hearts, for Allah knows about whatis in the breasts.' Allah sent down sleep in security upon the people who were confident in Him and they slept in security upon the people who were confident in Him and they slept unafraid; while the hypocrites whose thoughts troubledthem, thinking wrongly about Allah thoughts of heathen days, were afraid of death because they had no hope in the final result. Allah mentioned their recriminations and sorrow at what befell them. Then He said to His prophet, 'Say " Had you been in your houses,"'you would not have been in this place in which Allah has made plain your secret thoughts 'those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie' to some other place where they would have been slain so that He might test what was in their breasts 'and prove what was in their hearts, for Allah knows what is in the breasts,' i.e. what is in their breats which they try to conceal from you is not hidden from Him.

Then He said: 'O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieved and said of their brethren who journeyed through the land or were raiding "Had they been with us, they would not have died or been killed that Allah may make that sorrow in their hearts. Allah gives life and causes death and Allah is a seer of what you do,"' i.e be not like the hypocrities who forbid their brethren to war for Allah's sake and to travel through the

land in obedience to Allah and His apostle and say when they die or are killed, 'Had they obeyed us, they would not have died or been killed.' 'That Allah may make that sorrow in their heart' because of their lack of certainty in their Lord. 'Allah gives life and causes death,' i.e. their earthly stay is shortened or prolonged by His power as He wishes. Then Allah said: 'If you are slain for Allah's sake or die, pardon from Allah and mercy are better than what you amass,' i.e. there is o escape from death, so death for Allah's sake or death in battle is better even if they had known and been certain of what they would amass from the world for which they hold back from fighting in fear of death and battle because of what they have amassed from the splendour ofthis world, not desiring the hereafter. 'If you die or are slain,' whichever it may be, 'surely to Allah will you be gathered,' i.e. to Allah you must return. Let not the world deceive you and be not deceived by it. Let fighting and the reward which Allah holds out to you have more weight with you than that.

Then he said: 'It was by the mercy of Allah that thou was lenient to them. Hadst thou been stern and rough, they would have dispersed and been no longer around thee,' i.e. they would have left you. 'So forgive them,' i.e. overlook their offence, 'and ask pardon for them and consult them about the matter. When thou art resolved put thy trust in Allah, for Allah loves his patience with them in their weakness and their lack of patience and he treated them harshly for all their opposition when there was laid upon them the duty of obeying their prophet. Then He said: 'So forgive them,' i.e.overlook their offence 'and ask pardon' for their sins: the people of faith who did wrong. 'And consult them about the matter' to show them that you listen to them and ask their help, even if you are independent of them, thereby making their religion agreeable to them. 'And when thou art resolved' on a matter which has come from Me and a matter of religion concerning fighting your enemy when only that will bring you and them advantage, then do as you have been ordered despite the opposition of those who oppose you and in agreement with those tho agree with you. 'And trust in Allah,' i.e please Him rather than men. 'Allah loves them that trust. If Allah helps you none can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who thereafter can help you?' i.e. so that you do not leave My command for men, and forsake men's orders for Mine. On Allah, not on men, let believers trust.

Then He said: 'It is not for any prophet to deceive. Whoso deceives willbring his deceit with him on the day of resurrection. Then every soul willbe paid in full what it was earned and they will not be wronged.' It is not for a prophet to conceal from men what he has been ordered to reveal either out of fear or desire to please them. Whose does that will bring it with him on the day of resurrection; then he will be repaid what he has earned not wronged nor defrauded. 'Is one who follows the pleasure of Allah' whether men like it or not 'like one who has incurred Allah's displeausre?' by pleasing or displeasing men. He says, I sone who obeys Me whose reward is the garden and the goodwill of Allah like one who has incurred Allah's anger and deserves His anger, whose home is hell and a miserable end? Are the two examples the same? So know 'There are degrees with Allah and Allah is a seer of what they do' of all the degrees of what they do in paradise and hell, i.e. Allah knows those who obey and whose who disobey Him.

Then He said: 'Allah showed favour to the believers when He sent among them an apostle from among themselves who recited to them His verses and purified them and taught them the book and wisdom, though before they were in obvious error.' Allah favoured you, O people of the faith, when He sent among you an apostle of your own, reciting to you His verses concerning what you did, and might know the good and do it; and the evil and guard yourselves against it, and telling you of His pleasure with you when you obeyed Him; that you might gain much from obeying Him and avoid the wrath proceeding from disobedience that thereby you might escape His vengeance and obtain the reward of His garden. 'Though beforeyou were in obvious error,' i.e. in the blindness of paganism not knowing what was good nor asking pardon for evil-deaf to good, dumb to the right, blind to guidance.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe that befell them: 'And was it so when a catastrophe befell you though you had smitten (them) with a disaster twice as great you said: How is this? Say: It is from yourselves. Allah is able to do all things.' Though a catastrophe befell you in the death of your brethren because of your sins, before that you had smitten your enemy with double that on the day of Badr in slaying and taking prisoners; and you have forgotten your disobedience and your opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought that opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought that on yourselves. 'Allah is able to do all things.' Allah is able to do what He wills with His servants in taking vengeance or pardoning. 'And what befell you on the day the two armies met was by Allah's permission and that He might know the believers.' What befell you when you and your enemy met was by My Permission. That happened when you acted as you did after My help had come to you and I had fulfilled my promise to you to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to knows those who were hypocrites among you, i.e. to make plain what was in them. 'And it was said to them, Come, fight for Allah's sake or defend,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions who went back from the apostle when he went against his polytheistic enemies at Uhud and their words: 'If we knew that you were going to fight we would go with you and would defend you; but we do not think that there will be a fight.' So he showed what they were hiding within them.

Allah said: 'They were nearer to diseblief than to faith that day saying with their mounts what was not in their hearts,' i.e. showing you faith which was not in their hearts 'but Allah knows best about what they conceal,' i.e. what they hide, 'Who said of their brethren,' who belonged to their families and people who were killed in your company, 'Had they obeyed us they not havebeen killed. Say:Then avert death from yourselves if you are truthful,' i.e there is no escape from death, but if you are able to keep death away from you then do so. This was because they were hypocritical and left fighting for Allah's sake, eager to survive in this world and fleeing from death.

then He said to His prophet to make the believers wish to fight and desire battle: 'And do not think that those who were killed for Allah;s sake are dead, nay they are alive with their Lord being nourished, glad with the bounty that Allah has brought them and rejoicing in those who have not yet joined them that they have nothing to fear or grieve over,' i.e. Do not think that those who were killed for Allah's sake are dead, i.e I hae

brought them to life again and they are with Me being nourished in the rest and bounty of the Garden, rejoicing in the bounty that Allah has brought them for their striving on His account, and happy about athose who have not for their striving on His account, and happy about those who have not yet joined them, i.e glad when those of their brethren join them on account of their effort in was that they will share with them in the reward that Allah has given them,Allah having removed from them fear and sorrow. Allah says: 'Rejoicing in the favour and bounty of Allah and that Allah does not waste the wages of the believers' because they have seen the fulfilment of the promise and the great reward.

Ismail b. Umayya told me from Abu'l-zubyar from Ibn 'Abbas: The apostle said when your brethren were slain at Uhud, 'Allah has put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the candlesticks in the shadow of the throne; and when they experience the goodly drink and food and their beautiful resting-place they say: Would that our brethren knew what Allah has done with us that they might not dislike fighting and shrink from war!' And Allah says 'I wil ltell them of you' so He sent down to His apostle these verses 'And do not think,' &c.

Al-Harith b. al-Fudayl told me from Mahmud b. Labid al-Ansari from Ibn 'Abbas: The martyrs are at Bariq, a river at the gate of the Garden, in a green tent, their provision from the Garden coming out to them morning and evening.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud that he was asked about these verses 'Do not think', &c., and he said, We asked about them and we were told that when your brethren were slain at Uhud Allah put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden and eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shade of the throne and Allah takes one took at them and says, 'O My servants, What do you wish that I should give you more?' And they say, 'O our Lord, there is nothing beyond the Garden which Thou hast given us from which we eat when we please.' After the question has been put three times they say the same, adding, 'Except that we should like our spirites to return to our bodies and then return to the earth and fight for Thee until we are killed again.'

One of our companions told me from 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. 'Aqil from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: The apostle said to me, 'I will give you good news, Jabir. Allah has restored to life your father who was killed at Uhud.' Then He asked him what he would like Him to do for him and he said that he would like to return to the world and fight for Him and be killed a second time.

'Amr b.'Ubayd told me from al-=Hasan that the apostle swore that there was no believer who had parted from the world and wanted to return to it for a single hour even if he could possess it with all it has except the martyr who would like to return and fight for Allah and be killed a second time.

Then Allah said, 'Those who responded to Allah and His apostle after harm had befallen the,' i.e wounds. They are the believers who went with theapostle on the morrow of Uhud to Hamra'u'l-Asad in spite of the pain of their wounds, 'for those of them who do

well and are pious there is a great reward; those to whom men said: The men (of Mecca() have gathered against you so fear them, and that but increased their faith and they said, Allah is sufficient for us and a fine one in whom to trust.' The men who said that were a number of 'Abdu'l-Qays to whom Abu Sufyan spoke. They said: 'Abu Sufyan and his company are certainly coming back to you.' Allah says, 'So they returned with Allah's grace ahdfavour. Harm did not befall them and they followed Allah's pleasure and Allah is of great bounty' in that He turned away their enemy so that they did not meet him 'It is only the devil,' i.e those men and what Satan put into their mouths, 'who would make men fear his adherents,' i.e frighten you by means of his adherents. 'But fear them not and feat Me if youare believers. Let not those who vie in running to disbelief grieve you,' i.e the hypocrites, 'they can in no wise injure Allah. Allah wills not to assign them a portion in the next world where they will have a painful punishment. Those who buy infidelity with faith will in no wise injure Allah: they will have a painful punishment. Let not those who disbelieve think that the respite We give them is good for them. We give them a respite only that they may increase in trespass. Theirs is an ignominious punishment. It is not Allah's purpose to leave the believes as youare till He shall separate the evil from the good,' i.e the hypocrites. 'And it is not Allah's purpose to let you know the unseen,' i.e what He wills to try you with that you may take heed of what comes to you. 'But Allah chooses whom He will of His messengers,' i.e He lets him know that 'So believe in Allah and His messengers and if you believe and are pious,' i.e. return and repent 'then you will have a great reward.'

153 - THE NAMES OF THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE MARTYRED AT UHUD

The Muslims who were martyred at Uhud in the company of the apostle were as follows:

Emigrants from Quraysh: of the B. Hashim: Hamza whom Wahshi the slave of Jubayr b. Mut'im killed. Of B. Umayyab. 'Abdu Shams: 'Abdullah b. Jahsh, an ally from B. Asad b. Khuzayma. Of B. 'Abdul'l-Dar: Mus'ab b. 'Umayr whom Ibn Qami'a al-Laythi killed. Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Shammas b. 'Uthman. Total 4.

Of the Ansar: of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal: 'Amr b. Mu'adh; al-Harith b. Anabb. Rafi'; and 'Umarab. ziyad b. al-Sakan (625); Salama b. Thabit b. Waqsh and 'Amr his brother ('Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada asserted to me that their father Thabit was killed thaty day); and Rifa'a b. Waqsh; and Husayl b. Jabir Abu Hudhayfa who was al-Yaman (the Muslims killed him unwittingly and Hudhayfa forwent his blood-wit incumbent on the slayer); and Sayfi and Habab sons of Qayzai; and 'Abbadb. Sahl; and al-Harith b. Aus b. Mu'adh. Total 12.

Of the men of Ratij: (One of the forts in Medina.) Iyas b. Aus b. 'Atik b. 'Amrb. 'Abdu'!-A'lam b. Za'ura' b. Jusham b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal; ana 'Ubayd b. al-Tayyihan (626); and Habib b. Yazid b. Taym. 3.

Of B. Zafar: Yazid b. Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi'. 1.

Of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf of the subdivision B. Dubay'a b. Zayd: Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Zayd; Hanzala b.Abu 'Amir b. Sayfi b. Nu'man b. Malik b. Ama, the man washed by the angels whom Shaddad b. al-Aswad b. Sha'ub al-Laythi killed (627). 2.

Of B. 'Ubaydb. Zayd: Unays b. Qatada. 1.
Of B. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Abu Hayya, brother to Sa'd b. Khaythama by his mother (628); and 'Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'man who commanded the archers. 2.

Of B. al-Salam b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus: Khaythama Abu Sa'd b. Khaythama. 1.

Of their allies from B. al-'Ajlan: 'Abdullah b. Salama. 1.
Of B. Mu'ayiya b. Malik: Subay' b. Hatib b. al-Harith b. Qays b. Haysha (629).1.

Of B. al-Najjar, of the clan of B. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanam: 'Amr b. Qaysand his son Qays (630); and Thabit b. 'Amr b. Zayd; and 'Amir b. Makhlad. 4.

Of B. Mabdhul: Abu Hubayrab. al-Harithb. 'Alqma b. 'Amr b. Thaqf b. Malik b. Mabdhul; and 'Amr b. Mutarrif b. 'Alqama b. 'Amr . 2.

Of B. 'Amr b.Malik: Aus. b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir (631). 1
Of B. 'Adiya b. al-Najjar: Anas b. al-Nadr b. Damdam b. Zayd b. Haram b.Jundub b. 'Amir b. Ghanam b. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar (632). 1.

Of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar: Qays b. Mukhallad and Kayssan a slave of theirs. 2.

Of B. Dinar b. al-Najjar: Sulaym b. al-Harith; and Nu'man b. 'Abdu 'Amr. 2.

Of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj: Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr; and Sa'd al-Rabi'b. 'Amrb. Abu Zuhayr who were buried in one grave; and Aus b. al-Arqam b. zayd b. Qays b. Nu'man b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b. 3.

Of b. al-Abjar, theB.Khudra: Malik b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd b. al-Abjar the father of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri (633); and Sa'id b. Suwayd b. Qays b. 'Amir b. 'Abbadb. al-Abjar; and 'Utba b. Rabi'b Rafi' b. Mu'awiya b. 'Ubaydb. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd.3.

Of B.Sa'ida b. Ka'b b. al-Khazaraj: Tha'laba b.'Amrb. Wahbb. Tha'laba b. Waqsh b. Tha'laba b. Tarif; and Damra, an ally from B. Juhayna. 2

Of B. 'Auf b. al-khazraj of the clan of B. Salim of the subdivision of B. Malik b. al-'Ajlan b.Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: Naufal b. 'Abdullah; 'Abbasb. 'Ubada b. Nadla b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan; Nu'man b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Fihrb. Ghanm b.Salim; al- Mujadhdhar b.Dhiyad, an ally from Baliy; and 'Ubada b. al-Hashas, the last three being buried in one grave. 5.

Of B. al-Hubla: Rifa'a b. 'Amr. 1.

Of B. Salima of the clan of B. Haram: 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram b. Tha'laba b. Haram; 'Amr b. al-Jamuh b. Zayd b. Haram who were buried together; Khallad b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh, &c.; and Abu Ayman a client of 'Amr b al-Jamuh. 4

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm: Sulaym b. 'Amr b. Hadida and his client 'Antara; and Sahl. Qays b. Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn. 3.

Of B. Zurayq b.'Amir; Dhakwan b. 'Abdu Qays; and 'Ubaydb. al-Mu'alla b. Laudhan (634).Muslims killed including both Emigrants and Ansar was 65 men & (635).

154 - THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE KILLED AT UHUD

Of the Quraysh from B. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy who carried the standard: Talha b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. 'Uthman b. 'Abdu'l-Dar whom 'Ali killed; and Abu Sa'id b.Abu Talha whom Sa'd b.Abu Waqqas killed (636); and 'Uthma b.Abu Talah whom Hamza killed; and Musafi' and al-Julas sons of Talha whom 'Asim b. Thabit b. Abu'l-Aqlah killed; and Kilab and al-Harith sons of Talha killed by Quzman and ally of B. Zafar (637); and Artab. 'Abdu Shurahbil b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Abdu'l-Dar whom Hamza killed; and Abu Zayd b. 'Umayrb. Hashim, &c., whom Quzman killed; and Su'ab an Abyssinian slave of his also killed by Quzman (638); and al-Qasit b. Shurayh b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf whom Quzman killed. 11.

Of B. Asad b. Abdu'l-'Uzz b. Qusayy: 'Abdullah b. Humayd b. Zuhayr b. al-Harith b. Asad whom 'Ali killed. 1.

Of B.Zuhra b. Kilab: Abu'l-Hakam b. al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of theirs whom 'Ali killed; and Siba' b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza-the latter's name was 'Amr b. Nadla b. Ghubshan b. Salim b. Malakan b. Afsa-an ally from Khuza'a whom Hamza killed. 2.

Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza; Hishman b. Abu Umayyab. al-Mughira whom Quzman killed; and al-Walid b. al-'As b. Hish;am b. al-Mughira whom Quzman killed; and Abu Umayya b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira whom 'Ali killed; and Khalid b. al-A'lam anally whom Quzman killed. 4.

Of B. Jumah b. 'Amr: 'Amr b.'Abdullah b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah who was Abu 'Azza whom the apostle killed when a prisoner; and Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah whom the apostle killed with his own hand. 2.

Of B. 'Amri b. Lu'ayy: 'Ubayda b. Jabir;and Shayba b. Malik b. al-Mudarrib both of whom were killed by Quzman (639). 2.

Thus Allah killed on the day of Uhud 22 polytheists.

155 - POETRY ON THE BATTLE OF UHUD

The following wrote erses on the subject:

Hubayra b. Abu Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'A'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imran b. Makhzum (640):

Why does this painful anxiety afflict me at night?

My love for Hind beset by cares. (So A. Dh., but 'ddiya in 742. 17 means 'troops' and it may well be that love and war mingled in his thoughts.)

Hind keeps blaming and reproaching me
While war has distracted me from her.
Gently now, blame me not: 'tis myhabit
As you know I have never concealed it.
I help the B. Ka'b as they demand
Struggling with the burdens they impose.
I bore my arms bestride a noble horse
Long of pace, smooth n gait, keeping up with the cavalry's gallop,
Running like a wild ass in the desert which

Pursued by hunters keeps close to the females. (Cf. Ahlawrdt, Chalaf el-Ahmar's Qaside, Greifswald, 1859; but a comparisons with 'Amr b. Qami'a (ed. Lyall, Camb. 1919, p.53.) suggests that we should read mukaddimun (active) 'biting' to quicken their pace as he protects their rear.)

Sired by A'waj, which rejoices men's hearts
Like a branch on a thick lofty palm.
I gothim ready and a sharp choice sword
And a lance with which I meet life's crises.
This and a well-knit coat of mail like a wavy pool
Fastened on me clear of blemishes.
We brought Kinana from the confines of yonder Yemen
Across the land driving them hard.
When Kinana asked where we were taking them

We told them Medina; (Al-Nukhayl. A watering-place near Medina.) so they made for it and its people.

We were the true knights that day on Uhud's slope.
Ma'add were in terror so we said we would come to their aid.
They feared our strokes and thrusts well aimed and cutting
Which they beheld when their outposts had drawn together.
Then we came like a cloud of hail,
The B. al-Najjar's bird of death bemoaned them.
Their skulls in the battle were like ostrich eaggs
Split open (by the chicks) and cast aside;
Or a colocynth on a withered shoot
Loosened by the sweeping winds.
We spend our wealth lavishly without reckoning
And we stab the horsemen in their eyes right and left.
Many a night when the host warms his hands in the belly of a slaughtered camel

And invites only wealthy guests, (The mean mand does not throw the meal open to all and sundry, but invites only those who can return his hospitality.)

Many a night of Jumada with freezing (jumadiya. S. points out that the old names of the months indicated their position in the solar year and that these names persisted when

the months fell in different seasons after the lunar calender was adopted; thus Ramadan, 'the scorcher', couldbegin in January and Rabi'a, 'the Spring', being in November.) rain
Have I travelled through the wintry cold.
Because of the frosts the dogs brak but once And the vipers leave not their holes.
I kindled then a blaze for the needy
Bright as the lightning that illumines the horizon.
'Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this example.
He used to do this againand again.
They view with the courses of the stars.
Their deed never fell below the highest standard.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him.

You brought Kinana in your folly (to fighty) the apostle,
For Allah's army was (bound to)_ disgrace them.
You brought them to death's cisterns in broad daylight.
Hell was their meeting-place, killing what they met with.
You collected them, black slaves, men of no descent,
O leaders of infidels whom their insolent ones deceived.
Why did you not learn from those thrown into Badr's pit
Slain by Allah's horsemen?
Many a prisoner didwe freewithout ransom,
Many a captive's forelock did we, his masters, cut! (641)

Ka'b b. Malik also answered Hubayra:

Have Ghassan heard about us though
Wide desert land where travel is uncertain separates them?
Deserts and mountains looking black in the distance
Like pillars of dust dotted hereand there.
Strong camels there become feeble,
The yearlyrains pass over it to make other lands fertile. (Or 'The yearly rain clouds are emptyand pass swiftlyon'.)
There the skeletons of exhausted at mals
Look like merchants' lined dotted with figures.
The wild oxen and gazelles walk in file
And broken ostrich eggs lie strewn abroad.
Our warriors who fight for their religion are all troops
Skilled in war with helments (Properly the tops of the Pickelhaube.) shining.
Every coat of mail preserved in store is
When donedas a well-filled pool.
But ask any man you meet about Badr;
News you are ignorant of willbe profitable.
Had other men been in that land of fear
They would have decamped at night and fled away.
When a rider of ours camehe said,

'Prepare to meet the force Ibn Harbhas collected.'
In misfortunes that would distress others
We showed greater calmness than all.
Had others been best by a multitude
They would havegiven up and lost heart. (Or, reading tawazz'u, 'dispersed'.)
We fought them; no tribe could stand against us
But feared and fled in dread.
When they made their home in 'Ird (A place outside Medina.) our leader said,
'Why do we plant grain if we do not protect it?'
Among us was Allah's apostle whose command we obey.
When he gives an order we do not examine it.
The spirit (i.e Gabriel.) descends on him from his Lord
Brought down from the midst of heaven and taken up again.
We consult him on our wishes, and ourdesire
Is to obey him in all thathe wants.
The apostle said when they appeared, 'Cast off the fear of death and desire it,
Be like one who sells his life
To draw near to a King by Whom he willbe restored to life.
Take your swords and trust in Allah
To Whom belongs the disposal of all things.'
We made for them openly as they rode their camels
Bearing swords and unafraid
In a compact force with lances and spears;
When our steeds planted their feet they kept them firm.
Into a sea of foemen we plunged,
Their blacks in the centre some in armour some unprotected.
They were three thousand while we were three hundred elite
Or four hundred at the most.
The battle went to and fro while death ranbetween us.
We tried to get to the cistern of death befoe them and did so.
Bows of lote wood exchanged 'Presents' between us
All of them cut from Yathribi Wood (A.Dh. explains Yathribi as 'bow strings' cut in Medina, but the context implies that arrows were exchanged.)
And Mecca arrows made by Sa'id
Sprinkled with position at the time they were made
Sometimes hitting men's bodies,
Sometimes glancing off shields with a clang;
And horsemen in the plain looking like locusts
Which the eastwind brings, moving briskly in the cold.
When we met them and the battle was fierce
(For there is no defence against Allah's decree)
We smote them until we left their leaders
Lying in the hollow like fallen trees.
From morn till eve until we recovered our strength
Our zeal was like a fire burning all in its path.
They fled in haste hurrying away

Like a cloud wisp that the wind robs of rain.
We went on, our rearguard coming slowly,
Like strong lions seeking (The reading is doubtful.)meat in Bisha.
We inflicted loss on you and you on us:
Perhaps we should have won, but what is with Allah is more spacious.
The battle waged hotbetween us
And all were made to get their fill of evil.
We are men who see no blame in him who kills
To guard and protect his protegees.
Firm in misfortunes, you will neversee
Our eyes weeping over a comrade slain;
Warriors who do what we say
Norbecome despondent in war's trials;
Warriors who commit no atrocitiesin victory
Nor complain of war's scratches.
Those near it withdraw with scorched faces.

You taunt me, Ibn al-Ziba'ra, (Butthe poem is said to be a reply to Hubayra who is not even mentioned!) yeta party went after you Searching for you at nightfall.
Ask about yourself in the summit of Ma'add and elsewhere
Who is the lowest and most shameful of men?
Whom did war leave shorn of glory,
His face humiliatedon the day of war?
We attacked you with Allah's help and succor
Our spearheads directed at you.
Our lances made gaping wounds among you
Like themounts of waterskins where the water gushes forth.
We attacked the standard-bearers, and he who hastens tomention the standard.
Is the first in giving praise. (The text of this verse is difficult and is probably corrupt.)

But they were treacherous, surrendered, and deserted. Only Allah's will can prevail and He is the greated doer (642).

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra:

O raven, you have made men hear, then speak.
You can say only what has happened.
(To good and evil there is an end and both befall men.
Gifts are mean among them
And the graves of the rich and the poor are equal.
Every comfortable and pleasant life comes to an end
And the blows of fate play with us all.)
Give Hassan a message from me,
For composing poetry curesinward pain.
How many skulls on the mountain slope did you see,
How many hands and feet cut off,
Fine armour stripped from the brave
Who had perished in the battle?
How many noble chiefs did we slay,

Their descent doubly glorious, interpid warriors;
Truly courageous, noble, conspicuous,
No weaklings when the spears fell?
Ask al-Mihras who inhabits it,
Between skulls and brains, like partridges?
Would that my elders in Badr had seen
The fear of Khazraj when the spears fell;
When (War) rubbed its breast in Quba' (War is compared to a camel.)
And the slaughter waxed hot among the 'Abdu'l-Ashhal.
Then they werenimble in flight
Like young ostriches running up a hill.
We killed a double number of their nobles
And adjusted the inequality of Badr.
I do not blame myself, but
Had we returned we should have made a clean sweep of them,
with Indian swords above their heads
Delivering blow after blow.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him:

The battle is over, O Ibn Ziba'ra (But the reading of the Diwan,xi, 'A battle ran away with Ibn Ziba'r is better.)
(Had he been fair he would have admitted our superiority).
You inflicted loss on us and we on you.
The fortunes of war often change.
We thrust our swords between your shoulders
Were they drank blood again and again.
We made liquid to run from your arses
Like the ordure of camels that have eaten 'asal.
When you took to yourheels (The language is Quranic.)in the pass
And fled like sheep on behind the other;
When we attacked you boldly
And drove you to the bottom of the mountain
With companies like vast objects (?) in the plain (The reading is uncertain. A.Dh. cites "jinns' as an alternative reading.)
Whoever meets them is terrified.
The pass was too narrow for us when we traversed it
And we filled its heights and depths
With men you cannot equal
Strengthened by Gabriel's help who came down.
We conquered at Badrbypiety,
Obeying Allah and believing the apostles.
We killed all their chiefs And we killed every long-robed noble.
We leftin Quraysh a lasting shame that day ofBadr,
An example to the talked of.
While the apostle of Allah witnessed truly,

While the short fatpeople among Quraysh
Got together by them were as
Camels collectedin herbage and left shepherdless (There twolines are difficult. A.dh. makes several suggestions as to the meaning.)
We and not men like you, children of your mother's arse,
Meet the figthers (It would be tempting to read ba's for nas here.) when adversity comes (643).

Ka'b mourning Hamza and the Muslim dead:

You weep, but do you want one to stir you to tears?
You who are lost in grief when you remember them, (The poest is apostrophizing himself.)
Remembering a people of whom
Stories have reached me in this crooked age.(A clear indication of the comparatively late date of this poem. Cf. also W. 628. line 5.)
Your heart palpitates at the memory of them
In longing and tearful sadness.
Yet their dead are in lovely gardens
Honouredintheir exits and entrances.
Because they were steadfast beneath the flat,
The flag of the apostle in Dhu'l-Adwaj, (A place near Uhud. Yaq. i. 305.)
The morning when the B. Aus and Khazraj
All responded with their swords
And Ahmad's supportes followed the truth,
The light-giving stright way.
They contiunally smote the warriors
As theypassed through the clouds of dust
Till at last the King summoned them
To a garden with thick trees at its entrance.
All of them provedpure in the trial,
Died unflinchingly in Allah's religion
Like Hamza when he proved his loyalty
With a sharp well-whetted sword.
The slave of the B. Naufal met him
Muttering like a huge black camel
And pierced him with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire.
And piercedhim with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire.
And Nu'man fulfilled his promise
And the good Hanzala turned not from the truth
Until his spirit passed
To a mansion resplendent in gold.
Such are (true men) not those of your company
Who lie in nethermost hell with no escape.

Dirar b. al-Khattab al-Fihri answered him:

Does Ka'b grieve overhis followers
And weep over a crooked age
Crying like an old camel who sees his companions
Returning at even while he is kept back?
The water camels pass on and leave him
Grumbling of ill-treatment while he is not even saddled for women.
Say to Ka'b, 'Let him double his weeping
And let him suffer pain therefrom;
For the death of his brothers when the cavalry changed In clouds of rising dust.'
Would that 'Amr and his followers
And 'Utba had been in our flaming meeting-place
That they might have slaked their vengence
On those of Khazraj who were slain
And on those of Aus who died on the battlefield,
All of them slain in Dhu'l-Adwaj. (vs.)
And the killing of Hamza under the flag
With a pliant death-dealing lance.
And where Mus'ab fell and lay
Smitten by a sword's quick stroke
In Uhud when our swords flashed among them
Flaming like a roaring fire
On the morn we met you with swords
Like lions of the plains who cannot be turnedback;
All our steeds like hawks,
Blood horses fiery, well-saddled.
We trod them down there until they fled
Except the dying or those hemmed in (644).

Abdullah b. al-Zib'ra:

Surely tears flowed from your eyes (Or the poet may be urging himself to weep.)
When youth had fled and the loved one was far away.
Far off and gone is she whom you love and
The camp, now removed, has robbed me of a dear one.
The ardent lover cannot recover what is gone
However long he weeps.
Butlet be:Has Umm Malik news of my people
Since news spreads far and wide
Of our bringing horses to the men of Medina,
Fine handsome horses, some reared with us, some outborn,
The night we went forth in great force
Led by one, the dread of his enemies, the hope of his friends?
All were clad in coats of mail

Which looked like a well-filled pool where two valleys meet.
When they saw us they were filled with awe,
A dreadful plight confronted them;
They wished that the earth would swallow them,
Their stoutest hearted warriors were in despair.
When our swords were drawn they were like
A flame that leaps through burshwood.
On their heads we brought them down
Bringing swift death to the enemy.
They left the slain of Aus with hyaenas hard at them and
Hungry vultures lighting on them.
The Banu Najjar on every height
Were bleeding from the wounds on their bodies.
But for the height of the mountain pass they would have left Ahmad dead,
But the climbed too high though the spears were directed at him,
As they left Hamza dead in the attack
With a lance thrust through his breast.
Nu'man too lay dead beneath his banner,
The falling valtures busy at his bowels.

(This unpleasant version is probably the original. For yajufan C. follows the MSS. which have yahufna, said to mean 'fall upon', which seems unnatrual here. Another variant quoted by C. is yahumna 'hover', while Noll., Delectus 68, read yaju'na 'hunger for', which again is unnatural. All these variants can be accounted for by the assumption that editors wanted to tone down the dhasty description of this early Muslim's death.)

The spears of our warriors came on them in Uhud (as-swiftly) As a well devous the ropes of the bucket.

(Or, a'water-drawer grasps'. Noleke, Delectus, 70, renders nazu'by profundus putues, but this is wrong because, according to the Taj, Lisan, and Qamus, it means a shallow well. See further E. Braunclin in Islamica, I, 1925,338. Alternatively nazu' could mean an habitual water-drawer. If, with some authorites, muzu' be read, then the act of drawing water is intended. The verb ghala means taking away quickly, destroying, devocuring, grasping &c. Thus the point of the simile would seem to be that the spears went in and out of the bhodies as fast as a skilled water-drawer could send buckets up and down a well, or that they went in as quickly as a well (or the act of drawing water) takes away the ropes.)

Hassan b. Thabit:

Do the spring camps make you long for Ummu'l-Walid,
The waste lands desertedby their people?
The winds of summer and the rain of Aquarius,
The torrential cloudbringer, has effaced them;
Naught remains but the place where the fire was,
Round it on the ground are the firestones like doves.
Mention no more the camp whose people distance seearates

Severing the strongest ties, and say
'If there was a battle in Uhud which a fool counts a victory
The real truth will some day be known.'
All the Banu Aus stood firm that day,
High renown was theirs.
The Banu Najjar were steadfast in defence,
None was fainthearted in the fight
In front of the apostle of Allah, they did not desert him.
They had a helper from their Lord and an intercessor.
They were faithfull when you, Quraysh, (Eaters of sakhina.) denied your Lord.
(The loyal and the disloyal slave are never equal)
With swords in their hands when the battle was hot
He whom they smote could not but die.
They left 'Utba and Sa'd lying in the dust
As the spears found their mark.
They left Ubayy laid beneath the dust by the apostle's own hand,
His shirt wet with blood
When the dust they stirred upo covered the people.
These were chiefs from your leading familes,
For every army has chiefs.
Bythem (i.e the swords.) we help Allah when (C. has hatta.) He helps us
Even if things are terrible, O Quraysh.
Mention not the slain since Hamza is among them,
Dead for Allah's sake in true obedience.
Paradise enternal he lives in now
(The command of Him who decrees is swift).
While your dead are in hell, their best food
Throns and boiling water to fill their bellis (645): (Cf. Sura 88.6.)

'Amr b. al-'As.

We went forth from the barren desert against them
Forming as it were a streaked grdle to Radwa in the morning.
B. Najjar foolishly wished to meet us
By the side of Sal' and hopes are sometimes realized.
What sacred them suddenly in the valley was
Squardrons of horse coming forth to the battle.
They wanted to plunder our tents,
But protecting those tents that tday were shattering blows.
They were tents that have always been protected,
If a people made for them they would be spoiled and meet our rage.
The heads of the Khazrajis that morning
By the side of Sal' were like sliced melons,
And their hands holding Yamani swords were like barwaq (A feeble plant ending in small envelopes like chickpeas: a simile of weakness and uselessness.) (646).
Dirar b. al-Khattab:

By thy grandfather, (Or, By the fortune'. See Lane, B86a.) had I not advanced my horse
Whey the cavalry wheeled between the slope and the low ground
On the side of Uhud's slope, there had not ceased
The voices of your wraiths calling for vengeance, their cause well known.
And a horseman, his forehead spilt by a sword,
His skull in pieces like a shepherd's clock. (The point of this simile would seem to be that the man's skull, spilt and matted with blood, remined the poet of a shepherd's clock which had been made of odd pieces of fur.)
By thy grandfather, I am always girded with a sharp sword white as salt
On the saddle of a mare thrusting forward to the one who calls for help
As long as the cry for aid is raised.
I am not reckoned the son of weakings and non-combatants
Or miserly cowards on the day of battle,
But of those who smite the trusty helms when they reach them,
Warriors of proud descent on the day of battle,
Proud leaders bearing long swords who advance to death unfaltering.

He also said:

When there came from Ka'b a squardron
And the Khazrajiya with glittering swords
And they drew their Mashrafiya swords
And displayed a flag fluttering like the wings of an eagle
I said, This will be a battle worth many a battle,
It will be talked of as long as leaves fall.
Every day they have been accustomed to gain the victory in battle
And the spoils of those they encountered.
I forced myself tobe steadfast when I felt afaird (Reading sabbartu.)
And I was certain that glory could only be got in the forefront.
I forced my steed to pluge into their ranks
And drenched him with their blood.
My horse and my armour were coloured
With blood that spurted from their veins and coagulated.
If felt sure I should stay in their dwellings
For every and a day.
Do not despair, O Banu Makhzum, foryou havemen
Like Al-Mughira, men without blame.
Be steadfast, may my mother and brothers be you ransom,
Exchanging blows until time be no more.

'Amr b. al-'As:

When I saw war's flames leaping over the fire stones

Reaching the squadrons flaying men with their heat (Radf could mean 'forelegs' and shahba' 'flames'. There is a variant reading tanazalat 'squardorns changed one after another'. In any event there is a conscious jinas in the double meaning of 'flame' and 'squadron'.)

I was sure that death was truth and life a delusion.
I set my arms on a strong horse which could outrun others easily,
Docile when others go astray in the desert outrunning the best horse.
When the sweat flowed down his flanks he showed more spirit:
Swift as a young hart of the desert when archers scare him to run full stretch,
Firm of fetlock he leads the cavalry in canter and gallop.
My mother be your ransom that fearful morning
When they walked like sandgrouse
Making for the leader of the squadron when the sun revealed him plainly (647).
Ka'b b. Malik answered the two of them:
Tell Quraysh (the best word is the truest and truth is always acceptable to the wise)
That we killed your best men, the standard-bearers,
In revenge for our slain, so what is all the talk about? And on the day that we met you
Michael and Gabriel veinforced and helped us.
Ifyou kill us the true religion is ours
And to be killed for the truth is to find Allah's favour.
If you think that we are fools
The opinion of those who oppose Islam is misleading.
Do not wish for more war but stay at home,
The habitual man of war is blood-stained, never free of care. (W. adopts the variant mash'ul 'on fire which hardly seems right. Perhaps 'with greying hair' is what was intended.)
You will get such blows at ouar hands
That the hyaenas will rejoice at the lumps of meat.
We are men of war who get the utmost from it
And inflict painful punishment on the aggressors.
If Ibn Harb escaped with the skin of his teeth
(And Allah's willmust be done) it gave him discernment
And admonition if he has the sense to appreciate it.
Had you come to the bottom of the torrent bed
A swift stroke would have metyou on the valley side,
Bands of men round the Prophet would have confronted you
With breastplates prepared for war,
Men of Ghassan stock with drawn swords,
No unarmed cowards they;
They walk towards the dark clouds of batle
As the camel's white foals walk in train,
Or as lions walk in a covert wetted by rain
Brought by the north wind from the Gemini
In long close-knit mail like a rippling pool,
Its wearer broad-shouldered, (Reading falijun.) a chief like a sword,
Which makes the strongest arrowesead useless

And the sword recoil with blunted edge.
Though youy threw offMount Sal' from your backs
(And sometimes life can beprolonged and death avoided)
You would never be able to take revenge;
Time will pass the slain not paid for, (Lit. 'stones will disappear' or 'wear away'.)
Slave and free, noble, tied up like game (led)
Towards Medina bound and slain.
We were hoping to get you all, but our knights with theirweapions
Chased yiou from us too quickly.
When one of them commits a crime they know for certain
That the consequence will be borne (by the tribe).
His crime is not an unmistakable crime,
None blames him and none evadeshis shareof the penalty. (These lines seem to refer to the archers who left their post in question of loot. See W. 570.)

Hassan b. Thabit:

At even when the stars were setting
I could not sleep for care
And the vision of the beloved that haunted me.
A sicknesspervaded my heart and an inner hidden passion.
O my people, can one without strength and courge
Slay a man like me?
If the tiniest ants were to crawl upon her
They would make woundsin her skin.
She smells of (Lit.'Her interests is'.) sweet scent and lingers in her bed
Adorned with silved and strung with pearls.
Thedailysun surpasses her in naught
Except that youth doesnot endure.
My uncle was orator atJHabiyatu'l-Jaulan
With al-Nu'man when he stood up (to speak). I was the hawk at the door of IbnSalma
On the day that Nu'man was sick in fetters.
Ubayy and Waqid were set free for me.
The day they went forth with their fetters broken
I went surety for them with all my wealth,
Every scrap of it was allotted.
My family stood high in their regard,
Every dwelling had a great ancestor of mine.
My father gave decisive judgement at Sumayha (Sumayha was a well in Medina. Aus and Khazraj used to submit their disputesto the arbitration of his grandfather al-Mundhirb. Haram.)
When disputes were referred to him.
Such were our deeds, but al-Ziba'ra.
Is a man of no account, blamedeven by his friends.
How much culture is destroyed by poverty
While prosperity hides barbarism!(Avariant in the riwdya of Yunus is 'mounts above.'

Do not insult me for you cannot do so,
Only a gentleman can insult his peer.(The lisan and Famhara attributethis line (which is not in the Diwan) to Hassan's son 'Abdu'l-Rahman.)
I care not if a he goat cries in the wasteland (If a brutish man becomes enraged.)
Or a churl speaks evil behind my back.
The finest stock ofBanu Qusayy took over the courage
(You ought tohavehad) when you withdrew.
Nine carriedthe standard while
Makhzum ran away from the spears with the riff-raff.
The stood firm together in their place till all were slain,
All of them bleeding from open wounds. (Reading madmum, cf. A. Dh.)
It was only honourable that they should stand firm.
The noble man is truly noble.
They stood fastuntil death came upon them
With the lances broken in their throats.
Quraysh fled from us seekig refuge
So that they stood not fastbut lost their wits.
Their collarbones could not sustain its weight;
Only the bestmen can carry the standard (648).

Hassan b. Thabit mourning Hamza:
O Mayya, arise and weep sadly at dawn as the keening women do;
As those who carry heavy burdens cannot move for their weight
Who cry aloud scratching the faces of free women.
When their tears run they are like the pillars reddened by the blood of victims.
They let their hair loose and their locks appear
Like the tails of restive plunging horses in the morning,
Some plainted, (Reading mashzurwith A.Dh.) some cut, dishevelled by the wind.
They weep sadly like mourners whom fate has wounded,
Their hearts scarred by painful wounds.
Fate has smitten those who were our hope when we were afraid,
The men of Uhud whom fate's calamities destroyed.
Our knight and protector when armed men appeard,
O Hamza, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shyly away,
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil.
O knight, Oprotect, O Hamza, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crusing.
You reminded me of the lion of theapostle, that protector of ours who will alwaysbe mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
Highabove the leaders, generous, white, shining;
Not frivolous, poor spirited, nor grumbling at life's burdens.
A sea of generosity, he never withheld gifts from a guest.
Young men of honour, zealous and serious minded, have died
Who in the winter when none gets his fill of milk

Offered the flesh of camels topped by slices carved from its fat, Protecting their guests as long as the enemy attacks.
Alas for the young men we have lost, they were aslamps,
Proud, particians, princes, lavishly generous,
Who bought reputation with their wealth, (for reputation is a gain),
Who leapt to their bridfles if, a cry for help was raised.
One who suffered misfortunes in an unrighteous age.(How could the prophet's time be called unrighteous? This must be a disguised lament over Hasan and Husayn. The preceding verses in theplural cannot refer to Hamza.)
His camels kept going over the dusty plain,
They went vying with each other while he was among those
Whose breasts ran with sweat so that good fortune might return to him,
Not thelot of him who gets the unlucky arrow.(In the Arab game of chance.)
O Hamza, you have left me lonely like a branch cut off from a tree.
I complain to you when layers of dust and stone coveryou, of
The stone we put above you when the gravedigger finished his work
In a wide space, covering it with earth carefully smoothed.
Our comfort is that we say (and what we say is grivous hard)
He who is free from life's misfortunes let him come to us
And weep for our noble generous dead,
Who said and did what they said, the truly laudable,
Who always gave freely even when they had little to spare(649).

He also said:

Do you know the camp whose traces since you saw it
Are swept away by a mighty torrent of rain
Between Al-Saradih and Udmana and the channel of Al-Raua in Ha'il?
I asked it of that and it would not answer;
It did not know the answer.
Give no thought to a camp whose traces have disappeared,
And weep over Hamza the generouse who filled the platter
When the storm blew in bitter cold and famine,
Who left his adversaries in the dust
Stumbling on his slender lance,
Who threwhimself among the horses when they held back (Or 'migled with', al-labis.)
Like a lion bold in his thicket.
Shining at the summit of the Hashim clan
He did not oppose the truth with lies.
He died a martyr under your swords.
May thehands of Wahshi, the murderer, wither!
What a man did he leave on his lance, its point deadly sharp!
The earth hasbecome dark at his loss
And the moon shining forth from the clouds is blackened.
Allah bless him in the heavenly pradise.
May his earty be honoured.

Welooked on Hamza as a protector in all the blowsof misfortune.
In Islam he was a great defence
Who made up for the loss of miserable stay-at-homes.
Rejoice not, O Hind, but produce thy tears,
Let flow the tears of the bereaved.
Weep for 'Utbawhom he cut down with the sword
Who lay in the whilring dust,
When he fell among your shaykhas
Insolent, ignorant fellows.
Hamza killed them with a family who walk in long armour
The day that Gabriel helped him,
That fine helper of an intrepied horseman.

Ka'b b. Malik:
Visited by care you could not sleep
And feared because joyousyouth hadbeen taken from you.
A Darmi girl claimed your love,
But your love is Ghauri and your company is Najdi. (The poet is addressing himself.There is a play on the underlying meaning of ghaur, low ground, and najd, high ground. The reading sahwuka would give a sense that could be expresed by 'Yoiur heartis in the lowands and your head in the higlands', though more exactlly the world means 'Your return to sobriety.')
Do not go too farrashly in the folly of love,
You have always been thought follish for following its allure.
It is time for you to stop in obedience
Or to awake when an adviser warns you.
I was crushed by the loss of Hamza,
My inward parts trembled.
If Mount Hira' had been so distressed
You would have seen its firm rocks shattered.
A noble prince, strong in the lofty stock of Hashim,
Whence come prophecy, generosity, and lordship,
Who slew fat-humped camels when the wind is so cold
That is almost freezes the water,
Who left a brave opponent prostrateon the ground
On the day of battle, with his lance broken.
You could see him sweeping along in steel,
Like a tawny strong-pawed lion,
The prophet's uncle and chosen one
Came to his death-a goodly end.
He met his fate markedout among a people
Who helped the prophet and sought martyrdom.
I imagine that Hind hasbeen told of that
To still the burning chocking within her breast
How we met her people on the sandhill
The day in which happiness left her.

And of the well ofBadrwhen Gabriel and Muhammad
Beneath our banner turned them back
So that I saw their best men with the prophet in two parties,
One killing and one pursuing whom he pleased.
There remainedwhere the camels knelt
Seventy men, 'Utba and al-Asaadamong them,
And Ibnu'l-Mughira whom we smoteabove the neck vein
From which foaming blood gushed forth.
A sharp sword in thehands of the believers
Reduced thepride of Umayya al-Jumahi. (qawwama maylahu, lit. 'straightened his turning aside', i.e. struck him in the face which in his arrogance he was wont to turn away.)
The fugitive polythestscame toyou like runaway ostriches
With the cavalry in full pursuit.
Different are those whose home is hell everlasting
And those who are eternally in paradise.

He also said:

Rise, O Safiya,benot weak.
Make the women weep over Hamza.
Be not weary in prolonging weeping
Over Allah's lion in the melee.
For he was a strength to our orphans
And a lion of battle amid theweapons,
Wishing thereby to plerase Ahmad
And the glorious Lord of the trone.

Healso said:

By the noble father's life I adjure you. Ask those who sought our hospitality,
For if you ask them you will not be told a lie,
Those you ask will tell you the truth
That on nights when bones were gathered for food
We gave sustenance to those who visited us:
(Crowds (W. has najud 'poor women.' took refuge in our sheltes
From distressin years of Famine)
With a gift of what our rich provided
With patience and generosity towards the indigent.
The shears of war left us
Those whose ways wehave always tried to vie with.
One who saw the place where the camels go to water
Would think it wasblack rocky ground.
There the best camels are broken in,
Black, red, and white. (Wite or, less likely, blackish. This word is one of the addad.)
The rush of men was like Euphrates in flood,

Soil well-armed masses destroying all in their path.
You would think their glitter was the shining of stres,
They dazzle beholders in their commotion.
If you are ignorant ofour importance
Then ask those near us who know,
How we behave when war is violent
In slaughter, severity, biting, and maulting.
Do we not tighted the cord round the camel's udder
Until sheyields her milk and becomes gentle? (In these two lines war is compared to a savage camel that is subduedby the tribe's firmness and resource and ends to their advantage.)
A day in which fighting is continuous,
Terrifying, burning those who kindled its blaze,
Long drawn out exceeding hot fighting.
Fear of it keeps the base-born away.
You would think the heroes engaged in it
Were happily drunk and inebriated,
Their right hands exchanging the cups of death
With their sharp-edged swords.
We were there and we were courageous
Wearing our badges under clouds of dust,
With silent fine blood-stainded swords
Blades of Busra which loathe the scabbard;
Which grow not blunt nor buckle
And cease not smiting if they are not held back,
Like autumn lightning in the hands of heroes
Overwhelming in blood heads that remain in place.
Our fathers taughts us how to strike
and we will teach our sons
The swordsmanship of heroes and the spending of patrimony
In defence of our honour as long as we live.
When a champion passes, his posterity takes his place
And we will teach our sons
And he leaves others to inherit him.
We grow up and our fathers perish,
And while we bring up our sons we cease to be.
I asked about you, Ibnu'l-Ziba'ra,
And was told that you were baseborn,
Evil, of disgraceful life, persistently mean.
You have said much (Another reading is tanajjasta 'You have behaved filthily', which may be right.) in insulting Allah's apostle.
Allah slay you, you cursed rude fellow!
You utter filth, and then throw it
At the clean robed Allah faithful one (650).
He also said:

Ask Quraysh of our flight and of theirs
That morn at the base of Uhud's hill.
We were lions, they but leopards when they came.
We cared nothing for blood relitionship.
How many brave chiefs did we leave there
Protectors of proteges,noble in birth and reputation?
Among us the apostle, a star, then there followed him
A brilliant light excelling the stars.
Tureis his speech, just his behaviour.
He who answers his call will escape perdition,
Brave in attack, purposeful, resolute
When hearts are moved by fear,
Advancing and encouraging us so that we should not be disobedient,
Like the fullmoon that cannot lie.
When he appeared we followed him and held him true.
They called him liar so we are the appiest of the Arabs.
They wheeled and we wheeled, they did not reform or return
While we followed them in unwearying pursuit.
The two armies had nothing in common,
Allah, partyand the men of polytheism and idols (651). (These twopoems are in sharp contrast. The first is a fine example of the old Arabian spirit; the second belongs to the large category of the spurious, and clearly dates from a later age.)

'Abdullah b. Rawaha said (652):

My eye wept and right well id did so
(Bt what avails weeping and lamention),
For Allah's lion on the day that they said
'Is that slain man Hamza?'
All the Muslims were distressed thereat:
The apostle too suffered.
O Abu Ya'la, (The kunya of Hamza.) your pillars were shattered,
Youthe noble, just, bounteous one.
Allah's peace on you in paradise
With everlasting felicity!
O Hashim, the best men, be steadfast
Whose every deead is fine and laudable. (Cf. Suras 38. 47.8; 12.18.83.)
Allah's apostle is patient, noble,
Whenever he speaks 'tis by Allah's command.
Will someone tell Lu'ayy for me
(For after todaywar's fortune will change,
And previously they have known and tasted of
Our fighting in which vengenance was slaked),
You have forgotten our blows at Badr's pool
When swift death came to you,
The morn that Abu Jahl lay prostrate,

The vultures wheeling and circling over him.
'Utba and his son fell together
And Shayba whom the polished sword bit.
We left Umayya stretched on the ground,
A huge lance in his belly.
Ask the skulls of Banu Rabi'a,
For our swords were notched by them.
Weep, O Hind, grow not weary,
For you are the bereaved one in tears for a lost son.
Show not joy at Hamza's death, O Hind,
For yourboasting is contemptible.
Ka'b b. Malik said:

Say to Quraysh despite their distance,
Do you boast of whatyou have not won?
You boastof the slain on whom the favours
Of Him who grants the best favours have fallen.
They dwell in gardens and have left waiting for you
Lions who protect their cubs,
To fight for their religion, in their midst
A prophet who never recedes from the truth.
Ma'add attackedhim withinfamous words
And the arrows of enmity unceasingly (653).

Dirarb. al-Khattab:

What ails thine eye which sleeplessness affects
As though pain were in thine eyelds?
Is is for the loss of a friend whom you hold dear
Partedby distance and foes?
Or is itbecause of the mischief of a useless people
When wars blaze with burning heat?
They cease not form the error they have committed.
Woe to them! No helper have they from Lu'ayy.
We adjured them all by Allah,
But neither kinship nor oaths deterred them;
Till finally when they determined on war against us
And injustice and bad feeling had grown strong,
We attacked them with an armiy
Flanked by helmeted strong mailed men
And slender horses sweeping along with warriors
Like kites, so smooth was their gait:
An army which Sakhr (i.e. Abu Sufyan.) led and commanded
Like an angry lion of the jungle tearing his prey.
Death brought out a people from their dwellings,
We and they met at Uhud.

Some of them were left stone dead
Like goats which the hail has frozen to the cold ground.
Noble dead, the Banu'l-Najjar in their midst
And Mus'ab with broken pieces of our shafts around him
And Hamza the chief, prostrate, his widow going round him.
His nose and liver had been cut away. It was
As if when he fell he bled beneath the dust
Transfixed by a lance on which the blood had dried.
He was the colt of an old she-camel whose companions had fled
As frightenedostriches run away
Rushing headlong filled with terror,
The steep precipitous rocksaiding their escape.
Husbandless women weep over them
In mourning garbrent in pieces.
We left them to the vultures on the battlefield
And to the hyaenas who made for their bodies (654):

Aub Za'na b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. 'Utba,brother of B. Jushman b. al-Khazraj:

I'm Abu Za'na. Al-Huzam (The name of his horse.) takes me apace,
Painful exertion alone saves disgrace.
A Khazrajite of Jusham his ward will solace.
'Ali b. Abu Talib (655):
Al-Harith b. al-Simma
Was faithful to his covenant with us.
He went through painful deserts,
Black as darkest night,
Among many swords and spears
Seeking Allah's apostle in what was happening there.

'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl:

Each of them says to his horse, Come on here!
You can see him advancing today without fear
Bearing a leader with his mighty spear.

Al-A'sha b. Zurara b. al-Nabbash al-Tamimi, of B. Asad b. 'Amr b. Tamim, weeping the slain of B. 'Abd al-Dar:

Let the Banu Abu Talha in spite of theirdistance
Be given a greeting that will notbe rejected.
Their watercarrier passed them with it
And every watercarrierof theirs is known.
Their neighbour and guest never complained,
No door was closed in their face.(The last line is omitted by W., probably riththly. He refers to it inhis notes in vol. II.)

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra:

We killed Ibn Jahsh and rejoiced at his death
And Hamza with his horsemen and Ibn Qauqal.
Some men escaped us and got quickly away.
Wiould that they had stopped and we had not been hasty,
That they had stood so that our swords their best men
Might have cut down, for all of us were fully armed;
And that there might have been a fight between us
When they would have a morning draught (W. has sabah 'morning'. whose evil would not pass away (656).

Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib mourning her brother Hamza:

Are you my sisters asking in dread
The men of Uhud, the slow of speech andthe eloquent? (i.e. Whether they know or not. This poem is attributed to Hassan in the Diwan (xxxviii) where the text differs somewhat . It is obviously the product of a later age.)
The latter said Hamza is dead,
The best helper of the apostle of Allah.
Allah the true, the Lord of the Throne, called him
To live in paradise in joy.
That is what we hoped and longed for.
Hamza on the day of gathering will enjoy the best reward.
By Allah I'll ne'er forget thee as long as the east wind blows
In sorrow and weeping, whether at home or in travel,
For the lion of Allah who was our defence,
Protecting Islam against every unbeliever.
Would that my limbs and bones were there
For hyaenasand vultures to visit.
I said when my family raised their lamentation,
Allah reward him, fine brother and helper as he was! (657).

Nu'm wife of Shammas b. 'Uthman weeping her husband:

O eye be generous, let thy tears flow spontaneously
For the noble and victorious warrior Whose opinion was accepted, whose deeds were successful,
Who carried the standards, the rider of horses.
I said in angish when news of his death came,
'The generous man who fed and clothed others had perished.'
I said when the places where he sat were forsaken,
'May Allah not take Shammas far from us!'

Her brother Abu'l-Hakam b. Sa'id b. Yarbu' replaying to comfort her:

Preserve thy modesty in secret and in honour,
For Shammas was only a man.
Kill not thyself because he met his death
In obeying Allah on the day of heroic battle.
Hamza was the lion of Allah, sobe patient;
Hetoo on that day tasted Shammas's cup.

Hind d. 'Utba when the polytheists withdrew from Uhud:

I came back my heart filled with sorrow,
For some from whom I sought vengenance had escaped me,
Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,
Of Banu Hashim, and of Yathrib's people.
I gained somewhatfrom the expedition
But not all that I had hoped (658).

156 - THE DAY OF AL-RAJI', A.H.3

Abu Muhammad 'Abdul'l-Malik b. Hisham told us from Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i from I. Ishaq from 'Asim b. 'Umar b.Qatada: After Uhud anumberof 'Adal and al-Qara came to the apostle (659). They said that some of them had already accepted Islam and they asked him to send some of his companions to instruct them in religion and toteach them to read the Quran and to teach them the laws of Islam. The apostle sent the following six of his companions Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-ghanawi, an ally ofHamza; Khalid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythi, an ally of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b; 'Asim b. Thabit b. Abu'l-Aqlah, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf. b. Malik b. al-Aus; Khubayb b.'Adiy, brother of B. Jahjaba b. Kulfa b. 'Amr b. 'Auf; Zayd b. al-Dathinna b. Mu'awiya, brother of B. Bayada b. 'Amr b. Zurayq b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadbb. Jusham b. al-Khazraj; and 'Abdullah b. Tariq, ally of B. Zafar b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus.

The apostle put Marthad in command of them and the band got as far as al-Raji', watering-place of hudhayl in a district of the Hijaz at the upper part of al-Had'a. (Between 'Asian and Mecca; according to others between Mecca and al-Ta'if.) There they betrayed them and summoned Hudhayl against them. While they were off their guard sitting with their bagage suddenly they were set upon by men with swords in their hands, so they gtook their swords to fight them; but the men said that it was not their intention to kill them; they wanted to get something for them from the people of Mecca. They swore by Allah that they would not kill them.

marthad, Khalid, and 'Asim said: 'By Allah, we will never accept an undertaking and agreemtn from a polytheist.' 'Asim said:

No weaking I, archer blod,
My bow thick-stringed with trustly hold
broad arrows can life's coil unfold.

Death's certain-life a mere tale told.
What Allah decrees men shall behold,
Life must return to Him its mould.
I fight though I leave a mother, could (660).

He also said:

I'am Abu Sulayman with al-Muq'ad's shafts. (A Meccan who was famed for feathering arrows skilfully.)
Like Gehenna they burn my feathered shafts.
When battle's abroad I am not afraid, (The reading vary: al-nawahi 'the ways' and ufturishat 'full of men'; al-nawaji 'swift camels' and uqturishat 'collected'. The probable sense is given above.)
With shield of smooth ox-hide I'm safely arrayed
And I firmly believe in what Muhammad has said.

He also said:
I'm Abu Sulayman, an archer fine,
And come of a people of noble line.

His kunya was Abu Sulayman.

Thereupon he fought with the people until he and his two companions were killed.

(The passages marked are quoted by b. Yusuf b. Yahay al-Tadali known as I. al-Zayyat (d.627/1299) in his al-Tashawwuf ila rijali l-tasawwuf, Rabat MS. D. 767, f, 245, where dabr is glossed by nahl. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.) When 'Asim was slain Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulafa d. Sa'd d. Shuhayd. When he killed her two sons at Uhud she swore a vow that if she could get possession of his head she would drink wine in his skull; but bees (Or, more probably, 'hornets'. But see below.) protected him. (The passengers marked are quoted by b. Yusuf b. Yahay al-Tadali known as I. al-Zayyat (d.627/1299) in his al-Tashawwuf ila rijali l-tasawwuf, Rabat MS. D. 767, f, 245, where dabr is glossed by nahl. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.) When the bess came between it and them they said, 'Let him alone until hightfall when they will leave him and we can take the skull.' But Allah sent a flood in the wadi and it carried 'Asim away. Now 'Asim had made a covenant with Allah that no polytheist should touch him nor would he ever touch a polytheist for fear of contamination. (The passengers marked are quoted by b. Yusuf b. Yahay al-Tadali known as I. al-Zayyat (d.627/1299) in his al- Tashawwuf ila rijali l-tasawwuf, Rabat MS. D. 767, f, 245, where dabr is glossed by nahl. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.) 'Umar used to say when he heard of how the bees protected hi, 'Allah protected the believer. 'Asim had vowed that no polytheist should touch him and that he would never touch one so long as he lived, so Allah protected him after his death as he had protectedhimself while he was alive. ' (The passengers marked are quoted by b. Yusuf b. Yahay al-Tadali known as I. al-Zayyat (d.627/1299) in his al-Tashawwuf ila rijali l-

tasawwuf, Rabat MS. D. 767, f, 245, where dabr is glossed by nahl. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.)

Zayd, Khubayb, and Abdullah b. Tariq were weak and yielding in their desire to preserve their lives so they surrendered and were bound and taken to Mecca to be sold there. When they were in al-Zahran 'Abdullah broke loose from his bonds and drew his sword. But the men drew back from him and stoned him until they killed him. His grave is in al-Zahran. Khubayb and Zayd were brought to Mecca (661).

Hujayr b. Abu Ihab al-Tamimi, an ally of B. Naufal, bought Khubayb for 'Uqba b. al-Harith b. 'Amir b. Naufal, Abu Ihab being the brother of al-Harith b. 'Amir by the same mother, to kill him in revenge for his father (662).

Swfwan b. Umayya biought Zayd to kill him in revenge for his father Umayya b. Khalaf. Safwan sent him with a freedman of his called Nistas (possibly for Anastasius.) to al-Tan'im and they brought him out of the haram to killhim. A number of Quraysh gathered, among whom was Abu Sufyan b. Harb, who said to him as he was brought out to be killed, 'I adjure you by Allah, Zayd, don't you wish that Muhammad was with us now in your place so that we might cut off his head, and that you were with your family?' Zayd answerd, 'By Allah, I don't wish that Muhammad now were in the place he occupies and that a thorn could hurt him, and that I were sitting with my family.' Abu Sufyan used to say, 'I havenever seen a man who was so loved as Muhammad's companions loved him.' Then Nistas killed him, Allah pity him.

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that he was told by Mawiya, (S. says that this is the reading of Yunus b. Bukayr and it is to be found in old copies of I.H., but others give the name as Mariya an I.I.'s authotity.) freedwoman of Hujayr b. Abu Ihab, who had become a Muslim: Khubayb was imprisoned in my house and I looked at him one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand as big as a man's head from which he was eating. I did not know that there were grapes on Allah's earth that could be eaten (at that time.).

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and 'Abdullah b. Abu Najih both told me that she said: When the time for his execution had comehe asked me to send him a razor with which to cleanse himself before he died; so I gave a razor to a youth of the tribe and told him to take it to the man in the house. Hardly had he turned his back to take it to him when I thought, 'What have I done? By Allah, the man will take his revenge by killing the youngster and it will be man for man.' But when he handed him the steel he took it from him saying, 'Good gracious, your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor!' Thenhe let him go (663).

'Asim said, Then they took our Khubayb as far as al-Tan'im to crucify him. He asked them to give him time to make a couple of bowings, and they agreed. He performed two excellent bowings and then turnedto the people saying, 'Were it not that you would think that I only delayed out of fear of death I would have prolongedmy prayer.' Khubayb b. 'Adiy was the first to establish the custom of performing two bowings at death. Then they raised him on the wood and when they had bound him he said, 'O Allah, we have

delivered the messenge of Thy apostle, so tell him tomorrow what has been done to us.' Then he said, 'O Allah, reckon them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape.' Then they killed him, Allah pity him.

Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan used to say: 'I was present that day among those who were there with Abu Sufyan and I saw hhim throw me to the ground out of fear of Khubay's curse.' They used to say, 'If a man is cursed and is thrown to one side the curse will pass over him.'

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbad concerning 'Uqba b.al-Harith said: 'I heard him say, 'It was not I who killed Khubayb, for I was too young to do that; but Abu Maysarabrother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar took a lance and put it in my hand. Then he covered my hand with his and thrust him with it until he killed him.'"

One of our companions said that 'Uma-had appointed Sa'id b. 'Amir b. Hidhyam al-Jumahi over a part of Syria. Fainting fits used to seize him when he was among the people and 'Umar was told of this. It was said that the man was subject to seizures. During one of his visits 'Umar asked him the cause of the trouble and he said, 'There is nothing the matter with me, but I was one of those who was present when Khubayb b. 'Adiy was killed and I heard his curse, and whenever I remember it when I am in a meeting I faint away.' This increased his favour in 'Umar's eyes (664).

A freedman of Zayd b. Thabit told me from 'Ikrima, freedman of Ibn 'Abbnas, or from Sa'idb. Jubayr, that Ibn 'Abbas said with reference to a passage of the Quran about this expedition: When the expedition in which Marthad and 'Asim took part came to grief in al-Raji' some of the disaffected said, 'Alas for those beguiled fellows who perished thus! They did not stay with their familes nor did they deliver the message of their master.' Then Allah sent down concerning their words and the good they gained by their suffering: 'There is the kind of man whose talk about the life of this world please you,' i.e. when he professes Islam with his tongue, 'and he calls Allah to witness about that which is in his heart' which is contrary to what he professes with his tongue, 'yet he is the most quarrelsome of adversaries', i.e. a controvesialist when he argues with you (665.) (Sura 2.200. S. records a variant reading of Ibn Muhaysin, wayashhadu'llahu for wayushhidu'llaha, i.e. Allah knows what is in his heart, and this may wellbe the true reading. He also says that the majority of commentators hold that this verse came down with reference to al-Akhans b. Shariq al-Thaqafi according to the tradition from Ibn 'Abbas through Abu Malik, and Mujahid said the same. Ibnu'l-Kalbi said that when he was in Mecca he gave that opinion, but one of al-Akhna's offspring denied it and said that it came down with reference to the people of Mecca.)

Allah said, 'And when he turns away,' i.e. goes out from your presence, 'he hastens through the land to make mischief therin and to destory the crops and the cattle; but Allah loves not mischief,' i.e. He does not love the doing of it nor does it please Him. 'And when it is said to him, Beware of Allah, pride seizes him in sin. Hell will be his reckoing, an evil resting place. And there is the kind of man who would sell himself in his desire t please Allah and Allah is kind to His servants,' i.e they sold themselves to

Allah by fighting in His way and doing what He required until they gave up their lives. He means that expedition (666).

Among the poems about this is that of Khubay b. 'Adiy when he heard that the people had gathered to crucify him (667):

The confederates gathered their tribes around me
And assembled all whom they could collect.
All of them show violent enmity against me
Because I am helpless in bonds.
They collect their women and children
And I am brought to a lofty high trunk.
To Allah I complain of mny loneliness and pain
And of the death the confederates have prepared for me.
Lord of the throne, give me endurance against their purpose.
They have pierced my flesh-all hope is gone!
This is for Allah's sake, and if He wills
He will bless the l,imbs thus torn.
They let me chose infidelity but death is preferable,
And my tears flowed though not in fear.
I fear not death who am about to die
But I fear hell and its all-embracing fire.
By Allah, I fear not (raja is one of the addad.) if I die a Muslim
What death I suffer for Allah's sake.
I will not show subservience to the enemy
Nor despair, for 'tis to Allah I return.

Hassan b. Thabit said, mourning Khubayb:

What ails thine eye that its tears cease not
Flowing on to thy breast like loose pearls?
For Khubayb the hero, no coward when you meet him,
No fickle youth as men well know.
Then go, Khubay,may Allah reward thee well
In the eternal gardens with houris among thy companions.
What will you say when the prophet says to you
When the pure angels are in the firmament,
Why did you kill Allah's martyr for the sake of an evil man
Who committed crimes far and wide? (668)

Hassan also said:

O eye, be generous with thy tears;
Weep for Khubayb who did not return with the warriors.
A hawk, 'midst the Ansar was his dignity,
Generous by nature of pure unmixed descent.

My eye was inflamed because of the difficulty of weeping (i.e. my natures is such that my eyes are unaccustomed to tears.)
When 'taws said, He hasbeen lifted up on a tree.
O raider going forth on your business
Convey a threat-no idle threat
To the Banu Kuhayba that war's milk
Will be bitter when its teats are pressed.
In it willbe the lions of the Banu al-Najjar,
Their glittering spearsin front of a great shouting army (669).

Hassan also said:

Had there been in the camp a nable chief, a warrior,
A chamption of the people, a hawk whose uncle is Anas, Then, Khubayb, you wouldhave had a spacious place to sit in
And not have been confkined by guards in prison.
Law adherents of the tribes would nbot havebrone you to Tan'im,
Some of them men whom 'Udas had expelled.
They deceived you with their treachery, breaking their faith,
You were wronged, a prisoner in their camp (670).

Those who formed the mob from Quraysh when Khubayb was killed were 'IKrima b. Abu Jahl; Sa'id b. Abdullah b. Abu Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd; al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi, ally of B. Zuhra; 'Ubayda b. Hakim b. Umayya b. Haritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulami, ally of B. Umayya. b. 'Abdu Shamas' and Umayya b. Abu 'Utba and the B. al-Hadrami.

Hassan also said reviling Hudhayl for what they did to Khubayb:

Tell Banu 'Amr that a man steeped in treachery
Sold their brother as a chattel.
Zuhayr b. al-Agharr and Jami' sold him,
Both of them committing foul crimes.
You promised him protection and having done so betrayed him.
In the region of al-Raji' you were as sharp swords.(Or, perhaps, 'thieves'.)
Would that Khubayb had not been deceived by your promise;
Would that he had known what people he was dealing with! (671)

Hassan also said:

If pure unalloyed treachery pleases you
Go to al-Raji' and ask about the abode of Lihyan;
A people who adjure one another to devor the guest among them.(Al-Jahir, Bukhala' Cairo, 1948, p216, understands from this and other satrical poems that these men were cannibals.)
Dog and ape are like such men.
If a he-goat were to rise up and address them one day

He would be a man of honour and importance among them! (672)

Hassan also said:

Hudhayl asked the apostle for something disgraceful.
They erred therien and went astray;
They asked their apostle what he would not grant them
To their dying day and they were the disgrace of the Arabs.
Never will you see in Hudhayl one
Calling others to a generous deed in that place of plunder.
Woe to them who desired to make immoral conditions
To be allowed what the scripture forbids!

Hassan also said:

The tale of Khubayb and 'Asim
Has ruined the name of Hudhayl ibn Murdrik.
The tale of Lihyan has ruined their reputation,
For Lihyan has committed the worst of crimes.
Men, the best stock of their tribe,
Like hairs upon a horse's feltock,
Were teacherous on the day of al-Raji',
Betraying their ward to whom kindness and generosity were due,
The apostle's messenger. Hudhayl took no pains
To ward off the evil of loathsome crimes.
One day they will see victory turn against them
For killing one whom there protected against evil deeds (haram'im refers to the oath taken by 'Asim that he would never touch or be touched by a polytheist, and also to the vow of Sulafa that she would drink wine from 'Asim's skull.)
Swarms of hornets standing guard over his flesh
Which protected the flesh of one who witnessed great battles.
Perhaps in return for killing him Hudhayl will see Dead lying prostrate or women mourning
As we bring a violent attack upon them,
Which riders will relate faithfully to those at the fairs
By command of God's apostle, for he with full knowledge
Has made a forceful decision against Lihyan,
A contemptible tribe caring nothing for good faith.
If they are wronged they do not resist the aggressor.
When people live in an isolated quarter
You see them in the watercourses between the well-worn channels.
Their place is the home of death.
When anything happens to them they have the minds of cattle.

Hassan also said:

God curse Lihyan, for their blood does not repay us
For their having slain the two in treachery.
At al-Raji they killed the son of a free woman
Faithful and pure in his friendship.
Had they all been killed on the day of al-Raji
In revenge for 'Asim (Lit.'he of the hornets'.)that would not have sufficed
For the dead man whom the bees protected in their tents,
Among people of obvious infidelity and coarseness.
Lihyan killed one more honourable than they
And sold Khubayb for a miserable price, woe to them!
Ugh! for Lihyan in every event.
May their memory perish and not even be mentioned!
A contemptible tribe of mean and treacherous descent,
Their meanness cannot be concealed.
If they were slain their blood would not pay for him
But the killing of his killers would cure me (of my pain).
Unless I die I will terrify Hudhayl with a plundering raid
Swift as the early morning cloud.
By the apostle's command, and his it is,
Disaster will spend the night in Lihyan's court.
The people in al-Raji will be found in the morning
Like little goats who have passed the winter without warmth. (I follow the reading of C.)

Hassan also said:

By Allah, Hudhayl do not know
Whether Zamzam's water is clean or foul;
And if they make the great or lesser pilgrimage
They hagve no share in the hijr or the running.
But at al-Raji they have a place,
The home of open meanness and disgrace.
They are like goats in the Hijaz bleating
In the evening beside the shelters.
They were treacherous to Khubayb their ward.
What a miserable covenant was their falst word! (673)

Hassan also said:

Allah bless those who followed one another (to death) the day of al-Raji
And were honoured and rewarded.
Marthad the head and leader of the party and
Ibn al-Bukayr their imam and Khubayb.
And a son of Tariq; Ibn Dathinna was there too.
There his death as it was written befell him And al-'Asim slain at Raji'
Attained the heights (of heaven) great gainer he.

He averted the disgrace of wounds in the back.
He met them sword in hand, the noble warrior (674)

157 - THE STORY OF BI'R MA'UNA IN SAFAR, A.H.4

he apostle stayed (in Medina) for the rest of Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja, and al-Muharram while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage. Then he sent the men of Bi'r Ma'una forth in Safar, four months after Uhud.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar from al-Mughira b.Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham told me, as did 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm and other traditionists, as follows: Abu Bara' 'Amir b. Malik b. Ja'far the 'Player with the Spears' came to the apostle in Medina (T and offered him a present. The apostle refused it, saying that he could not accept a present from a polytheist and telling him to become a Muslim if he wished him to accept his present). (T's version is more verbose than I.H.'s recension.) The apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. He would not do so yet he was not farfrom Islam. He said: 'O Muhammad (T. your affair to which you invite me is most excellent). If you were to send some of your companions to the people of Najd and they invited them to your affair I have good hopes that they would give you a favourable answer .' The apostle said that he feared that the people of Najd would kill them; to which Abu Bara 'replied that he would go surety for them, so let him send them and invite men to his religion. So the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sa'ida, 'The Quick to seek Death', with forty of his companions from the best of the Muslims. Among them were al-Harith b. al- Simma; Haram b. Milhan, brother of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar; 'Urwa b. Asma' b. al-Salt al-Sulami; Nafi'b. Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuza'i; 'Amir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abu Bakr, of those who were named of the best Muslims. (T.Humayd al-Tawil from Anas b. Malik who said that the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with seventy riders.) (This is accepted by Bukhari.) They went on until they halted at Bi'r Ma'una which is between the land of B. 'Amir and the harra of B.Sulaym, near to both districts but nearer to the harra.

When they alighted at it they sent Haram b. Milhan with the apostle's letter to the enemy of Allah 'Amir b. Tufayl. When he came to him he rushed at the man and killed him before he even looked at the letter. Then he tried to call out the B. 'Amir against them, but they refused to do what he wanted, saying that they would not violate the promise of security which Abu Bara' had given these men. Then he appealed to the tribes of B. Sulaym of 'Usayya, Ri'l, and Dhakwan, and they agreed and came out against them and surrounded them as they were with their camels. Seeing them they drew their swords and fought to the last man. All were killed but Ka'b b. Zayd, brother of B. Dinar b. al-Najjar; him they left while breath was in him. He was picked up from among the slain and lived until the battle of the Trench when he was killed as a martyr.

'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri and an Ansari of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf were with the camels out at pasture (675). They did not know of the death of their companions until they saw vultures circling round the camp. They knew that this must mean that something serious had happened, so they went to investigate and there were the men lying in their blood and

the horsemen who had killed them standing near. 'Amr's opinion was that they should rejoin the apostle and tell him the news, but the Ansari said that he could not bring himself to leave the spot where al-Mundhir had been slain, nor could he bear that people should say that he had done such a thing so he fought the party until he was killed. They took 'Amr prisoner, and when he told them that he was of Mudar, Amir b. al-Tufayl let him go after cutting off his forelock. He freed him, so he alleged, because of an oath taken by his mother. (Cf. the shorter account in Musa b. 'Uqba, No.7)

'Amr got as far as al-Qarqara at the beginning of Qanat when two men of B. 'Amir turned up and stopped with him in the shade (676). Now there was an agreement of friendship between the apostle and the two 'Amiris of which 'Amr knew nothing, and when after questioning he found that they belonged to B. 'Amir he let them alone for a time until they slept when he fell upon them and killed them, thinking that he had taken vengeance on them for the killing of the apostle's companions. But when he came to the apostle and told him what he had done he said, 'You have killed two men whose bloodwit I must pay.' Then the apostle said, 'This is (the result of) Abu Bara's act. I did not like this expedition fearing what would happen.' When Abu Bara' heard the news he was much upset at 'Amir's violation of his guarantee in that the apostle's companions had been killed because of what he had done and because he had promised them safety. Among those who were killed was 'Amir bo. Fuhayra.

Hisham b. 'Urwa from his father told me that 'Amir b. al-Tufayl used to ask, 'Who was the man I saw lifted up between heaven and earth when he had been killed until I saw the sky receive him ?' They answered, 'It was 'Amir b. Fuhayra.

One of B. Jabbar b. Salma b. Malik b. Ja'far told me-Jabbar was among those who were present that day with 'Amir and afterwards became a Muslim- that Jabbar used to say, 'What led me to become a Muslim was that I stabbed one of them between the shoulders that day and I saw the point of the spear come out of his chest, and I heard him say," I have won by Allah!" I could not make out what he meant by the words seeing that I had killed him until afterwards I asked others and was told that it was martyrdom, and then said, "By Allah he has won."'

Hassan b. Thabit, inciting B. Abu Bara against 'Amir b. al-Tufayl, said:

Ye sons of Ummu'l-Banin, are you not dismayed,
You the loftiest of Najd's people,
At Amir's insolence to Abu Bara in violating his safe conduct?
For a mistake is not the same as a deliberate act.
Say to Rabi'a who strives after great deeds,
What did you do after I left you ?
Your father Abu Bara is a man of war,
Your uncle Hakam b. Sa'd is celebrated (677).

[T. Ka'b b. Malik also said on the same subject.

The violation of Abu Bara's guarantee
Is blazed abroad far and wide.
It is like Musahhab and his father's sons Hard by al-Radh in the region of Suwa.
O sons of Ummu'l-Banin, did you not hear
The cry for help at eventide, the loud call for aid ?
You did indeed, but you knew that he was a doughty warrior.
The Banu Kilab and al-Qurata'
Are homes of broken faith.
O 'Amir, 'Amir of ancient infamy,
You have won, but without intelligence of dignity.
Did you not deal falsely with the prophet ?
Yet of old have you behaved infamously.
You are not like the guest of Abu Duwad
Nor al-Asadi the guest of Abu'l-Ala';
But your shame is a disease of long standing.
Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly.

When the words of Hassan and Ka'b reached Rabi'a b. 'Amir (Abu'l-Bara')] he attacked 'Amir b. al-Tufayl and stabbed him with his spear in his thigh; he failed to kill him (T.has 'the spear was deflected so that it did not kill him'.) but he fell from his horse saying, 'This is the work of Abu'l-Bara'; if I die my blood (I give) to my uncle (i.e. 'I forgive him'.) and he is not to be sued for it: if I live I will see to what has to be done myself'.

Anas b. 'Abbas al-Sulami, maternal uncle of Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy b. Naufal who killed Nafi'b. Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuza'i that day, said:

I left Ibn Warqa' dead on the ground
With the dust wind blowing o'er him
I remembered Abu'l-Rayyan (W.has Abu'l-Zabban.) when I saw him
And made sure that I was avenged.
Abu'l-Rayyan was Tu'ayma b.'Adiy.
'Abdullah b. Rawaha mourning Nafi'b. Budayl b. Warqa' said:

Allah have the mercy on Nafi'b. Budayl
That belongs to those who seek the reward of jihad!
Enduring, truthful, faithful,
When men talked too much he spoke to the point (These lines are attributed to Hassan. Cf.Diwan xl.)

Hassan b. Thabit, mourning the slain at Bi'r Ma'una and especially al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, said:

Weep for the slain at Ma'una
With everflowing tears,
For the apostle's horsemen the day

They met their death by Allah's decree.
They met their end because a people
Were false to their convenant and treacherous.
Alas for Mundhir who died there
And hastened to his end steadfastly!
How many a noble welcoming man
Of 'Amr's best people was done to death ! (678)

158 - THE DEPORTATION OF THE B. AL-NADR A.H.4

According to what Yazidb. Ruman told lme the apostle went to B. al-Nadir to ask for their help in paying the boodwit for the two men of B. 'Amir whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Nadir and B. 'Amir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (T. so as to kill him) and rid us of him ?' The apostle was sitting kby the wall of one of their houses at the time. 'Amr b. Jihash b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and went up[to throw down a rock. (I thing it is clear that another and later story ahs been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their designs there was no need of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further, it should be noted that in this leter story the apostle is called 'the prophet'. This is a term which I.I uses most sparingly , though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor I.H.) As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Ali, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (T. and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680). The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm-trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muhammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees ?'

Now there was a number of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj among whom were 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul and Wadi'a and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Da'is who had sent to B. al-Nadir saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you'. Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and Allah cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to ldeport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others

went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq, Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abu'l-Huqayq, and Huyayy b. Akhtab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing-girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absi, whom they had bought from him, she being one of the women of B. Ghifar. (They went) with such pomp and splendour as had never been seen in any tribe in their days.

They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wished. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Ansar, except that Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of B. al-Nadir became Muslims: Yamin b. 'Umayr Abu K'b b. 'Amr (W.has 'a cousin of 'Amr') b. Jihash and Abu Sa'd b. Wahb who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yamin's family told me that the apostle said to Yamin, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do ?' Thereupon Yamin gave a man money to kill 'Amr b. Jihash and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning B. al-Nadir the Sura of Exile came down in which is recorded how Allah wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. Allah said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exile. You did not think that they would go out and they thought that their forts would protect them from Allah. But Allah came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.' (Sura 59) That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not Allah prescribed deportation against them,'which was vengeance from Allah, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' Lina means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by Allah's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by Allah's order; it was not destruction but was vengeance from Allah, 'and to humble evildoers' (681). 'The spoil which Allah gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Nadir. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but Allah gives His apostle power over whom He wills and Allah is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682), 'The spoil which Allah gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to Allah and His apostle'. What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of farms belongs to Allah and the apostle. 'And is for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what Allah prescribed to him. (In al-Baladhuri's Futuhu'l-Buldan,ed. De Goeje,18f., this passage reads as follows:

'... from Ibn Abu Za'ida from Muhammad b. Ishaq concerning Allah's word "The spoil which Allah gave the apostle from them", i.e. from B. al-Nadir, "you did not urge cavalry... whom He wills." He taught them that it was peculiar to the apostle and to none else. So the apostle divided it among the emigrants except that Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana complained of poverty and so he gave them some [v.s]. As to His words "The spoil which Allah gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to Allah and His apostle" to the end of the verse He says this is another division between Muslims according to what Allah described'.

It does not necessarily follow that this is what I.I. wrote, though the arrangement of the matter is certainly more systematic. That may be due to al-Baladhuri. On the other hand, the mention of the first emigrants (v.s) seems somewhat strange. The exclusion of the Ansar may well have been ignored by the later writer as foreign to his purpose. On the other hand, the clumsy Arabic 'concerning what is taken in war' does not appear here. The change of 'prescribed' into 'described' is not an oral mistake but a misreading and incidentally is one of countless proofs that tradition in early days was written down. A confusion between wada 'hu and wasafahu in speech is utterly impossible: in writing it might well be impossible to determine which alternative to adopt.)

Then Allah said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded 'who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B. al-Nadir, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B.Qaynuqa'. Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell everlastingly. That is the reward of the evildoers.'

Among the verses composed about B. al-Nadir are the following from I. Luqaym al-'Absi. (Others say Qays b. Bahr b. Tarif was the author (683).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place. (The meaning is obscure. I have followed S.)
They pass their siesta with live coals of tamarisk.
Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of 'Udi. (A. Dh.says that this is the name of a place Yaqut does not mention it.)
If I am right about Muhammad
You will see his horses between al-Sala and Yaramram
Making for 'Amr b. Buhtha. They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of 'Ad and Jurhum.
Who will give Quraysh a message from me,

For is there one honoured in glory after them?
That your brother Muhammad, and know it well,
Is of that generous stock between al-Hajun (A place in- Mecca.)and Zamzam.
Obey him in truth and your fame will grow And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
A prophet who has received Allah's mercy.
Ask him no hidden uncertain matter.
You had an example at Badr, O Quraysh,
And at the crowded cistern
The morning he attacked you with the Khazrajis,
Obeying the Great and Honoured One,
Helped by the Holy Spirit, (i.e.Gabriel.) smiting his foes,
A true apostle from the Compassionate on high;
An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate.
I see his power mounting on every hand
In accord with Allah's decree (684).

Mentioning the deportation of B. al-Nadir and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, 'Ali said (685):

I know, and he who judges fairly knows.
I'm sure and swerve not
From the determined word, the signs which came
From Allah the Kind, the Most Kind,
Documents studied among the believers
In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
So Ahmad became honoured among us,
Honoured in rank and station.
O you who foolishly threaten him
Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
Do you not fear the basest punishment
(He who has nothing to fear from Allah is not like him who lives in dread.) (Whenever the reader encounters this miserable banality 'A is not the same as B'-there is an example in the preceding poem-he may be sure that it is the product of the forger of much of the poetry of the Sira.)
And that you may be thrown beneath is swords
As Ka'b a;-Ashraf was
The day that Allah saw his insolence
When he turned aside like a refractory camel?
And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
To His servant about his killing.
So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him,
With a sharp cutting sword.
Eyes wept copiously for Ka'b

When they learned that he was dead.
They said to Ahmad, 'Leave us awhile,
For we are not yet recovered from weeping'.
So he left them; then he said, 'Begone
In submission and huniliation.'
He sent al-Nadir to a distant exile,
They having enjoyed a prosperous home
To Adhri'at (In Syria) riding pillion
On every ulcerous worn-out camel they had.

Sammak the Jew answered him:

If you boast, for it is a boast for you
That you killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf
The day that you compassed his death,
A man who had shown neither treachery nor bad faith,
Haply time and the change of fortune
Will take revenge from 'the just and righteous one'(A sarcastic reference to the prophet. C. has yudil)
For killing al-Nadir and their confederates And for cutting down the palms, their dates ungathered.
Unless I die we will come at you with lances
And every sharp sword that we have
In the hand of a brave man who protects himself.
When he meets his adversary he kills him.
With the army is Sakhr (Abu Sufyan) and his fellows.
When he attacks he is no weakling
Like a lion in Tarj (A mountain in the Hijaz) protecting his covert,
Lord of the thicket, crushing his prey, enormous.

Ka'b b. Malik said on the same subject:

The rabbis were disgraced through their treachery,
Thus time's wheel turns round
They had denied the mighty Lord
Whose command is great.
They had been given knowledge and understanding
And a warner from Allah came to them.
A truthful warner who brought a book
With plain and luminous verses.
They said, 'You've brought no true thing
And you are more worthy of Allah's disapproval (Or, perhaps, 'of being disbelieved'.) than we.'
He said, 'Naay, but I've brought the truth,
The wise and intelligent believe me;
He who follows it will be rightly guided

And the disbeliever therein will be recompensed.'
And whey they imbibed treachery and unbelief
And aversion turned them from the truth,
Allah showed the prophet a sound view,
For Allah's decision is not false.
He strengthened him and gave him power over them
And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!
Ka'b was left prostrate there.
After his fall Nadir was brought low.
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother , to go to Ka'b.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile.
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold.
Those Banu'l-Nadir were in evil case,
They were destroyed for their crimes
The day the apostle came to them with a army
Walking softly as he looked at them.
Ghassan the protectors were his helpers
Against the enemies as he helped them.
He said '(I offer) Peace, woe to you,' but they refused
And lies and deceit were their allies.
They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
Every three of them shared one camel.
They were driven out and made for Qaynuqa,
Their palms and houses were abandoned.

Sammak the Jew answered him:

I was sleepless while deep care was my guest
On a night that made all others seem short.
I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
All of them men of knowledge and experience Who used to study every science
Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
You killed Ka'b the chief of the rabbis,(Ka'b was nothing of the kind. His father was ofr Tayyi', though his mother belonged to B. al-Nadir. Can the forger possibly have confused him with Ka'b al-Ahbar ?
He whose ward was always safe.
He came down to Mahmud his brother, (But the man's name was Silkan (W.551, line 2). Is the forger referring to Muhammad b. Maslama, one of the assassins, whom he confused with Mahmud b. Maslama (W.758, 769)?
But Mahmud was harbouring a wicked design.
He left him in his blood looking as though
Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
By your father and mine,
When he fell al-Nadir fell also.

If we stay safe we shall leave in revenge for Ka'b
Men of yours with vultures circling round them
As though they were beasts sacrificed on a feast day
With none to say them nay,
With swords that bones cannot resist,
Of finest steel and sharpened edge
Like those you met from brave Sakhr
At Uhud when you had no helper.

'Abbas b. Mirdas, brother of B. Sulaym, praising the men of B. al-Nadir, sid:

Had the people of the settlement not been dispersed
You would have seen laughter and gaiety within it.
By my life, shall I show you women in howdahs
Which have gone to Shatat and Tay'ab?
Large-eyed like the gazelles of Tabala;
Maidens that would bewitch one calmed by much truck with women ? (Or, perhaps, 'a dignified man of experience'.)
When one seeking hospitality came they would say at once
With faces like gold, 'Doubly welcome!
The good that you seek will lnot be withheld.
You need fear no wrong while with us.'
Don't think me a client of Salma b. Makhzum
Nor of Huyayy b. Akhtab. (See W.543.)

Khawwat b. Jubayr, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, answered him:

You lweep bitterly over the Jewish dead and yet you can see
Those nearer and dearer to you if you want to weep.
Why do you not weep o'er the dead in Urayniq's valley
And not lament loudly with sad fave (over others)?
When peace reigned with a friend you rejected it.
In religion an obstruction, in war a poltroon.
You aimed at power for your people, seeking
Someone similar that you might get glory and victory.
When you wanted to give praise you went
To one whom to praise is falsehood and shame.
You got what you deserved and you did not find
One among them to say Welcome to yo.
Why did you not praise people whose kings
Built up their standing from ancient fame,
A tribe who became kings and were honoured ?
None seeking food was ever found hungry among them.
Such are more worthy of praise than Jews;
In them you see proud glory firmly established.

'Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami answered him:

You satirized the purest stock of the two priests,(Commentators say that there were two tribes known as the Kahinayn in the neighbourhood of Medina. Some read kahinin in the plural. If (cfr.v.5) one of these tribes was the 'Sons of Aaron', could the other have been the tribe of Moses ? But one must not take this forger's work too seriously. What Jew would refer to the Bible as 'The Law and the Psalms'? However, it is possible that al-zubur here means no more than 'The Writings'. If so, it would, of course be appropriate in the mouth of a Jew. And what had they to do with the slaughter of beasts on the open plain?

Yet you always enjoyed favours at their hands.
'Twere more fitting that you should weep for them,
Your people too if they paid their debt of gratitude.
Gratitude is the best fruit of kindness,
And the most fitting actg of one who would do right.
You are as one who cuts off his head
To gain the power that it contains. (i.e.kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. In destroying the Jewish settlements they had destroyed the prosperity of the Hijaz.)
Weep for B. Harun and remember their deeds,
How they killed beasts for the hungry when you were famished.(Lit.'killed hunger'.)
O Khawwat, shed tear after tear for them,
Abandon your injurious attaack upon them.
Had you met them in their homes
You would not have said what you say.
They were the first to perform noble deeds in war,
Welcoming the needy guest with kind words. (It ways much for the impartiality of the biographer and his editor that they have retained this touching tribute to the unfortunate Jews.)

Ka'b b. Malik (685) answered him:

On my life the mill of war
After it had sent Lu'ayy flying east and west (He refers to the battle of Badr.)
Ground the remains of the family of the two priests, and their glory
Which once was great became feeble.
Salam and I.Sa'ya died a violent death
And I. Akhtab was led to a humiliating fate.
He made such noise in seeking glory ('twas really humilliation be sought),
What he gained from his fuss was frustration, (The meaning of the gloss in B.M. MS. 1489 seems to be 'In seeking glory he appealed to outsides,' &c.)
Like him who leaves the plain and the height distresses him,
And that men find more difficult and arduous.
Sha's and 'Azzal suffered war's fiery trial,
They were not absent as others were.
'Auf b. Salma and I. 'Auf, both of them,
And Ka'b chief of the people died a diappointed man.

Away with B. Nadir and their like
Whether the result be victory or Allah (686). (i.e. we have nothing but our hope in Allah)

159 - THE RAID OF DHATU'L-RIQA'

After the attack on B. al-Nadir the apostle stayed in Medina during Rabi'ul-Akhir and part of Jumada. Then he raided Najd making for B.Muharib and B. Tha'laba of Ghatafan (687), until he stopped at Nakhl. This was the raid of Dhatu'l-Riqa'. There a large force of Ghatafan was encountered. The two forces approached one another, but no fighting occurred, for each feared the other. The apostle led the prayer of fear; then he went off with the men.

(T. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from ABu Hurayra: We went with the apostle to Najd until at Dhatu'l-Riqa' he met a number of Ghatafan.There was no fighting because the men were afraid of them. The prayer of fear came down (Sura 4.203 f.) and he divided his companions into two sections, one facing the enemy and the other behind the apostle. The apostle cried "Allah akbar,' and so did they all. Then he bowed with those behind him,and he and they prostrated themselves. When they stood erect they walked backwards to the ranks of their companions and the others returned and prayed one bow. They they stood erect and the apostle prayed one bow with them and they sat. Those who were facing the enemy came back and prayed the second bow and all sat and the apostle united them with the salam, and gave them the Muslim greeting.) (See further E.I., art 'Salat, p.102b. T. here notes that there is an irreconcilable difference in tradition, and proposes to deal with the problem elsewhere. I.H. has probably omitted the story because of the conflict in tradition) (688).

'Amr b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan from Jabir b. 'Abdullah told me that a man of B. Muharib called Ghaurath said to his people of Ghatafan and Muharib, 'Shall I kill Muhammad for you ?' They encouraged him to do so and asked him how he proposed to carry out his design. He said that he would take him by surprise; so he went to the apostle as he was sitting with his sword in his lap, and asked to be allowed to look at it (689). The apostle gave it to him and he drew it and began to brandish it intending to strike him, but Allah frustrated (Or, 'knocked him down'.) him. He said, 'Aren't you afraid of me, Muhammad ?' 'No, why should I be?' 'Aren't you afraid of me when I have a sword in my hand ?' No, Allah will protect me from you.' Then he returned the apostle's sword to him. Allah sent down, 'O you who believe, remember Allah's favour to you when a people purposed to lay hands on you and he turned their hands away from you. Fear Allah and on Allah let the believers rely'. (Sura5.14).

Yazid b. Ruman told me that this came down in reference to 'Amr b.Jihash, brother of B. al-Nadir, and his intention. But Allah knows the truth of the matter.

Wahb b. Kaysan from Jabir b. 'Abdullah said: I went out with the apostle to the raid of Dhatu'l-Riqa of Nakhl on an old feeble camel of mine. On the way back the company kept going on while I dropped farther behind until the apostle overtook me and asked me

what the trouble was. I told him that my camel was keeping me back, and he told me to make it kneel. I did so and the apostle made his camel kneel and then said, 'Give me this stick you are holding' Or 'Cut me a stick from a tree'. He took it and prodded the beast with it a few times. Then he told me to mount and off we went. By Him who sent him with the truth my (old) camel kept up with the rapid pace of his she-camel.

As we were talking, the apostle asked me if I would sell him my camel. I said that I would give him it, but he insisted on buying it, so I asked him to make me an offer. He said he would give me a dirham. I refused and said that would be cheating me. Then he offered two dirhams and I still refused and the apostle went on raising his offer until it amounted to an ounce (of gold). When I asked him if he was really satisfied he said that he was and I said the camel was his. Then he asked me if I were married; then was she a virgin or a woman previously married ? I told him she had been married before and he said, 'No girl so that you could sport together !' I told him that my father had been killed at Uhud leaving seven daughters and I had married a motherly woman who could look after them efficiently. He said, 'You have done well, if Allah will. Had we come to Sirar (A spot about three miles from Medina) we would order camels to be slaughtered and stay there for the day and she would hear about us and shake the dust off her cushions.' I said, 'But by Allah we have no cushions!' He said, 'But you will have. When you return behave wisely.' When we got to Sirar the apostle ordered the camels to be slaughtered and we stayed there for the day. At night the apostle went home and so did we. I told the woman the news and what the apostle had said to me. She said 'Look alive and do what he tells you.' In the morning I led away the camel and made it kneel at the apostle's door. Then I sat inside the mosque hard by. He came out and saw it and asked what it was, and they told him it was the camel which I had brought. He asked where I was and I was summoned to him. He said,'O son of my brother, take away your camel for it is yours,' and he called Bilal and told him to give me an ounce of gold. He did so and added a little more. By Allah it continued to thrive with me and its effect on our household could be seen until it was lost recently in the misfortune which befell us, meaning the day of al-Harra.(When Medina rebelled against Yazid b. Mu'awiya.)

[My uncle] (This word 'ammi is not in T.'s recension. A.Dh. says it is a mistake because this man Sadaqa was a Khuzri who lived in Mecca, and was not I.I.'s uncle. He adds that Abu Da'ud [i.e. al-Sijistani, author of the Sunan] would not have it that he was I.I.'s uncle.) Sadaqa b. Yasar from Aqil b. Jabir from Jabir b. 'Abdullah al-Ansari said: We went with the apostle on the raid of Dhatu'l-Riqa' of Nakhl and a man killed the wife of one of the polytheists. When the apostle was on his way back her husband, who had been away, returned and heard the news of her death. He swore that he would not rest until he had taken vengeance on Muhammad's companions. He went off following the track of the apostle, who when he halted asked that someone should keep watch during the night. A Muhajir and an Ansari volunteered and he told them to stay in the mouth of the pass, the apostle and his companions having halted lower down the pass (690).

When the two had gone to take up their positions the Ansari asked the Muhajiri whether he would prefer to watch for the first or the second part of the night. He said that he would like to be relieved of the first part and lay down and went to sleep, while the

Ansari stood up to pray. The man who had been following them perceiving the figure of the man on guard and recognising him for what he was, shot him with an arrow. The guard pulled it out and laid it down and remained standing. He shot him a second and a third time, and each time he pulled out the arrow and laid it down. Then he bowed and prostrated himself. Only then did he wake his companion, saying, 'Sit down, for I have been wounded.' But he leapt up, and when the man saw the two of them he knew that they were aware of him and fled. When the Muhajiri saw the Ansari flowing with blood he said 'Good gracious, why didn't you wake me the first time you were hit?' He replied, 'I was reading a sura and I did not want to stop until I had finished it. When the shooting continued I bowed in prayer and woke you. By Allah, unless I were to lose a post which the apostle had ordered me to hold he could have killed me before I would break off my reading until I had finished the sura (691).'

When the apostle came to Medina after this raid he stayed there for the rest of Jumada'l-ula, Jumada'l-akhira, and Rajab.

160 - THE LAST EXPEDITION TO BADR, A.H.4

In Sha'ban he went forth to Badr to keep his appointment with Abu Sufyan and stopped there (692).

He stayed there for eight nights waiting for Abu Sufya. Abu Sufyan with the men of Mecca went as far as Majanna in the area of (T.Murr) al-Zahran. Some people say he reached (T.passed through) 'Usfan; then he decided to go back. He told the Quraysh that the only suitable year was a fertile year when they could pasture the animals on the herbage and drink their mil, whereas this was a dry year. He was going to return and they must return with him. And so they did. The Meccans called them 'the porridge army', saying that they merely went out to dringk porridge.(Sawiq was made of parched wheaat or barley, mixed with water or butter; it was 'drunk' as a sort of porridge.)

While the apostle was staying at Badr waiting for Abu Sufyan to keep his appointment Makhshiy b. 'Amr al-Damri, who had made an agreement with him concerning B. Damra in the raid of Waddan, came to him and asked him if he had come to meet Quraysh by this water. He said, 'Yes, O brother of B. Damra; nevertheless, if you wish we will cancel the arrangement between us and then fight you until Allah decide between us.' He answered, 'No, by Allah, Muhammad, we do not want anything of the kind'.

As he remained waiting for Abu Sufyan, Ma'bad b. Abu Ma'bad al-Khuza'i passed by. He had seen where the apostle was as his she-camel passed swiftly by and he said:

She fled form the two companies of Muhammad
And a datestone from Yathrib like a raisin stone
Hastening in the ancient religion of her fathers.
She made the water of Qudays (Qudayd was near Mecca) my meeting-place
And the water of Dajnan (Dajnan is a mountain in the Tihama about one post from Mecca.) will be hers tomorrow.

'Abdullah b. Rawaha said concerning this: (693):

We arranged to meet Abu Sufyan at Badr,
But we did not find him true to his promise.
I swear if you had kept your word and met us
You would have returned disgraced without your nearest kin.
We had left there the limbs of 'Utba and his son And 'Amr Abu Jahl we left lying there.
You disobeyed God's apostle-disgusting your religion
And your evil state that's all astray.
If you reproach me I say
My wealth and people be the apostle's ransom!
We obey him treating none among us as his equal.
He is our guiding light in the darkness of the night.

Hassan b. Thabit said concerning that:

You can say good-bye to Syria's running streams,
For in between are swords like mouths of pregnant camels that feed on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord,
In the hands of His true helpers and the angels too.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them: 'This is not the road'.(These lines have already been cited on p.547)
We stayed by the shallow well eight nights
With a large well-equipped force with many camels,(Lit.'wide kneeling places'.)
With every dark bay its middle half its size
Slender, long, of lofty withers.
You could see the swift camel's feet
Uprooting the annual herbs.
If on our journeyings we meet Furat b. Hayyan
He will become death's hostage.
His black face will become blacker still
Take Abu Sufyan a message from me
For you are the best of a bad lot.

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib answered him:

O hassan, son of a mouldy date-eating woman,
I swear that we so traversed wide deserts
That young gazelles could not escape between us
Had they fled from us swiftly one after the other. (According to the commentator the meaning is that their force was so large that the gazelles could not escape them)
When we left our halting-place you would have thought it
Dunged by the corwda at a fair.
You stayed by the shallow well wanting us

And you left us in the palm-groves hard by.
Our horses and camels walked on the crops
And what they trod on they drove into the soft sand.
We stopped three days between Sal'and Fari' (Two mountains)
With splendid steeds and swift camels.
You would have thought fighting people beside their tents
Was as easy as buying lead for money.
Don't describe your fine horses, but speak of them
As one who holds them firmly back.
You rejoice in them, but that is the right of others,
The horsemen of the sons of Fihr b. Malik.
You have no part in the migration though you mention it
And do not oberve the prohibitions of its religion (694).

161 - THE RAID ON DUMATU'L-JANDAL, A.G.5

The apostle returned to Medina and stayed there some months until Dhu'l-Hijja had passed. This was the fourth year of his sojourn in Medina and the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage. Then he raided Dumatu'l-Jandal (695).

Then he returned, not having reached the place, without fighting, and stayed in Medina for the rest of the year.

162 - THE BATTLE OF THE DITCH (The story come from I.I by way of al-Bakkai and I.H.) A.H.5

This took place in Shawwal, A.H.5. Yazid b.Ruman , client of the family of al-Zubayr b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and one whom I have no reason to suspect from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik, and Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and al-Zuhri, and Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada, and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and other traditionists of ours told me the following narrative, each contributing a part of it:

A number of Jews who had formed a party against the apostle, among whom were Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq al-Nadri, and Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Nadri and Kinana b. Abu'l-Huqayq al-Nadri, and Haudha b. Qays al-Wa'ili, and Abu 'Ammar al-Wa'ili with a number of B. al-Nadir and B. Wa'il went to Quraysh at Mecca and invited them to join them in an attack on the apostle so that they might get rid of him altogether. Quraysh said, 'You, O Jews, are the first scripture people and know the nature of our dispute with Muhammad. Is our religion the best or is his?' They replied that certainly their religion was better than his and they had a better claim to be in the right. (It was about them that God sent down, 'Have you not considered those to whom a part of the scripture was given who believe in idols and false deities and say to those who disbelieve, These are more rightly guided than those who believe ? These are they whom God hath cursed and he whom God has cursed you will find for him no helper' as far as His words,'Or are they jealous of men because of what God from His bounty has brought to them ?' i.e. prophecy. 'We gave the family of Abraham the scripture and wisdom and we gave them

a great kingdom and some of them believed in ti and some of them turned from it, and hell is sufficient for (their) burning') (Sura 4.54 f.)

These words rejoiced Quraysh and they responded gladly to their invitation to fight the apostle, and they assembled and made their preparations. Then that company of Jews went off to Ghatafan of Qays 'Aylan and invited them to fight the apostle and told them that they would act with them and that Quraysh had followed their lead in the matter; so they too joined in with them (T. and agreed to what they suggested.)

Quraysh marched under the leadership of Abu Sufyan b. Harb; and Ghatafan led by Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr with B. Fazara; and al-Harith b.'Auf b. Abu Haritha al-Murri with B. Murra; and Mis'ar b. Rukhayla b. Nuwayra b. Tarif b. Suhma b. 'Abdullah b. Hilal b. Khalawa b. Ashja'b. Rayth b. Ghatafan with those of his people from Ashja' who followed him.

When the apostle heard of their intention he drew a trench about Medina and worked at it himself encouraging the Muslims with the hope of reward in heaven. The Muslims worked very hard with him, but the disaffected hald back from them and began to hide their real object by working slackly and be stealing away to their families without the apostle's permission or knowledge. A Muslim who had to attend to an urgent matter would ask the apostle's permission to go and would get it, and when he had carried out his business he would return to the work he had left because of his desire to do what was right and his respect for the same. So God sent down concerning those believers: 'They only are the believers who believe in God and His apostle and when they are with him on a common work do not go away without asking his permission. Those who ask they permission are they who believe in God and His apostle. And if they ask thy permission in some business of theirs, give leave to whom thou wilt of them and ask God's pardon for them. God is forgiving, merciful.' (Sura 24.62) This passage came down concerning those Muslims who desired the good and respeted it, and obeyed God and His apostle.

Then God said of the diaffected who were stealing away from the work and leaving it without the prophet's permission, 'Do not treat the call of the apostle among you as if it were one of you calling upon another. God knows those of you who stead away to hide themselves. Let those who conspire to disobey his order beware lest trouble or a painful punishment befall them' (696). 'Verily to God belong heaven and earth. He knows what you are doing' the man who speaks the truth and the man who lies. 'And (He knows) the day they will be returned to Him when He will tell them what they did, for God knows all things.'

The Muslims worked at the trench until they had finished it, and they made a jingle about one of the Muslims called Ju'ayl whom the apostle had named 'Amr, saying,

He changed his name from Ju'ayl to 'Amr
And was a help to the poor man that day.

When they came to the word "Amr the apostle said"Amr', and when they came to 'help' he said 'help'. (The prophet came in with the rhyming words of each hemistich.)

I have heard some stories about the digging of the trench in which there is an example of God's justifying His apostle and confirming his prophetic office, things which the Muslims saw with their eyes. Among these stories is one that I have heard that Jabir b. 'Abdullah used to relate: When they were working on the trench a large rock caused great difficulty, and they complained to the apostle. He called for some water and spat in ti; then he prayed as God willed him to pray; then he sprinkled the water on the rock. Those who were present said,'By Him who sent him a prophet with the truth it was pulverized as though it were soft sand so that it could not resist axe or shovel.'

Sa'id b. Mina told me that he was told that a daughter of BAshir b. Sa'd, sister of al-Numan b. Bashir, said:'My mother 'Amra d. Rawaha called me and gave me a handful of dates which she put in my garment and told me to take them to my father and my uncle 'Abdullah b. Rawaha for their food. As I went off looking for them I passed the apostle who called me and asked me what I had. When I told him that I was taking the dates to my father and my uncle he told me to give them to him. So I poured them into his hands but they did not fill them. Then he called for a garment which was laid out for him and threw the dates upon it so that they were scattered on it. Then he told the men to summon the diggers to lunch, and when they came they began to eat and the dates went on increasing until they turned away from them and they were still falling from the ends of the garment.'

On the same authority I was told: We worked with the apostle at the trench. Now I had a little ewe not fully fattened and I thought it would be a good thing to dress it for the apostle, so I told my wife to grind some barley and make some bread for us, and I killed the sheep and we roasted it for the apostle. When night came and the apostle was about to leave the trench-for we used to work at it all day and go home in the evening-I told him that we had prepared bread and mutton for him and that I sould like him to come with me to my house. It was only he that I wanted; but when I said this he ordered a crier to shout an invitation for all to come to my house. I said, 'To God we belong and to Him we return!' (A pious exlamation in misfortunes.) However, he and the other men came and when he had sat down we produced the food and he blessed it and ivoked the name of God over it. Then he ate as did all the others. As soon as one lot had finished another lot came until the diggers turned from it.

I was told that Salman al-Farisi said: I was working with a pick in the trench where a rock gave me much trouble. The apostle who was near at hand saw me hacking and saw how difficult the place was. He dropped down into the trench and took the pick from my hand and gave such a blow that lightning showed beneath the pick. This happened a second and a third time. I said: 'O you, dearer than father or mother, what is the meaning of this light beneath your pick as you strike ?' He said: 'Did you really see that, Salman? The first means that God has opened up to me the Yaman; the second Syria and the west; and the third the east'. One whom I do not suspect told me that Abu Hurayra used to say when these countries were conquered in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthman and after,

'Conquer where you will, by God, you have not conquered and to the resurrection day you will not conquer a city whose keys God had not given beforehand to Muhammad.'

When the apostle had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the torrent-beds of Ruma meet between al-Juruf and Zughaba with ten thousand of their black mercenaries and their followers from B. Kinana and the people of Tihama. Ghatafan too came with their followers from Najd and halted at Dhanab Naqma towards the direction of Uhud. The apostle and the Muslims came out with three thousand men having Sal'at their backs. He pitched his camp there with the trench between him and his foes (697), and gave orders that the women and children were to be taken up into the forts.

The enemy of God Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Nadri went out to Ka'b b. Asad al-Qurazi who had made a treaty with the apostle. When Ka'b heard of Huyayy's coming he shut the door of his fort in his face, and when he asked permission to enter he refused to se him, saying that he was a man of ill omen and that he hmself was in treaty with Muhammad and did not intend to go back on his word because he had always found him loyal and faithful. Then Huyayy accused him of shutting him out because he was unwilling to let him eat his corn. This so enraged him that he opened his door. He said 'Good heavens, Ka'b, I have brought you immortal fame and a great army. I have come with Quraysh with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted where the torrent-beds of Ruma meet; and Ghatafan with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted in Dhanab Naqma towards Uhud. They have made a firm agreement and promised me that they will not depart until we have made an end of Muhammad and his men.' Ka'b said: 'By God, you have brought me immortal shame and an empty cloud which has shed its water while it thuinders and lightens with nothing in it. Woe to you Huyayy leave me (T. and Muhammad) as I am, for I have always found him loyal and faithful.' Huyayy kept on wheedling Ka'b until at last he gave way in giving him a solemn promise that if Quraysh and Ghatafan returned without having illed Muhammad he would enter his fort with him and await his fate. Thus Ka'b broke his promise and cut loose from the bond that was between him and the apostle.

When the apostle and the Muslims heard of this the apostle sent Sa'b b. Mu'adh b. al-Nu'man who was chief of Aus at the time, and Sa'd b. 'Ubada b. Dulaym, one of B. Sa'ida b. Ka'b b. Khazraj, chief of al-Khazraj at the time, together with 'Abdullah b. Rawaha brother of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, and Khawwat b. Jubayr brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, and told them to go and see whether the report was true or not. 'If it is true give me an enigmatic message (See the excursus on the semantic development of the word lahn in J. Fuck, Arabiya, Berlin, 1950, p. 132) which I can understand, and not undermine the people's confidence; and if they are loyal to their agreement speak out openly before the people.' They went forth and found the situation even more deplorable than they had heard; they spoke disparagingly of the apostle, saying, 'Who is the apostle of God ? We have no agreement or undertaking with Muhammad.' Sa'd b. Mu'adh reviled them and they reviled him. He was a man of hasty temper and Sa'd b. 'Ubada said to him, 'Stop insulting them, for the dispute between us is too serious for recrimination.' Then the two Sa'ds returned to the apostle and after saluting him said: " Adal and al-Qara' i.e. (It is)

like the treachery of 'Adal and al-Qara towards the men of al-Raji', Khubayb and his friends. (v.s.) The apostle said 'Allah akbar! Be of good cheer, you Muslims.'

The situation became serious and fear was everywhere. The enemy came at them from above and below until the believers imagined vain things, (The language is borrowed from Sura 33.10) and disaffection was rife among the disaffected to the point that Mu'attib b. Qusyahr brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf said, 'Muhammad used to promise us that we should eat the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar and today not one of us can feel safe in going to the privy!' (698). It reached such a point that Aus b. Qayzi, one of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, said to the apostle, 'Our houses are exposed to the enemy'- this he said before a large gathering of his people-'so let us go out and return to our home, for it is outside Medina'. The apostle and the polytheists remained twenty days and more, nearly a month, without fighting except for some shooting with arrows, and the siege.

When conditions pressed hard upon the people the apostle-according to what 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and one whom I do not suspect told me from Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri-sent to 'Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr and to al-Harith b. 'Auf b. Abu Haritha al-Murri who were leaders of Ghatafan and offered them a third of the dates of Medina on condition that they would go back with their followers and leave him and his men, so peace was made between them so far as the writing of a document. It was not signed and was not a definite peace, merely peace negotiations (T. and they did so). When the apostle wanted to act he sent to the two Sa'ds and told them of it and asked their advice. They said: 'Is it a thing you want us to do, or something God has ordered you to do which we must carry out ? or is it something you are doing for us ?' He said: 'It is something I am doing for your sake. By God, I would not do it were it not that I have seen the Arabs have shot at you from one bow, and gathered against you from every side and I want to break their offensive against you! Sa'd b. Mu'adh said: 'We and these people were polytheists and idolaters, not serving God nor knowing him, and they never hoped to eat a single date (T.of ours) except as guests of by purchase. Now, after God has honoured and guided us to Islam and made us famous by you, are we to give them our property ? We certainly will not. We will give them nothing but the sword until God decide between us.' The apostle said: 'You shall have it so.' Sa'd took the paper and erased what was written, saying, 'Let them do their worst against us!'

The siege continued without any actual fighting, but some horsement of Quraysh, among whom were 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Abu Qays (699) brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy; 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl; Hubayra b. Abu Wahb, both of Makhzum; Dirar b. al-Khattab the poet, b. Mirdas brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr donned their armour and went forth on horseback to the stations of B. Kinana, sayhing, 'Prepare for fighting and then you will know who are true knights today'. They galloped forward until they stopped at the trench. When they saw it they exclaimed, 'This is a device which the Arabs have never employed!' (700).

Then they made for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses so that they dashed through it and carried them into the swampy ground between the trench and Sal'. Ali with some Muslims came out to hold the gap through which they had forced a

passage against (the rest of) them and the horsemen galloped to meet them. Now 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd had fought at Badr until he was disabled by wounds, and so he had not been at Uhud. At the battle of the Trench he came out wearing a distinguishing mark to show his rank, and when he and his contingent stopped he challenged anyone to fight him. 'Ali accepted the challenge and said to him: "Amr, you swore by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two alternatives you would accept one of them?' 'Yes, I did,' he said. 'Ali replied, 'Then I invite you to God and His apostle and to Islam.' He said that he had no use for them. "Ali went on, 'Then I call on you to dismount.' He replied,'O son of my brother, I do not want to kill you.' 'Ali said, 'But I want to kill you.' This so enraged 'Amr that he got off his horse and hamstrung it and (T. or) beat its face; then he advanced on 'Ali, and they fought, the one circling round the other. 'Ali killed him and their cavalry fled, bursting headlong in flight across the trench.

['When Amr issued his challenge to single combat 'Ali got up clad in armour and asked the prophet's permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was 'Amr. Then 'Amr repeated his challenge taunting them and saying, 'Where is your garden of which you say that those you lose in battle will enter it? Can't you send a man to fight me?' Again 'Ali asked the prophet's permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then 'Amr called out the third time:

I've become hoarse from shouting.
Isn't there one among the lot of you who'll answer my challenge ?
I've stood here like a fighting champion
While the so-called brave are cowards.
I've always hastened to the front
Before the fight begins.
Bravery and generosity are in truth
The best qualities of a warrior.

'Ali asked the prophet's permission to fight him, even if he wer 'Amr, and he let him go. He marched towards him saying the while:

Don't be in a hurry. No weakling
Has come to answer your challenge.
A man of resolution and foresight.
Truth is the refuge of the successful.
I hope to lmake the keening women
Busy over your corpse
Through the blow of a spear
Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.

'Amr asked him who he was, and when he told him he said: 'Let it be one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew, for I don't want to shed your blood.' 'Ali answered, 'But I do want to shed your blood.' He became angry, and drew his sword which flashed like fire, and advanced in his anger (it is said that he was mounted). 'Ali said to him, 'How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me.' So he got off his horse and came at him and 'Ali advanced with his shield.

'Amr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. But 'Ali gave him a blow on the vein at the base of the neck and he fell to the ground. The dust rose and the apostle heard the cry, 'Allah Akbar' and knew that 'Ali had killed him. [Suhayli continues:] As he came towards the apostle smiling with joy 'Umar asked him if he had stripped him of his armour, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered: 'When I had struck him down he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despoil him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his.'] (This incident is reported by I.H., Suh., I.S. Nas., and al-Mawardi, 64,of them saying that it was not reported by I.H. in the form given above. I.S. Nas says it was not in the riwaya of al-Bakka'i. Mawardi adds the details (a) that the three challenges of 'Amr were issued on three successive days; (b) that he called out to Muhammad. His version seems to be the original, as there is more point in the taunt: 'What's the matter when none of you will advance to get his reward from his Lord (by being killed) or send an enemy to hell?' He ends: 'They circled round each other and the dust rose so that it hid them from sight. When it cleared away there was 'Ali wiping his sword on 'Amr's garments and he was slain.' Mawardi took this from a written source, because he says that I.H. narrated the story in his Maghazi)

[T. With 'Amr were killed two men, Munabbih b. 'Uthman b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq b. 'Abdu'l -Dar who was hit by an arrow and died in Mecca; and of B. Makhzum Naufal b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira who had stormed the trench and rolled down into it and they stoned him. He called out, 'O Arabs, Death is better than this,' so 'Ali went down to him and dispatched him. The Muslims got possession of his body and asked the apostle to let them sell his effects. He told them that he had no use for his effects or the price they would fetch, and it was their affair; and he left them a free hand.]

'Ali said concerning that:

In his folly he fought for the stone pillars (i.e. the idols.)
While I fought for the Lord of Muhammad rightly.
I rejoiced when I left him prone
Like a stump between sand and rocks.
I forbore to take his garments (The point of this is made clear in the extract from I.I.'s Maghazi and T.'s quotation from I.I. As the Sira of I.H. stands it is left in the air.)
Though had I been the vanquished he would have taken mine.
Do not imagine, you confederates, that God
Will desert His religion and His prophet (701).

'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl threw away his spear as he was running from 'Amr, so Hassan b. Thabit said:

As he fled he threw his spear to us.
Perhaps, 'Ikrima , you have not done such a thing before?
As you turned your back you ran like a ostrich
Turning neither to right nor left.

You didn't turn your back as a human being would,
The back of your neck was like a young hyaena's (702).

Abu Layla 'Abdullah b. Sahl b. 'Abdu'l -Rahman b. Sahl al-Ansari, brother of B. Haritha, told me that 'A'isha was in the fort of B. Haritha on that day. It was one of the strongest forts of Medina. The mother of Sa'd b. Mu'adh was with her. 'A'isha said: 'This was before the veil had been imposed upon us. Sa'd went by wearing a coat of mail so short that the whole of his forearm was exposed. He hurried along carrying a lance, saying the while,

Wait a little ! Let Hamal (The saying is proverbial. The readings vary between Hamal and Jamal, and the commentators are not agreed on the reading or the man intended.) see the fight.
What matters death when the time is right?

His mother said, "Hurry up, my boy, for by God you are late". I said to her, "I wish that Sa'd's coat of mail were longer than it is", for I was afraid for him where the arrow actually hit him. Sa'd was shot by an arrow which severed the vein of his arm. The man who shot him, according to what 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me, was Hibban b. Qays b. al-'Ariqa,(She was Khadija's grandmother according to some) one of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. When he hit him he said, "Take that from me, the son of al- 'Ariqa." (She was Khadija's grandmother according to some) Sa'd said to him, "May God make your face sweat (arraq) in hell. O God, if the war with Quraysh is to be prolonged spare me for it, for there is no people whom I want to fight more than those who insulted your apostle, called him a liar, and drove him out. O God, seeing that you have appointed war between us and them grant me martyrdom and do not let me die until I have seen my desire upon B. Qurayza." '

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik that he used to say: 'The man who hit Sa'd that day was Abu Usama al-Jushami, an ally of B. Makhzum. This Abu Usama composed an ode about it with reference to 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl:

O 'Ikrima , why did you blame me when you said
Khalid be your ransom in the forts of Medina?
Am I not he who inflicted a bloody wound on Sa'd? The vein where the elbow bends gushed with his blood.
Sa'd died of it and the grey-haired matrons
And the high-breasted virgins made loud lamentation.
You are the one who protected him when 'Ubayda (Is this 'Ubayda b. Jabir who was slain at Uhud?)
Called all of them in his stress,
What time some of them turned away from him
And others made off in their terror. (Or, reading marghub, 'made off to avoid trouble'.)

God knows best about that'(703).

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbad told me as follows: Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib was in Fari',the fort of Hassan b. Thabit. She said: 'Hassan was with us there with the women and children, when a Jew came along and began to go round the fort. The B. Qurayza had gone to war and cut our communications with the apostle, and there was no one to protect us while the apostle and the Muslims were at the enemy's throats unable to leave them to come to us if anyone turned up. I told Hassan that he could see this Jew going round the fort and I feared that he would discover our weakness and inform the Jews who were in our rear while the apostle and his companions were too occupies to help us, so he must go down and kill him "God forgive you," he said. "You know quite well that I am not the man to do that." When he said that and I saw that no help was to be expected from him I girded myself (Or , reading i'tajartu, 'fastened my veil'.) and took a club, and went down to him from the fort above and hit him with the club until I killed him. This done I went back to the fort and told Hassan to go down and strip him: I could not do it myself because he was a man. He said, "I have no need to strip him Bint 'Abdu'l-Muttalib." ' (The commentators do not like this story to the discredit of one of the prophet's companions. Suhayli says that the learned reject the tradition because the isnad is broken off. Further, had the story of Hassan's cowardice been true the poets who satirized him would have mentioned it. As they did not the tradition must be weak. On the other hand, if it is sound, it may be that Hassan was ill on that day and could not fight. Al-Zarqani, who believes the story, discounts the argument that rival poets would have used the story had it been true by saying that the fact that he was a companion of the prophet saved him, and their silence on the subject is one of the 'marks of prophecy'.)

As God has described, (Sura 33.10.) the apostle and his companions remained in fear and difficulty when the enemy came on them from above and below. Then Nu'aym b. Mas'ud b. 'Amir b. Unayf b. Tha'laba b. Qunfud b. Hilal b. Khalawa b. Ashja'b. Rayth b. Ghatafan came to the apostle saying that he had become a Muslim though his own people did not know of it, and let him give him what orders he would. The apostle said: 'You are only one man among us, so go and awake distrust among the enemy to draw them off us if you can, for war is deceit.' Thereupon Nu'aym went off to B. Qurayza with whom he had been a boon companion in heathen days, and reminded them of his affection for them and of the special tie between them. When they admitted that they did not suspect him he said:'Quraysh and Ghatafan are not like you: the land is your land, your property, your wives, and your children are in it; you cannot leave it and go somewhere else. Now Quraysh and Ghatafan have come to fight Muhammad and his companions and you have aided them against him, but their land, their property, and their wives are not here, so they are not like you. If they see an opportunity they will make the most of it; but if things go badly they will go back to their own land and leave you to face the man in your country and you will not be able to do so if you are left alone. So do not fight along with these people until you take hostages from their chiefs who will remain in your hands as security that they will fight Muhammad with you until you make an end of him.' The Jews said that this was excellent advice.

Then he went to Quraysh and said to Abu Sufyan b. Harb and his company: 'You know my affection for you and that I have left Muhammad. Now I have heard something which I think it my duty to tell you of by way of warning, but regard it as confidential.' When they said that they would, he continued: 'Mark my words, the Jews have regretted their action in opposing Muhammad and have sent to tell him so, saying: "Would you like us to get hold of some chiefs of the two tribes Quraysh and Ghatafan and hand them over to you so that you can cut their heads off? Then we can join you in exterminating the rest of them.' He has sent word back to accept their offer; so if the Jews send to you to demand hostages, don't send them a single man.'

Then he went to Ghatafan and said: You are my stock and my family, the dearest of men to me, and I do not think that you can suspect me.' They agreed that he was above suspicion and so he told the same story as he had told Quraysh.

On the night of the sabbath of Shawwal A.H. 5 it came about by God's action on behalf of His apostle that Abu Sufyan and the chiefs of Ghatafan sent 'Ikrima b. Abu Jahl to B. Qurayza with some of their number saying that they had no permanent camp, that the horses and camels were dying; therefore they must make ready for battle and make an end of Muhammad once and for all. They replied that it was the sabbath, a day on which they did nothing, and it was well known what had happened to those of their people who had violated the sabbath. 'Moreover we will not fight Muhammad along with you until you give us hostages whom we can hold as security until we make an end of Muhammad; for we fear that if the battle goes against you and you suffer heavily you will withdraw at once to your country and leave us while the man is in our country, and we cannot face him alone.' When the messengers returned with their reply Quraysh and Ghatafan said (T. Now you know) that what Nu'aym told you is the truth; so send to B. Qurayza that we will not give them a single man, and if they want to fight let them come out and fight. Having received this message B. Qurayza said: 'What Nu'aym told you is the truth. The people are bent on fighting and if they get an opportunity they will take advantage of it; but if they do not they will withdraw to their own country and leave us to face this man here. So send word to them that we will not fight Muhammad with them until they give us hostages.' Quraysh and Ghatafan refused to do so, and God sowed distrust between them, and sent a bitter cold wind against them in the winter nights which upset their cooking pots and overthrew their tents.

When the apostle learned of their dispute and how God had broken up their alliance he called Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman and sent him to them to see what the army was doing at night.

Yazid b. Ziyad told me from Muhammad b. Ka'b b. al-Qurazi: a A man of Kufa said to Hudhayfa, 'Did you really see the apostle and were you his companion ?' When he replied Yes, he asked what they used to do, and he said that they used to live a hard life. He said, 'By God, if we had lived in his day we would not have allowed him to set foot on the ground, but would have carried him on our shoulders.' Hudhayfa said, 'I can see us with the apostle at the trench as he prayed for a part of the night and then turned to us and said,"Who will get up and see for us what the army is doing and then return-the

apostle stipulating that he should return-I will ask God that he shall be my companion in paradise." Not a single man got up because of his grreat fear, hunger, and the severe cold. When no one got up the apostle called me , and I had to get up when he called me ,He told me to go and see what the army was doing and not to do anything else (i.e not to act on his own initiative.) until I returned to him. So I went out and mingled with the army while the wind and God's troops were dealing with them as they did, leaving neither pot, nor fire, nor tent standing firm. Abu Sufyan got up and said, "O Quraysh, let every man see who is sitting next him." So I took hold of the man who was at my side and asked him who he was and he said So-and-so.

'Then Abu Sufyan said: "O Quraysh, we are not in a permanent camp; the horses and camels are dying; the B. Qurayza have broken their word to us and we have heard disquieting reports of them. You can see the violence of the wind which leaves us neither cooking-pots, nor fire, nor tents to count on. Be off, for I am going!" Then he went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, and beat it so that it got up on its three legs; by God its hobble was not freed until it was standing. (The Arabs still hobble their camels when they are kneeling with their legs folded beneath them. One of the forelegs is tied by the halter in the folded position. If the camel gets up before the hobble is undone one leg is perforce doubled up and cannot be put to the ground.) Were it not that the apostle had enjoined me not to do anything else until I returned to him, if I wished I could have killed him with an arrow.

'I returned to the apostle as he was standing praying in a wrapper belonging to one of his wives (704). When he saw me he made me come in to sit at his feet and threw the end of the wrapper over me; then he bowed and prostrated while I was in it (T. And I disturbed him). When he had finished I told him the news. When Ghatafan heard of what Quraysh had done they broke up and returned to their own country.'

In the morning the apostle and the Muslims left the trench and returned to Medina, laying their arms aside.

163 - THE RAID ON B. QURAYZA

According to what al-Zuhri told me, at the time of the noon prayers Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on a mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He asked the apostle if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had he said that the angels had not yet laid aside their arms and that he had just come from pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Muhammad, to go to B. Qurayza. I am about to go to them to shake their stronghold.'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached B. Qurayza (705). The apostle sent 'Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it. 'Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it was not necessary for him to come near those rascals. The apostle said, 'Why ? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when 'Ali said that that was so he added, 'If they saw me they would not talk in hat fashion.' When the apostle

approached their forts he said, 'You brothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abu'l- Qasim, you are not a barbarous person.'

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-Saurayn before he got to B. Qurayza and asked if anyone had passed them. They replied that Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had passed upon a white mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He said, 'That was Gabriel who has been sent to B. Qurayza to shake their castles and strike terror to their hearts.'

When the apostle came to B. Qurayza he halted by one of their well near their property called The Well of Ana (706). The men joined him. Some of them came after the last evening prayer not having prayed the afternoon prayer because the apostle had told them not to do so until he got to B. Qurayza. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and they refused to pray until they came to B. Qurayza in accordance with his instructions and they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not blame them for that in His book, nor did the apostle reproach them. My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me this tradition from Ma'bad b. Malik al-Ansari.

The apostle besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and God cast terror into their hearts.

Now Huyayy b. Akhtab had gone with B. Qurayza into their forts when Quraysh and Ghatafan had withdrawn and left them, to keep his word to Ka'b b. Asad; and when they felt sure that the apostle would not leave them until he had made an end of them Ka'b b. Asad said to them: 'O Jews, you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives. Take which you please.' (i) We will follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has been sent and that it is he that you find mentioned in your scripture; and then your lives, your property, your women and children will be saved. They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change it for another.' He said, 'Then if you won't accept this suggestion (ii) let us kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to Muhammad and his companions leaving no encumbrances behind us, until God decides between us and Muhammad. If we perish, we perish, and we shall not leave children behind us to cause us anxiety. If we conquer we can acquire other wives and children.' They said, 'Should we kill these poor creatures? What would be the good of life when they were dead?' He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (iii) tonight is the eve of the sabbath and it may well be that Muhammad and his companions will feel secure from us then, so come down, perhaps we can take Muhammad and his companions by surprise.' They said: 'Are we to profane our sabbath and do on the sabbath what those before us of whom you well know did and were turned into apes ?' He answered, 'Not a single man among you from the day of your birth has ever passed a night resolved to do what he knows ought to be done.'

Then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf (for they were allies of al-Aus), that we may consult him.' So the apostle sent him to them, and when they saw him they got up to meet him. The women and children went up to him weeping in his face, and he felt sorry for them. They said, 'Oh Abu Lubaba, do you think that we should submit to Muhammad's judgement?' He said, 'Yes,' and pointed with his hand to his throat, signifying slaughter. Abu Lubaba said, 'My feet had not moved from the spot before I knew that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did not go to the apostle but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque saying, 'I will not leave this place until God forgives me for what I have done,' and he promised God that he would never go to B. Qurayza and would never be seen in a town in which he had betrayed God and His apostle (707).

When the apostle heard about him, for he had been waiting for him a long time, he said, 'If he had come to me I would have asked forgiveness for him, but seeing that he behaved as he did I will not let him go from his place until God forgives him.' Yazid b. 'Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that the forgiveness of Abu Lubaba came to the apostle at dawn while he was in the house of Umm Salama. She said:'At dawn I heard the apostle laugh and I said:'Why did you laugh? May God make you laugh!' He replied , 'Abu Lubaba has been forgiven.' She said, 'Cannot I give him the good news ?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of her room (The prophet's house was next door to the mosque where Abu Lubaba had tied himself.) (this was before the veil had been prescribed for women) and said, 'O Abu Lubaba, rejoice, for God has forgiven you'; and men rushed out to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his own hand.' When the apostle passed him when he was going out to morning prayer he set him free (708).

Tha'laba b. Sa'ya, Usayd his brother, and Asad b. 'Ubayd of B. Hadl who were not related to B. Qurayza or B. al-Nadir (their pedigree is far above that,) accepted Islam the night on which B. Qurayza surrendered to the apostle's judgement.

On that night 'Amr b. Su'da al-Qurazi went out and passed the apostle's guards commanded that night by Muhammad b. Maslama who challenged him. Now 'Amr had refused to join B. Qurayza in their treachery towards the apostle, saying, 'I will never behave treacherously towards Muhammad.' When Muhammad b. Maslama recognized him he said, O God, do not deprive me (of the honour) of setting right the errors of the noble' and let him go his way. He went as far as the door of the apostle's mosque (W. has 'until he passed the night in') in Medina that night; then he vanished, and it is not known to this day where he went. When the apostle was told he said, 'That is a man whom God delivered because of his faithfulness.' Some people allege that he was bound with a rotten rope along with the captives of B. Qurayza when they submitted to the apostle's judgement, and his old rope was found cast away none knowing whither he went and the apostle then said those words. God knows what really happened.

In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgement and al-Aus leapt up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the apostle had besieged B. Qaynuqa who were

allies of al-Khazraj and when they submitted to his judgement 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul had asked him for them and he gave them to him; so when al-Aus spoke thus the apostle said: 'Will you be satisfied, O lAus, if one of your own number pronounces judgement on them ?' When they agreed he said that Sa'd b. Mu'adh was the man. The apostle had put Sa'd in a tent belonging to a woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told his people when Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the Trench to put him in Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of B. Qurayza, his people came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made you umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time has come for Sa'd in the cause of God, not to care for any man's censure.' Some of his people who were there went back to the quarter of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal and announced to them the death of B. Qurayza bfore Sa'd got to them, because of what they had heard him say.

When Sa'd reached the apostle and the Muslims the apostle told them to get up to greet their leader. The muhajirs of Quraysh thought that the apostle meant the Ansar, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said 'O Abu' Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgement concerning them.' Sa'd asked, 'Do you covenant by Allah that you accept the judgement I pronounce on them ?' The said Yes, and he said, 'And is it incumbent on the one who is here ?' (looking) in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered Yes. Sa'd said, 'Then I give judgement that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.'

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh from 'Alqama b. Waqqas al-Laythi that the apostle said to Sa'd, 'You have given the judgement of Allah above the seven heavens' (709).

Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of d. al-Harith, a woman of B. al-Najjar. Then the apostle went out to the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allah Huyayy b. Akhtab and Ka'b b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Ka'b what he thought would be done with them. He replied, 'Will you never understand ? Don't you see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return ? By Allah it is death!' This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Huyayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil, (A variant 'so that none should wear it after him' is worth mention.) with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, 'By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.' Then he went to the

men and said, 'God's command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.' Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jawwal al-Tha'labi said:

Ibn Akhtab did not blame himself
But he who forskes God will be forsaken.
He fought until he justified himself
And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'A'isha said: 'Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called her name. 'Good heavens,' I cried, 'what is the matter ?' 'I am to be killed,' she replied. 'What for ?' I asked. 'Because of something I did,' she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. 'A'isha used to say, 'I shall never forget my wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter when all the time she knew that she would be killed' (711).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas had gone to al-Zabir b. Bata al-Qurazi who was Abu 'Abdu'l-Rahman. Al-Zabir had spared Thabit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabir's sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Bu'ath, having captured him and cut off his forelock and then let him go. Thabit came to him (he was then and old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, 'Would a man like me not recognize a man like you ?' He said, 'I want to repay you for your service to me.' He said, 'The noble repays the noble.' Thabit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zabir had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared his life he said, 'What does an old man without family and without children want with life?' Thabit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, 'How can a household in the Hijaz live without property ?' Thabit secured the apostle's promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, 'O Thabit, what was become of him whose face was like a Chinese mirroe in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Ka'b b. Asad ?' 'Killed,' he said. 'And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sown, Huyayy b. Akhtab ?' 'Killed.' 'And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rearguard when we fled (T. returned to the charge), 'Azzal b. Samaw'al ?' 'Killed.' 'And what of the two assemblies ?' meaning B. Ka'b b. Qurayza and B. 'Amr b. Qurayza. 'Killed.' He said, 'Then I ask of you, Thabit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment (Lit. 'the time it takes a man to pur a bucket of water into the trough and return the bucket'.) to meet my loved one.' So Thabit went up to him and struck off his head.

When Abu Bakr heard of his words 'until I meet my loved ones' he said, 'Yes, by Allah he will meet them in hell for ever and ever' (712).

(Thabit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zabir b. Bata:

My obligation is ended; I was noble and persistent
When others swerved from steadfastness.
Zabir had a greater claim than any man on me
And when his wrists were bound with cords
I went to the apostle that I might free him.
The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.)

The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs shoud be killed.

Shu'ba b. al-Hajjaj told me from 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Umayr from 'Atiya al-Qurazi: The apostle had ordered that every adult of B. Qurayza should be killed. I was a lad and they found that I was not an adult and so they let me go.

Ayyub b. 'Abduu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Sa'sa'a brother of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar told me that Salma d. Qays, mother of al-Mundhir sister of Salit b. Qays-she was one of the maternal aunts of the apostle who had prayed with him both towards Jerusalem and towards Mecca and had sworn the allegiance of women to him-asked him for Rifa'a b. Samaw'al al-Qurazi who was a grown man who had sought refuge with her, and who used to know them. She said that he had alleged that he would pray and eat camel's flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

Then the apostle divided the property, wives, and children of B. Qurayza among the Muslims , and he made known on that day the shares of horse and men, and took out the fifth. A horseman got three shares, two for the horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of B. Qurayza there were thirty-six horses. It was the first booty on which lots were cast and the fifth was taken. According to its precedent and what the apostle did the divisions were made, and it remained the custom for raids.

Then the apostle sent Sa'd b. Zayd al-Ansari brother of b. 'Abdu'l Ashhal with some of the captive women of B. Qurayza to Najd and he sold them for horses and weapons.

The apostle had chosen one of their women for himself, Rayhana d. 'Amr b. Khunafa, one of the women of B. 'Amr b. Qurayza, and she remained with him until she died, in his power. The apostle had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: 'Nay , leave me in your power, for that will be easier for me and for you.' So he left her. She had shown repugnance towards Islam when she was captured and clung to Judaism. So the apostle put her aside and felt some displeasure. While he was with his companions he heard the sound of sandals behind him and said, 'This is Thal'laba b. Sa'ya coming to give me the good news of Rayhana's acceptance of Islam' and he came up to announce the fact. This gave him pleasure.

God sent down concerning the trench and B. Qurayza the account which is found in the sura of the Confederates (Sura 33) in which He mentioned their trial and His kindness to the, and His help when He removed that from them after one of the

disaffected had said what he did: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when armies came against you, and We sent against them a wind and armies you could not see, and God is a seer of what you do.' The armies were Quraysh, and Ghatafan, and B. Qurayza. The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said, 'When they came at you from above you and below you, and when eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats and you thought vain things about God.' Those who came at you from above were B. Qurayza: those from below were Quraysh and Ghatafa. 'There were the believers tested and shaken with a mmighty shock. And when the disaffected and those in whose hearts was a disease were saying What God and His apostle promised us is naught but a delusion' refers to the words of Mu'attib b. Qushayr. 'And when a party of them said, O people of Yathrib, there is no standing for you, so turn back. And some of them sought the prophet's permission saying Our houes are exposed, and they were not exposed . They wished only to rund away' refers to the words of Aus b. Qayzi and those of his people who shared his opinion. 'And if it had been entered from its sides', i.e. Medina (713).

'Then if they had been invited to rebellion', i.e. the return to polytheism, 'they would have complied and would have hesitated but a moment. Yet they had sworn to Allah beforehand that they would not turn their backs. An oath to God must be answered for.' They were the B. Haritha. They were the men who tought to desert on the day of Uhud with B. Salama when both thought to desert on the day of Uhud. Then they swore to God that they would never do the like again and he reminded them of what they had taken on themselves. 'Say, Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing, and then you will enjoy comfort but for a little. Say, Who can preserve lyou from Allah if He intends evil towards you, or intends mercy. They will not find that they have any friend or helper but Allah. Allah knows those of you who hinder,' i.e. the disaffected people. 'And those who say to their brethren, Come to us and they come not to battle save a little,' i.e. for a moment to make a pretence of sincerity, 'sparing of their help to you,' i.e. because of their grudging nature. 'But when fear comes you see them looking at you with rolling eyes like one in a deadly faint, ' i.e. thinking it dreadful and terrified of it. 'Then when their fear departs they scald you with sharp tongues,' i.e. with talk about what does not please you because their hope is in this life; hope of (future) reward does not move them, for they fear death with the dread of him who has no hope in a future life (714). 'They think that the confederates have not gone away,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafa, 'and if the confederates should come again they would like to be in the desert with the Bedouin asking for news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.'

Then He addressed the believers and said, 'In God's apostle you have a fine example for one who hopes for Allah and the last day,' i.e. that they should not prefer themselves to him and not desire to be in a place where he is not.

Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of trial by which He tested them and He said, 'And when the believers saw the confederates they said: This is what God and His apostle promised us, and God and His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission,' i.e. endurance of trial and submission to the decreee and belief in the truth of what God and His apostle had

promised them. The He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow in death,' i.e. finished their work and returned to their Lord like those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

'And some of them are still waiting,' i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions. God said: 'And they have not altered in the least,' i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion , and did not change it for another. ' That God may reward the true men for their truth and punish the disaffected if He will, or repent towards them. God is forgiving, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafan. They gained no good. God averted battle from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the Scripture people who helped the,' i.e. B. Qurayza, 'from their strongholds' the forts and castles in which they were (716). 'And he cast terror into their hearts; some you slew and some you captured,' i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. 'And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, and a land you had not trod,' i.e. Khaybar. 'For Allah can do all things.'

When the affair of B. Qurayza was disposed of, Sa'd 's wound burst open and he died a martyr therefrom.

Mu'adh b. Rifa'a al-Zuraqi told me: Anyone you like from the men of my people told me that Gabriel came to the apostle when Sa;d was taken, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the doors of heaven have been opened and at whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sa'd and found him already dead.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Rahman: As 'Aisha was returning from Mecca with Usayd b. Hudayr he heard of the death of a wife of his, and showed considerable grief. 'Aisha said: 'God forgive you, O Abu Yahya, will you grieve over a woman when you have lost the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

One I do not suspect told me from al-Hasan al-Basri: Sa'd was a fat man and when the men carried him they found him light. Some of the disaffected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard of this he said, 'He had other carriers as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels rejoiced at (receiving) the spirit of Sa'd and the throne shook for him.'

Mu'adh b. Rifa'a told me from Mahmud b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: When Sa;d was buried as we were with the apostle he said Subhana'llah and we said it with him. Then he said Allah akbar and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said Subhana'llah he said 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it'(717).

Of Sa'd one of the Ansar said:

We have never heard of the throne of God
Shaking for any dead man but Sa;d Abu 'Amr.

His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weeping (718):

Alas Umm Sa'd for Sa'd the brave and bold,
Leader glorious, knight ever ready, Stepping into the breach,cutting heads to pieces.
(This line is omitted by W.)

The apostle said, 'Every wailing woman lies except the one who wept Sa'd b Mu'adh.

Only six Muslims found martyrdom at the battle of the Trench: Of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal: Sa'd b. Mu'adh; Anas b. 'Aus b. 'Atik b. 'Amr, and 'Abdullah b. Sahl. 3.

Of B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima : al-Tufayl b. al-Nu'man and Tha'laba b. Ghanama. 2.

Of B. al-Najjar of the clan B. Dinar: Ka'b b. Zayd whom a random arrow hit and slew (719). 1.

Three polytheists were killed:

Of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Munabbih b. 'Uthman b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq hit by an arrow and died in Mecca (720).

Of B. Makhzum b. 'Yaqaza" Naufal b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira. They asked the apostle to let them buy his body he having stormed the trench and become trapped in it and killed, and the Muslims got possession his body. The apostle said that they had no use for his body and did not want to be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).

Of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy of the clan B. Malik b. Hisl: 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd whom 'Ali killed (722).

On the day of Qurayza there were martyred of the Muslims of B. al-Harith b. Al-Khazraj: Khallad b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr. A millstone was thrown on him and inflicted a shattering wound. They allege that the apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs.'

Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma died while the apostle was besieging B. Qurayza and was buried in the cemetery of B. Qurayza which is still used today. They buried those who died in Islam there.

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle said: 'Quraysh will not attack you after this year, but you will attack them.' Quraysh did not attack them after that; it was he who attacked them until God conquered Mecca by him.

164 - POETRY ABOUT THE TRENCH AND B. QURAYZA

Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas brother of B. Muharib b. Fihr said about the battle of the Trench:

Many a sympathetic woman had doubts about us, (If this poem is really Dirar's must have been composed after Sura 33, for it uses the language of verse 10. It is hardly likely that a Muslim would have boasted of the doings of Quraysh, or that a polytheist would have borrowed language from the Quran. Therefore it would seem to be a sort of literary Aunt Sally, put up to be assailed in the poems that follow.)

Yet we led a great force, crushing all before us Its size was as Uhud
When one could see its whole extent.
You could see the long mail upon the warriors
And their strong leather shields
And the fine steeds like arrows
Which we discharged against the sinful wrongdoers.
When we charged the one the other,
'Twas as though at the gap in the trench men would shake hands.
You could not see a rightly guided man among them
Though they said: 'Are we not in the right?'
We besieged them for one whole month
Standing over them like conquerors.
Night and morning every day
We attacked them fully armed;
Sharp swords in our hands
Cutting through heads and skulls.
'Twas as though their gleam when they were drawn
When they flashed in the hands of those that drew them
Was the gleam of lightning illuminating the night
So that one could see the clouds clearly.
But for the trench which protected them
We would have destroyed them one and all. But there it stood in front of them,
And they took refuge in it from fear of us.
Though we withdrew we left
Sa'd hostage to death in front of their tents.
When darkness came you could hear the keening women
Raising their lament over Sa'd.
Soon we shall visit you again.
Helping one another as we did before
With a company of Kinana armed
Like lions of the jungle protecting their dens.

Ka'b b. Malik brother of B. Salima answered him:

Many a woman will ask of our fight
Had she been there she would have seen we were steadfast.

We were steadfast trusting in Him;
We saw nothing equal to God in the hour of our danger.
We have a prophet, a true helper,
By whom we can conquer all men.
We fought an evil disobedient people
Fully prepared in their hostile attack.
When they came at us we struck them blows
Which dispatched the precipitate.
You would have seen us in wide long mail which
Glittered like pools in the plain;
Sharp swords in our hands
By which we quench the spirit of the mischievous.
Like lions at the gap in the trench
Whose tangled jungle protects their lairs.
Our horsemen when they charged night and morning
Looked disdainfully at the enemy as they wore their badges
To help Ahmad and God so that we might be
Sincere slaves of truth,
And that the Meccans might know when they came
And the people of different parties
That God has no partners,
And that He helps the believers.
Though you killed Sa'd wantonly,
God's decrees are for the best.
He will admit him to goodly gardens
The resting-place of the righteous.
As He repulsed you, runaway fugitives,
Fruitless, disgraced, despite your rage.
Disgraced, you accomplished nothing there
And were all but destroyed
By a tempest which overtook you
So that you were blinded by its force.

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmi said about the trench:

Salute the dwelling whose vestiges
Long decay and time's changes have effaced.
'Tis as though their remains were the writings of Jews
Except the zarebas and (marks of) tentpegs. (The trace of an old camp (rasm) is compared to Hebrew script. The word also means 'writing'.)
A desert as though you did not find diversion in it
Happily with young girls of one age.
But speak no more of a life that has passed
And a place become ruined and deserted, And greatefully remember the gallantry of all

Who marched from the sacred stones, (The ansab may mean either the stones set up to mark the boundary of the sacred territory, such as remain to this day, or the stones at which the sacrificial victims were slaughtered.)
The stones of Mecca, making for Yathrib,
With a loud-throated mighty force;
Leaving the high ground well used paths
In every conspicuous height and pass;
The fine lean steeds led beside them
Thin in belly, lean of flank,
Foaled from long-bodied mares and stallions,
Like a wolf who attacks careless watchmen.
'Uyayna marched with the banner of the army;
Sakhr led the confederates;
Two chiefs like the moon in its splendour,
The help of the poor,the refuge of the fugitive,
Until when they came to Medina
And girt themselves for death their sharp swords drawn.
For forty days they had the best of Muhammad
Though his companions in war were the best.
They called for withdrawal the morning you said
'We are almost done for.'
But for the trench they would have left them
Corpses for hungry birds and wolves.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him and said:

Can the vanished traces of a deserted place
Answer one who addresses it ?
A desert where clouds of rain have effaced its traces
And the constant blowing of every high wind ?
Yet have I seen their dwellings adorned by
Shining faces, heirs of aglorious past.
But leave the dwellings, the talk of lovely maidens
With soft breasts, sweet in converse,
And complain to God of cares and what you see-
An angry people who wronged the apostle,
Who marched with their company against him
And collected townsmen and desert dwellers,
The army of 'Uyayna and Ibn Harb
Mingled with the horsemen of the confederates
Until they came to Medina and hoped to slay
The apostle's men and plunder them,
And attacked us in their strength.
They were put to flight in their fury
By a tempest which dispersed their company
And the armies of they Lord the Lord of lords.

God averted battle from the believers (Almost an exact quotation from Sura 33.25)
And gave them the best of rewards.
When they had abandoned hope, our bounteous King
Sent down His aid and scattered them;
Gave ease to Muhammad and his companions
And humiliated every lying doubter,
Hard-hearted, suspicious, doubtful,
Not men of pure life, unbelievers,
May misery cling to their hearts, for
In unbelief they persisted to the very end. (Or, To whose hearts misery has clung
So that their hearts persist in disbelief to the end of time.)

Ka'b b. Malik also lanswedred him:
War has left over to us
The best gift of our bounteous Lord;
High white forts and resting-places for camels where [from their rubbing]
Palms are black and where milk is plentiful.
They are like laa tracts and their bounty is lavished
On the visiting guest and relative. (A.Dh.'s explanation implies:
High white forts and resting-places for camels
Where the camels have black necks and are rich in milk.
They (the resting places) are like lava tracts
Their bounty, &c.
S. renders ma'atin 'palm plantations' and judhu' 'trunks' and then has to take ahlab as a metaphor of 'fruit'.
The verse is difficult, but it is possible to avoid unnatural metaphors in its translation. The dung of the camels made the ground look like a lava tract.)
And horses (naza'i are horses imported from elsewhere.) swift as wolves
Fed on barley and cut lucerne
With hairless fetlocks and firm-fleshed hindquarters,
Smooth their coats from head to tail;
Long-necked, answering the View hallo
As hounds speed to the huntsman's call.
Now guarding the tribesman's cattle,
Now slaying the enemy and returning with the spoil,
Scaring wild beasts, swift in war,
Grim in combat, of noble spirit,
Well fed and sleek
Well fleshed yet thin bellied.
They bring coats of mail doubly woven
With strong spears which hit the mark,
And swords whose rust the polishers have removed;
All with a splendid highborn knight,
His right hand holding a spear ready for the thrust
Whose fashioning was entrusted to Khabbab.
The glitter ofl his lance is like

A flash of flame in the darkness of the night,
And a force whose mail defies the arrows
And repels the bolts that would pierce the thighs.
Reddish-black, massed, as though their spears
Were a blazing forest in every encounter,
Seeking the shadow of the standard as though
On the shaft of the spear there was the shadow of a hawk.
Their courage defeated Abu Karib and Tubba'
And their gallantry overcame the Bedouin.
We were guided by admonitions from our Lord
On the tongue of one radiant and pure.
They were laid before us and we loved to remember them
After they had been laid before the confederates (and rejected).
Axioms which evildoers assert they thought too strict
But the wise understand.
Quraysh came to contend with their Lord,
But the who contends with the Conqueror will surely be conquered (723).

Ka'b b. Malik said about the trench:

Let one who enjoys the noise of battle where blows resound
Like the crackling of burning reeds,
Come to the fight where swords are sharp
Between al-Madhad (The place where the trench was dug. Some say that it was between Sal' and the trench.)and the side of the trench.
They were bold in smiting champions
And surrendered their lifeblood to the Lord of the world In a company by which God helped His prophet
And was gracious to His servant.
All in long mail whose ends swept the ground,
Looking like an undulating pool blown by the wind
With mail well wrought and woven as though its nails
Were the eyes of a locust in the chain rings.
Braced up by the belt of a sword
Of pure steel, cutting , and shining.
Such with piety was our clothing on the day of battle(Borrowed from Sura 7.25, 'The clothing of piety is the best'.)
And every hour that called for bravery.
When our swords were too short to meet the enemy
We made them reach by going forward.
You could see skulls split asunder,
To say nothing of hands, as though they had not been created.
We met the enemy with a compact force
Driving away their force who went as though to the top of al-Mashriq. (A mountain between al-Sharif and al-Qasim in Dabba country.)
Against the enemy we prepared

Every swift, bay, white-legged , piebald horse
Carrying riders who in battle were like
Lions on damp dewy soil, (In such conditions lions are said to be most fierce, presumably because wet ground would ruin the scent of their prey and so they would be ravenous.)
Trusty ones who bring death to brave men
With death-dealing spears beneath the clouds of dust.
God commanded that the horses should be kept for His enemy in the fight (Cf.Sura 8.62)
(Truly God is the best guarantor of victory)
That they might vex the enemy and protect the dwellings
If the horses of the miscreants came near.
God the mighty helped us with His strength
And loyal steadfastness on the day of the encounter.
We obeyed our prophet's orders.
When he called for war we were the first to respond.
When he called for violent efforts we made them.
When we saw the battle we hastened thither.
He who obeys the prophet's command (let him do so), for among us
He is obeyed and truly believed.
By this he will give us victory and show our glory
And so give us a life of ease.
Those who call Muhammad a liar
Disbelieve and go astray from the way of the pious (724).

Ka'b also said:

The mixed tribes knew when they gathered together against us
And attacked our religion that we would not submit.
Confederates from Qays b. 'Aylan and Khindif with one accord
Made common cause, not knowing what would happen.
They tried to turn us from our religion while we
Tried to turn them from disbelief, but God is a seer and a hearer.
When they rageed against us in battle
The all embracing help of God aided us.
'Twas God's protection and His grace towards us
(He whom God does not guard is lost).
He guided us to the true religion and chose it for us.
God can do more than man can do.

Ka'b also said:

Tell Quraysh that Sal'
And the land between al-'Urayd and al-Sammad (All these places are in the neighbourhood of Medina.) Is a land where camels who know war carry water,
Where wells dug in the days of 'Ad abound.

Still waters fed by copious fountains
That keep the wells at a steady depth.
The tangled growth and the rushes there
Seem to rustle when they yellow at the harvest.
Our trade does not consist in selling donkeys
To the land of Daus or Murad.
Ours is a land well tilled, for it we fight
If you have stomach for the battle.
We ploughed and planted it as peasants do;
Never have you seen a valley bordered like it.
We have kept every fine high-standing
Powerful courser for great objects.
Respond to our invitation
For clear statement and truth,
Or take the blows you will get from us
At the side of al-Madhad.
We will meet you will all our warriors
And well made tractable horses,
And bloodmares whose sides throb
Like the beating of a locust's wings (An unusaually fast- flying species of locust is meant.)
Swift of limb, firm fleshed,
Perfectly made from head to tail.
Horses which live through famine years
When other men's horses die:
Which tug at the reins, turning their necks to one side, (This hemistich is repeated verbatim in the poem attributed to Hassan in W. 829.8.)
When their master calls them to war.
When our warners say: 'Be ready'
We put our trust in the Lord of men.
And we said: 'Nothing will ease our troubles
But smiting the helmets and desperate fighting.'
You have seen none among those we fought,
Whether townsmen or tribesmen,
Bolder than we were in attack
Nor gentler in affection.
When we tied with trusty knots
Fine coats of mail upon them
Into long armour we put every fierce noble warrior
Careful in his preparation for battle;
Haughty as an angry lion
When someone appears in his valley,
Who shatter the skull of the doughtiest warrior
With a middle of a sword carried loose on its lanyard.
That we may make Thy religion victorious, O God.
We are in Thy hand, so guide us in the right paths (725).

Musafi' b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah, weeping for 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

'Amr b. 'Abd was the first horseman to cross Madhad
And he was the horseman of Yalyal. (A wadi in Badr.)
Mild in nature, noble , firm,
Seeking armed combat, never showing fear.
You knew that when they fled from you
Ibn Abd only hurried not
Until the best fighters surrounded him
Seeking untiringly to kill him.
On Sal's sides the spears surrounded A horseman who was no unarmed coward
You asked Ghalib's horseman to dismount, O 'Ali,
On Sal's sides. Would he had not done so.
Away with you, 'Ali! Never have you overcome his like in renown
Nor coped with such a difficult task.
My life be a ransom for the horseman a Ghalib
Who met death unperturbed,
He who crossed al-Madhad with his mare
Seeking to avenge the men he would not desert.

Musafi' also said, reproaching the horsemen of 'Amr who decamped and deserted him:

'Amr b. 'Abd and the fine horses he led-
Horses led for him and horses shod-
His horsemen decamped and his clan left
A great pillar, the first among them.
Marvel as I may I saw it
When you, 'Ali, asked 'Amr to dismount he dismounted.
Be not far, (The dead are thus apostrophized.) for I have suffered by his death
And till I die I have a burden heavy to bear.
Hubayra who was despoiled turned his back in flight
Fearing the fight lest they should be killed.
And Dirar who had shown courage
Fled like a miserable unarmed wretch (726).

Hubayra b. Abu Wahb making excuses for his flight, weeping for 'Amr, and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

On my life, I did not turn my bakc
On Muhammad and his companions in cowardice or fear of death;
But I considered my position and could find
No advantage in sword or arrow if I sued them.
I stopped, and when I could not go forward
I withdrew like a strong lion with his cubs,

Who turns his shoulder from his adversary when
He can find no way to return to the fray-such has always been my way.
Be not,far, O 'Amr, alive or dead.
Such as you deserves the highest praise from one like me
Who (now) will drive on horses checked by spears
Be not far, O 'Amr, alive or dead.
You have gone (form us) full of praise, noble of ancestry.
Tell of his glory when the camels bellow loudly? (So loud was his voice that he could be heard about the grumbling of the camels, as he boasted of his tribe's prowess.)
Had Ibn 'Abd been there he would have gone to them
And relieved them, that never ignoble man.
Away with you, 'Ali, never have I seen one who behaved like you
Against a brave man advancing like a stallion.
Never have you achieved such a proud boast.
As long as you live you can feel safe from stumbling thereby.

Hubayra also said:

The noblest man of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib knows
That when misfortune came their knight was 'Amr.
Their knight was 'Amr and 'Ali asked him to dismount.
(The lion must seek his enemy.)
He was their knight when 'Ali called to him
When the squadrons basely left him.
Alas that I left 'Amr in Yathrib.
May misfortunes never cease there!
Hassan b. Thabit boasting of the killing of 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd said:

'Amr, the last of you, we slew with the lance
As we defended Yathrib with our small force.
We killed you with our Indian swords,
For we are masters of war when we attack.
We killed you in Badr too
And left your tribes threading their way through the dead (727).

Hassan also said:

The warrior 'Amr b. 'Abd is on the flanks of Yathrib
Requiring to be avenged: he was not given respite. (The reading in the Diwan xcv is easier but not necessarily orginal:
"Amr... lay dead
Vengeance for him is not to be expected.')
You found our swords drawn
And you found our horses ready.
At Badr you met a band
Who smote you with weakling's blow.

No more will you be summoned on the day of great things
Or to important distasteful tasks, O 'Amr! (727)

Hassan also said:

Give Abu Hidm a message,
One with which the camels hasten.
Am I your friend in every hardship
And another your friend in a time of ease?
You have a witness who saw me
Lifted up to him as a child is carried (728).

Hassan said concerning B. Qurayza mourning Sa'd b. Mu'adh and mentioning his judgement concerning the former:

Tears streamed from my eyes,
'Tis right that they should weep for Sa'd
Lying on the battlefield. Eyes that flow with tears
Suffer his loss without ceasing.
Slain in God's religion, he inherits paradise with martyrs,
Theirs a noble company.
Though you have said farewell and left us
And lie in the dusty darkness of the grave
You, O Sa'd, have returned (to God) with a noble testimony
And garments of honour and praise.
By pronouncing on the two tribes of Qurayza the (same) judgement
Which God had decreed against them you did not judge of your own volition.
Your judgement and God's were at one
And you did not forgive when you were reminded of a covenant.
Though fate has brought you to your death
Among those who sold their lives for everlasting gardens
Yet blessed is the state of the true ones
When they are summoned to God for favour and regard.

Hassan also said mourning Sa'd and the prophet's companions who were martyred and mentioning their merits:

O my people, is there any defence against what is decreed?
And can the good old days return?
When I call to mind an age that is passed My heart is troubled and my tears flow;
Yearning sorrow reminds me of friends
Now dead, among them Tufayl and Rafi' and Sa'd.
They have gone to paradise
And their houses are empty and the earth is a desert without them.
They were loyal to the apostle on the day of Badr
While over them swords flashed amid the shades of death.

When he called them they answered loyally,
All of them obeyed him utterly.
They gave no ground till all were dead.
(Only battles cut short the allotted span.)
Because they hoped for his intercession
Since none but prophets can intercede.
That , O best of men, is what we did,
Our response to God while death is certain.
Ours was the first step to thee, and the last of us
Will follow the first in God's religion.
We know that the kingdom is God's alone
And that the decree of God must come to pass. (Diwan cxxxii. Obviously this dates from a later age. 'The good old days'are idealized.)

Hassan also said about B.Qurayza:

Qurayza met their misfortune
And in humiliation found no helper.
A calamity worse than that which fell B. al-Nadir befell them
The day that God's apostle came to them like a brilliant moon,
With fresh horses bearing horsemen like hawks.
We left them with the blood upon them like a pool
They having accomplished nothing.
They lay prostrate with vultures circling round them.
Thus are the obstinate and impious rewarded.
Warn Quraysh of a like punishment from God
If they will take my warning.

Hassan also said:

Qurayza met their misfortune
And shameful humiliation befell their castles.
Sa'd had warned them, saying
Your God is a majestic Lord.
They soon broke their treaty so that
The apostle slew them in their town.
With our troops he surrounded their fort
Which resounded with cries from the heat of the battle.

Hassan also said:

May the people who helped Quraysh miss one another,(This is the reading of C. W. has ta'aqada aginst tafaqada.)
For in their land they have no helper.
They were given the scripture land wasted it,
Being blind, straying from the Torah.

You disbelieved in the Quran and yet
You had been given confirmation of what the warner said.
The nobles of B. Lu'ayy took lightly
The great conflagration in al-Buwayra. (A place belonging to B. al-Nadir (not Qurayza) accoring to Yaqut, s.v. It was their trees which Muhammad destroyed.)

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib answered him:
May God make that deed immortal,
May fire burn in its quarters!
You shall know which of us is far (from the fire)
And which of our lands will be harmed.
Had the palms therein been horsemen
They would have said, 'You have no place here, be off!'(The meaning of this poem is that the fact that B. al-Nadir were able to withdraw with all their effects deserves to be immortalized and may the site they left be destroyed by fire. The last line means 'could the trees have been made to walk you Muslims would have got rid of them too!' Yaqut gives a different turn to all this and the preceding poem. Hassan's line above is put into the mouth of Abu Sufyan in the form:
'The B. Lu'ayy took hardly the great conflagration at al-Buwayra,' and the first line of Abu Sufyan's poem is given to Hassan in the form:
'May God make that conflagration permanent!'
But I.I. was right. Later writers thought that the 'deed' must be the burning of the trees and therefore the line must have been spoken by a Muslim. See further W. Arafat, op.cit., pp.277-81.)

Jabal b. Jawwal al-Tha'labi also answered him, mourning al-Nadir and Qurayza:

O Sa'd, Sa'd of B. Mu'adh,
For what befell Qurayza and al-Nadir.
By the life, Sa'd of B. Mu'adh
The day they departed was indeed steadfast.
As for al-Khazraji Abu Hubab (A reference to 'Abdullah b. Ubayy's interference in favour of B. Qaynuqa'.)
He told Qaynuqa' not to go.
The allies got Usayd in exchange for Hudayr
(For circumstances sometimes change.) (In the time of Hudayr, chief of Aus, the Jews were secure; but they suffered when his son Usayd came to power.)
Abu-Buwayra perished and was deprived of
Sallam and Sa'ya and Ibn Akhtab.
Yet in their land they were weighty men
Like the ponderous rocks of Maytan . (One of the mnountains of Medina.)
Though Sallam Abu Hakam is dead
His weapons were not useless or rusty.
And both the tribes of Kahin too, among them
Hawklike men, albeit kindly and generous.
We found their glory established on glory

Which time cannot obscure.
Dwell there, ye chiefs of Aus,
As though you were blind to shame.
You left your pot with nothing in it,
The pot of a people worth mentioning is ever on the boil! (A metaphor for burning anger. Khazraj rescued their Jewish allies the Qaynuqa' Aus abandoned their allies.)

165 - THE KILLING OF SALLAM IBN ABU'L-HUQAYQ

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over, the matter of Sallam b. Abu'l- Huqayq known as Abu Rafi came up in connexion with toose who had collected the mixed tribes together against the apostle. Now Aus had killed Kb'b b. al-Ashraf before Uhud because of his enmity towards the apostle and because he instigated men against him, so Khazraj asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill Sallam who was in Khaybar.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Ansar, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage Khazraj would say, ' They shall not have this superiority over us in the apostle's eyes and in Islam' and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Ka'b for his enmity towards the apostle, Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Ka'b? And then they remembered Sallam who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salima of Khazraj went to him: 'Abdullah b. 'Atik; Mas'ud b. Sinan; 'Abdullah b. Unays; Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Ribi ; and Khuzaib. Aswad, an ally from Aslam. As they left, the apostle appointed 'Abdullah b 'Atik as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallam's house by night, having locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (T.Roman) ladder led up. They mounted this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their man was here and that they could come in. When we entered (The change into the first person without any mention of the speaker's authority is significant. Doubtless there are occasions when the actual words used at a particular time and place have been carefully stored in a hearer's memory; but it should always be borne in mind that oratio obliqua is abhorrent to semitic writers who escape into the oratio recta at the first opportunity.) we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. His wife shrieked and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed . The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked one of our number would lift his sword against her; then he would remember the apostle's ban on killing women and withdraw his hand; but for that we would have made an end of

her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords 'Abdullah b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him, as he was saying Qatni, qatni, i.e. It's enough.

We went out. Now 'Abdullah b. 'Atik had poor sight, and fell from the ladder and sprained his arm (729) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people lit lamps and went in search of us in all directions until, despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see; so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, 'I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them 'By God, I certainly heard the voice of 'Abdullah b. 'Atik. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought "How can Ibn 'Atik be in this country?"' Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, 'By the God of the Jews he is dead!' Never have I heard sweeter word than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companion and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God's enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us laying claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said, 'It is the sword of 'Abdullah b. Unays that killed him; I can see traces of food on it.'

Hassan b. Thabit mentioning the killing of Ka'b and Sullam said

God, what a fine band you met,
O Ibnu'l-Huqayq and Ibnu'l-Ashraf!
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brisk as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling
And made you drink death with their swift-slaying swords,
Looking for the victory of their prophet's religion
Despising every risk of hurt.

166 - 'AMR B. AL-'AS AND KHALID B. AL-WALID ACCEPT ISLAM

Yazid b. Abu Habib from Rashid client of Habib b. Abu Aus al-Thaqafi from Habib told me that 'Amr b. al-'As told him from his own mouth: When we came away from the trench with the mixed tribes I gathered some of Quraysh together, men who shared my opinion and would listen to me, and said : 'You know that in my opinion this affair of Muhammad will go to unheard-of lengths and I should like to know what you think of my opinion. I think that we ought to go to the Negus and stay with him. If Muhammad conquers our people we shall be with the Negus and we should prefer to be subject to his authority rather than to Muhammad; on the other hand, if our people get the upper hand they know us and will treat us well.' They thought that my suggestion was excellent so I told them to collect something that we could take as a present to him; as leather was the product of our land which he most valued we collected a large quantity and took it to him.

While we were with him who should come to him but 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri whom the apostle had sent concerning Ja'far and his companions. He had an audience with the Negus, and when he came out I said to my companions that if I were to go to the Negus and ask him to let me have him, he would give him to me and we could cut off his head; and when I had done that Quraysh would see that I had served them well in killing Muhammad's messenger. So I went in to the Negus and did obeisance as was my wont. He welcomed me as a friend and asked if I had brought anything from our country, and when I told him that I had brought a large quantity of leather and produced it he was greatly pleased and coveted it. Then I said, 'O King, I have just seen a man leave your presence. He is the messenger of an enemy of ours, so let me have him that I may kill him, for he has killed some of our chiefs and best men.' He was enraged, and stretching out his hand he gave his nose such a blow that I thought he would have broken it. If the earth had opened I would have gone into it to escape his anger. I said that had I known that my request would have been distasteful to him I would not have made it. He said, 'Would you ask me to give you the messenger of a man to whom the great Namus comes as he used to come to Moses, so that you might kill him !' When I asked if he were really so great he said: 'Woe to you, 'Amr, obey me and follow him, for by Allah he is right and will triumph over his adversaries as Moses triumphed over Pharaoh and his armies.' I asked him if he would accept my allegiance to Muhammad in Islam, and he stretched out his hand and I gave my allegiance. When I went out to my companion I had entirely changed my mind, but I concealed my Islam from my companions.

Then I went off making for Muhammad to adopt Islam, and met Khalid b. al-Walid coming from Mecca. This was a little while before the occupation of Mecca. I said, 'Where are you going, Abu Sulayman ?' He said: 'The way has become clear. The man is certainly a prophet, and by Allah I'm going to be a Muslim. How much longer should I delay ?' I told him that too was travelling with the same object in view , so we went to Medina to the apostle. Khalid got there first and accepted Islam and gave his allegiance. Then I came up and said, 'O apostle, I will give you my allegiance on condition that my past faults are forgiven and no mention is made of what has gone before.' He said, 'Give allegiance 'Amr, for Islam does away with all that preceded it, as does the hijra.' So I gave my allegiance and went away (730).

On whom I do not suspect told me that 'Uthman b. Talha b. Abu Talha who was with them accepted Islam at the same time.

Ibn al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmi said:

I adjure 'Uthman b. Talha by our oath of friendship
And by the casting of the sandals at the stone of kissing
And by every alliance our fathers made,
Khalid not being exempt from such,
Do you want the key of a house other than yours, ('Uthman was the Keeper of the Key of the Ka'ba. See W. 821).
And what can be more desirable than the glory of an ancient house?

Trust not Khalid and 'Uthman
After this; they have brought a great disaster.

The conquest of B. Qurayza was in Dhu'l-Qa'da and the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage.

167 - THE ATTACK ON B. LIHYAN

The apostle stayed in Medina during Dhu'l-Hijja, Muharram, Safar, and the two months of Rabi,' and in Jumada'l-Ula, six months after the conquest of Qurayza, he went out against B. Lihyan to avenge his men killed at al-Raji,' Khubayb b. 'Adiy and his companions. He made as though he was going to Syria in order to take the people by surprise (731). He went past Ghurab, a mountain near Medina on the road to Syria, then by Mahis, (The place is wrongly given as Makhid in W.) then by al-Batra'; then he turned off to the left and came out by Bin, (A wadi near Medina) then by Sukhayratu'l-Yamam, (Between al-Sayala and Farah.) then the track went by the Meccan highroad. He quickened the pace until he came down to Ghuran, the haunts of B. Lihyan. (Ghuran is a wadi between Amaj and 'Usfan extending as far as a village called Saya.) He found that the people had been warned and taken up strong positions on the tops of the mountains. When the apostle got ther and saw that he had failed to take them by surprise as he had intended, he said, 'Were we to come down to 'Usfan the Meccans would think that we intend to come to Mecca.' So he went out with two hundred riders until he came to 'Usfan, when he sent two horsemen from his companions who went as far as Kura'u'l-Ghamim. (Between Mecca and Medina, a wadi some eight miles from 'Usfan.) Then he turned and went back.

Jabir b. 'Abdullah used to say, 'I heard the apostle say when he set his face towards Medina " Returning repentant if God will giving thanks, to our Lord. I take refuge in God from the difficulties of the journey and its unhappy ending, and the evil appearance of man and beast."'

The tradition about the raid on B. Lihyan is from 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik, Ka'b b. Malik said:

If B. Lihyan had waited
They would have met bands in their settlements, fine fighters.
They would have met audacious warriors whose terror fills the way (Or. with a different vowel, 'the heart.')
In front of an irresistible force glittering like stars.
But they were as weasels who stick to the
Clefts of the rocks, (A variant is 'passes of Hijaz') which have no means of escape.

168 - THE ATTACK ON DHU QARAD

The apostle had spent only a few nights in Medina when 'Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazari with the cavalry of Ghatafan raided the apostle's milch-camels in al-Ghaba

(Near Medina in the direction of Syria.) A man of B. Ghifar, who had his wife with him, was in charge of the camels. Him they killed and carried off his wife with the camels.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and a man I do not suspect from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik contributed to the story which follows. The first to know of them was Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' al-Aslami. That morning he was making for al-Ghaba armed with bow and arrows accompanied by a slave belonging to Talha b. 'Ubaydullah with a horse which he was leading. When he got to the pass of al-Wada' he saw some of their cavalry and looked down in the direction of Sal' and cried aloud, 'O (what a)
morning!' Then he hurried off after the raiding party like a lion. When he came up with them he began to keep them at bay with arrows, saying as he shot:

Take that, al-Akwa's son am I.
Today, mean crowd, you die!

Whenever the horsemen made for him he fled from them; then back he would come and take a shot at them when he could, saying the same words. One of them said, 'Our little Akwa' comes early in the morning!'

Ibnu'l-Akwa''s call for aid reached the apostle and he ordered the alarm to be sounded in Medina and the cavalry rallied to him. The first horseman to arrive was al-Miqdad b. 'Amr called b. al-Aswad, ally of B. Zuhra. The next to arrive from the Ansar were 'Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Za'ura', one of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal; Sa'd b. Zayd, one of B. Ka'b b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal; Usayd b. Zuhayr, brother of B. Haritha b. al-Harith, though there is some doubt about him; 'Ukasha b. Mihsan, brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma; Muhriz b. Nadla, brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma; Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Rib'i, brother of B. Salima ; and Abu 'Ayyash who was 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. al-Samir, brother of B. Zurayq. When they had gathered to the apostle, he set Sa'd b. Zayd over them according to my information and told them to go in pursuit of the band until he himself overtook them with the army.

I have heard from some men of B. Zurayq that the apostle had said to Abu 'Ayyash: 'How would it be if you were to give this horse to a man who is better rider than you and he caught up with the band?' He replied: 'I am the best horseman of the people! Then I beat the horse and by Allah he had not taken me fifty cubits before he threw me. I was astonished that the apostle should say that he wished that I had given him to a better horseman and that I should have said that I was the best horseman.' Men of B. Zurayq allege that the apostle gave Abu 'Ayyash's horse to Mu'adh b. Ma'is, or to 'A'idh b. Ma'is b. Qays b. Khalada who was the eighth. Some people count Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' as one of the eight and exclude Usayd b. Zuhayr, but God knows what happened, seeing that Salama was not riding that day but was the first to catch up with the band on foot. The horsemen went in pursuit of the band until they overtook them.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that the first horseman to catch up with the band was Muhriz b. Nadla who was called 'al-Akhram' and 'Qumayr', and that when the alarm

sounded a horse belonging to Mahmud b. Maslama ran round the plantation when it heard the neighing of the horses, for it was a treasured animal not put to work. When some women of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal saw the horse running round the plantation with the stump of wood to which it was tied they said: 'How would you like to ride this horse, Qumayr? You can see what it is like. Then you could overtake the apostle and the Muslims.' He agreed and they handed it over to him, and he soon outstripped the rest of them because it was full of spirit. When he overtook the band and came to a halt in front of them he said: 'Stop, you rascals, until the emigrants and Ansar who are behind you catch up with you.' One of them attacked and killed him. The horse wheeled and they could not stop him until it stood by its stable among B. 'Abdu'l- Ashhal. This man was the only Muslim to be killed (732).

Mahmud's horse was called Dhu'l-Limma (733).

One whom I dod not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik that Muhriz rode a horse of 'Ukasha's called al-Janah. Muhriz (C. has Mujazziz, but gives no authority for the reading.) was killed and al-Janah was captured. When the cavalry engaged, ABu Qatada al-Harith b. Rib'i killed Habib b. 'Uyayna b. Hisn and covered him with his mantle; then he joined his force. The apostle advanced with the Muslims (734) and there was Habib covered with Abu Qatada's mantle. The men exclaimed, 'We are God's and to Him must we return ! Abu Qatada has been killed.' The apostle said that it was not Abu Qatada but a man he had killed and covered with his mantle so that they might know that he was his prey. 'Ukasha overtook Aubar and his son 'Amr who were riding the same camel, and ran them through with his lance, killing the two of them at one stroke. They recovered some of the milch-camels. The apostle went forward until he halted at the mountain of Dhu Qarad, and the men joined him there, and he stopped there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa' asked if he might go with a hundred men and recover the rest of the herd and cut off the heads of the band. I have heard that the apostle said, 'By this time they are being served with their evening drink among Ghatafan.' The apostle divided a butchered camel among every hundred men, and after a while he returned to Medina. The wife of the Ghifari (v.s) came upon one of the apostle's she-camels and told him what had happened. Having done so she said, ' I vowed to Allah that I would slaughter her if Allah let me escape on her.' The apostle smiled and said: 'You would repay her badly when God mounted you on her and delivered you by her and then you would slaughter her ! No vow in disobedience to God nor concerning property that is not your own is valid. She is one my camels, so go back to your family with God's blessing.' This story of the Ghifari's wife comes from Abu'l-Zubayr al-Makki from al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Hasan al-Basri.

Among the verse composed about Dhu Qarad is the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

Were it not for what our horses suffered and what hurt their frogs
As they were led to the south of Saya last night,
They would have met you as they carried well-armed warriors
Noble in ancestry protecting their standard,
And the bastards would have rejoiced that we
Did not fight when Miqdad's horsemen came.

We were eight; they were a great force
Loud-voiced yet pricked by (our) lances (and) scattered.
We were of the people who followed them
And we gave free rein to every noble steed.
Yea, by the Lord of the camels that go to Mina
Traversing the great mountain passes (we will pursue you)
Till we make the horses stale (Reading mubila with C. and Diwan cxxxvii.) in the midst of your dwellings
And come back with your women and children,
Walking gently with every swift horse and mare
That turns swiftly in every battle.
A day in which they are led and a day of charges
Has worn out their quarters and altered the appearance of their backs.
Our horses are fed on milk
While war is kindled by passing winds.
Our sharp swords glittering cut through
Iron shields and pugnacious heads.
Allah put obstacles in their way to protect His sacred property
And to protect His dignity. (This line is obscure. Perhaps the 'sacred property' means the prophet's camels. Possibly the verb is an optative.)
They lived happily in their home, but
On the days of Dhu Qarad they were given the faces of slaves (735).

Hassan also said:

Did 'Uyayna think when he visited it (i.e.Medina)
That he would destroy its castles ?
In what you said you were made a liar.
You said, 'We will take great spoil.'
You loathed Medina when you visited it
And met roaring lions there.
Bacvk they turned running fast like ostriches
Without getting near a single camel.
God's apostel was our amir,
What a beloved amir to us!
And apostle whose message we believe
Who recites a luminous light-bringing book.

Ka'b b. Malik said concerning the day of Dhu Qarad with reference to the horsemen:

Do the bastards think that we
Are not their equals in horsemanship ? We are men who think killing no shame,
We turn not from the piercing lances.
We feed the guest with choicest camels' meat
And smite the heads of the haughty.
We turn back the conspicuous warriors in their pride

With blows that quash the zeal of the unyielding.
With heroes who protect their standard,
Noble , generous, fierce as jungle wolves.
They preserve their honour and their goods
With swords that smash the heads beneath the helms.
Ask the Banu Badr if you meet them
What the brethren did on the day of battle.
Tell the truth (Reading fasduqu with C. against W.'s faktumu.) to those you meet whenever you come out.
Conceal not the news in assemblies.
Say, We slipped away from the claws of the angry lion
With rage in his heart which he could not work off (736).

Shaddad b. 'Arid said concerning the day of Dhu Qarad with reference to 'Uyayna who was surnamed Abu Malik:

Why, O Abu Malik, did you not return to the fight
When your cavalry were in flight and being slain?
You mentioned going back to 'Asjar. (A place near Mecca.)
Nonsense ! it was too late to return.
You trusted yourself to a spirited horse
Quickly covering the ground when given free rein.
When your left hand reined him in
He reared like a flaming cauldron.
And when you saw that God's servants
Did not wait for those behind to come up
You knew that horsemen had been trained
To chase warriors when they took to the plain.
When they chase the cavalry they bring disgrace on them,
And if they are pursued they dismount
And protect themselves in evil case
With swords which the polisher has made bright.

169 - THE RAID ON B. AL-MUSTALIQ

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumada'l-Akhira and Rajab; then he attacked B. al-Mustaliq of Khuza'a in Sha'ban A.H.6 (737).

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Muhammad b. Yahya b. Habban each told me a part of the following story: The apostle received news that B. al-Mustaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Harith b. Abu Dirar, the father of Juwayriya d. al-Harith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering place of their called al-Muraysi in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. a;-Mustaliq to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of B. Kalb b. 'Auf b. 'Amir b. Layth b. Bakr called Hisham

b. Subaba was killed by a man of the Ansar of the family of 'Ubada b. al-Samit who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by this water a party came down to it. 'Umar had a hired servant from B. Ghifar called Jahjah b. Mas'ud who was leading his horse. This Jahjah and Sinan b. Wabar al-Juhani, an ally of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj, thrust one another away from the water and fell to fighting. The Juhani called out'Men of al-Ansar!' and Jahjah called out 'Men of the Muhajirun !' 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul was enraged. With him was a number of his people including Zayd b. Arqam , a young boy. He said, 'Have they actually done this? They dispute our priority, they outnumber us in our own country, and nothing so fits us and the vagabonds of Quraysh as the ancient saying "Feed a dog and it will devour you". By Allah when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Then he went to his people who were there and said: 'This is what you have done to yourselves. You have let them occupy your country, and you have divided your property among them. Had you but kept your property from them they would have gone elsewhere.' Zayd b. Arqam heard this and went and told the apostle when he had disposed of his enemies. 'Umar, who was with him, said, 'Tell 'Abbad b. Bishr to go and kill him.' The apostle answered, 'But what if men should say Muhammad kills his own companions ? No, but give orders to set off.' Now this was at a time when the apostle was not accustomed to travel. The men duly moved off.

When Abdullah b. Ubayy heard that Zayd had told the apostle what he had said he went to him and swore that he had not said what he did say. He was a great man among his own people and the Ansar who were present with the apostle said:'It may well be that the boy was mistaken in what he said, and did not remember the man's words,' sympathizing with Ibn Ubayy and protecting him.

When the apostle had begun his journey Usayd b. Hudayr met him and saluted him as a prophet, saying, 'You are travelling at a disagreeable time, a thing you have never done before.' The apostle said: 'Have you not heard of what your friend said ? He asserted that if he returns to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' He answered: 'But you will drive him out if you want to ; he is the weak and you are the strong.' He added: 'Treat him kindly, for Allah brought you to us when his people were stringing beads to make him a crown, and he thinks that you have deprived him of a kingdom.'

Then the apostle walked with the men all that day till nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground they fell asleep. he did this to distract their minds from what 'Abdullah b. Ubayy had said the day before. He continued his journey through the Hijaz as far as water a little above al-Naqi' called Baq'a.' As he travelled at night a violent wind distressed the men and they dreaded it. He told them not to be afraid because the wind announced the death of one of the greatest of the unbelievers, and when they got to Medina they found that Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of B. Qaynuqa', one of the most important Jews and a secret shelterer of the disaffected, had died that day.

The sura came down in which God mentioned the disaffected with Ibn Ubayy and those like-minded with him. When it came down the apostle took hold of Zayd b.

Arqam's ear, saying, 'This is he who devoted his ear to Allah.' (This anecdote is related by Zayd in the first person in Waqidi (B.M. MS. 1617,95a). It is good example of the way in which early traditions preserved the general sense and were comparatively indifferent to the form of words.) 'Abdullah , 'Abdullah b. Ubayy's son , heard about his father's affair.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that 'Abdullah came to the apostle, saying, 'I have heard that you want to kill 'Abdullah b. Ubayy for what you have heard about him. If you must do it, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head, for al- Khazraj know that they have no man more dutiful to his father than I, and I am afraid that if you order someone else to kill him my soul will not permit me to see his slayer walking among men and I shall kill him, thus killing a believer for an unbeliever, and so I should go to hell.' The apostle said: 'Nay, but let us deal kindly with him and make much of his companionship while he is with us.' After that it happened that if any misfortune befell it was his own people who reproached and upbraided him roughly. The apostle said to 'Umar when he heard of this state of things: 'Now what do you think, 'Umar ? Had I killed him on the day you wanted me to kill him the leading men would have trembled with rage. If I ordered them to kill him today they would kill him.' 'Umar replied, 'I know that the apostle's order is more blessed than mine.'

Miqyas b. Subaba came from Mecca as a Muslim, so he professed, saying, 'I come to you as a Muslim seeking the bloodwit for my brother who was killed in error.' The apostle ordered that he should have the bloodwit for his brother Hisham and he stopped a short while with the apostle. Then he attacked his brother's slayer and killed him and went off to Mecca an apostate. He spoke the following lines:

It eased my soul that he died in the lowland,
The blood of his neck veins dyeing his garments.
Before I killed him I was beset by cares
Which prevented me from seeking my couch.
I gave free vent to my vengeance
And was the first to return to the idols.
I avenged Fihr on him and laid his bloodwit
On the chiefs of B. al-Najjar, the lords of Fari. (One of their castles.)

He also said:

I fetched him a stroke in vengeance
Which drew blood that ebbed and flowed.
I said as the wrinkles of death covered him
'You can't be safe from B. Bakr when they are wronged'(738).

Of B. Mustaliq who were slain that day 'Ali killed two-Malik and his son. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf killed one of their horsemen called Ahmar or Uhaymir. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwayriya d. al-Harith b. Abu Dirar, the apostle's wife.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'A'isha said: When the apostle distributed the captives of B. al-Mustaliq, Juwayriya fell to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas, or to a cousin of his, and she gave him a deed for her redemption. She was a most beautiful woman. She captivated every man who saw her. She came to the apostle to ask his help in the matter. As soon as I saw her at the door of my room I took a dislike to her, for I knew that he would see her as I saw her. She went in and told him who she was- d. of al-Harith b. Abu Dirar, the chief of his people. 'You can see the state to which I have been brought. I have fallen to the lot of Thabit or his cousin and have given him a deed for my ransom and have come to ask your help in the matter.' He said, 'Would youlike something better than that ? I will discharge your debt and marry you,' and she accepted him.

The news that the apostle had married Juwayriya was blazed abroad and now that B. Mustaliq were the prophet's relations by marriage the men released those they held. When he married her a hundred families were released. I do not know a woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she (739).

Yazid b. Ruman told me that the apostle sent al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt to them after they had accepted Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him, but when he heard of them he was afraid and went back to the apostle and told him that the people had determined to kill him and had withheld their due poor tax. The Muslims talked a lot about raiding them until the apostle himself meditated doing so. While this was going on an embassy of their came to the apostle, saying: 'We heard about your messenger when you sent him to us and we went out to meet him to show him respect and to pay the poor tax that was due, and he went back as fast as he could. Now we hear that he has alleged that we went out to kill him. By Allah we did not go out with such intent.' So God sent down concerning him and them: 'O you who believe if an evil man comes to you with a report examine it closely lest you do ill to a people in ignorance and be sorry for what you have done. Know that the apostle of God is among you. If he were to obey you in much of the government you would be in trouble.' (Sura 49.6.)

170 - THE LIE THAT WAS UTTERED ON THE RAID OF B. AL-MUSTALIQ

According to what a man I do not suspect told me from al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'A'isha the apostle had gone forward on that journey of his until he was near Medina, 'A'isha having been with him on the journey, when the liars spoke about her. Al-Zuhri told us from 'Alqama b. Waqqas, and from Sa'id b. Jubayr and from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. 'Utba, each contributing a part of the story, one remembering more of it than another, and I (Zuhri) have put together for you what the people told me.

Yahya b. 'Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me from his father from 'A'isha; and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Rahman from 'A'isha from her own words when the liars said what they did. The whole of her story rests on these men as a whole. One relates what another does not. All of them are trustworthy witnesses, and all of them

related what they heard from her. She said: 'When the apostle intended to go on an expedition he cast lots between his wives which of them should accompany him. He did this on the occasion of the raid on B. al-Mustaliq and the lot fell on me, so the apostle took me out. The wives on these occasions used to eat light rations; meat did not fill them up so that they were heavy. When the camel was being saddled for me I used to sit in my howdah; then the men who saddled it for me would come and pick me up and take hold of the lower part of the howdah and lift it up and put it on the camel;s back and fasten it with a rope. Then they would take hold of the camel's head and walk with it.

'When the apostle finished his journey on this occasion he started back and halted when he was near Medina and passed a part of the night there. Then he gave permission to start and the men moved off. I went out for a certain purpose having a string of Zafar beads on my neck. When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my knowledge, and when I returned to the camel I went feeling my neck for it but could not find it. Meanwhile the main body had already moved off. I went back to the place where I had been and looked for the necklace until I found it. The men who were saddling the camel for me came up to the place I had just left and having finished the saddling they took hold of the howdah thinking that I was in it as I normally was, picked it up and bound it on the camel, not doubting that I was in it. Then they took the camel by the head and went off with it. I returned to the place and there was not a soul there. The men had gone. So I wrapped myself in my smock and then lay down where I was , knowing that if I were missed they would come back for me, and by Allah I had but just lain down when Safwan b. al-Mu'attal al-Sulami passed me; he had fallen behind the main body for some purpose and had not spent the night with the troops. He saw my form and came and stood over me. He used to see me before the veil was prescribed for us, so when he saw me he exclaimed in astonishment "The apostle's wife" (za'ina , a woman carried in a howdah.) while I was wrapped in my garments. He asked me what had kept me behind but I did not speak to him. Then he brought up his camel and told me to ride it while he kept behind. So I rode it and he took the camel's head going forward quickly in search of the army, and by Allah we did not overtake them and I was not missed until the morning. The men had halted and when they were rested up came the man leading me and the liars spread their reports and the army was much disturbed. But by Allah I knew nothing about it.

'Then we came to Medina and immediately I became very ill and so heard nothing of the matter. The story had reached the apostle and my parents, yet they told me nothing of it though I missed the apostle's accustomed kindness to me. When I was ill he used to show compassion and kindness to me, but in this illness he did not and I missed his attentions. When he came in to see me when my mother was nursing me (740), all he said was, "How is she?' (The form used indicates the plural and, to some extent, the speaker's indifference.) so that I was pained and asked him to let me be taken to my mother so that she could nurse me. "Do what you like," he said, and so I was taken to my mother, knowing nothing of what had happened until I recovered from my illness some twenty days later. Now we were an Arab people: we did not have those privies which foreigners have in their houses; we loathe and detest them. Our practice was to go out into the open spaces of Medina. The women used to go out every night, and one night I

went out with Umm Mistah d. Abu Ruhm b. al-Muttalib b. 'Abdu Manaf. Her mother was d. Sakhr b. 'Amir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym aunt of Abu Bakr. As she was walking with me she stumbled over her gown and exclaimed, "May Mistah stumble", Mistah,being the nickname of 'Auf. I said, "That is a bad thing to say about one of the emigrants who fought at Badr." She replied, "Haven't you heard the news, O daughter of Abu Bakr ?" and when I said that I had not heard she went on to tell me of what the liars had said, and when I showed my astonishment she told me that all this really had happened. By Allah, I was unable to do what I had to do and went back. I could not stop crying until I thought that the weeping would burst my liver. I said to my mother, "God forgive you! Men have spoken ill of me (T.and you have known of it) and have not told me a thing about it." She replied "My little daughter, don't let the matter weigh on you. Seldom is there a beautiful woman married to a man who loves her but her rival wives gossip about her and men do the same."

'The apostle had got up and addressed the men, though I knew nothing about it. After praising God he said: "What do certain men mean by worrying me about my family and saying false things about them ? By Allah , I know only good of them, and they say these things of a man of whom I know naught but good, who never enters a house of mine but in my company."

'The greatest offenders were 'Abdullah b. Ubayy among the Khazraj and Mistah and Hamna d. Jahsh, for the reason that he sister Zaynab d. Jahsh was one of the apostle's wives and only she could rivel me in his favour. As for Zaynab, Allah protected her by her religion and she spoke nothing but good. But Hamna spread the report far and wide opposing me (T.rivalling me) for the sake of her sister, and I suffered (Or 'she (Zaynab) suffered'.) much from that.

'When the apostle made this speech Usayd b. Hudayr said: "If they are of Aus let us rid you of them; and if they are of the Khazraj give us your orders, for they ought to have their heads cut off." Sa'd b. 'Ubada got up-before that he had been thought a pious man-and said, "By Allah, you lie. They shall not be beheaded. You would not have said this had you not known that they were of Khazraj. Had they been your own people you would not have said it." Usayd answered, "Liar yourself! You are a disaffected person arguing on behalf of the disaffected person arguing on behalf of the disaffected." (Cf. Sura 4.107) Feeling ran so high that they was almost fighting between these two clans of Aus and Khazraj. The apostle left and came in to see me. He called 'Ali and Usama b. Zayd and asked their advice. Usama spoke highly of me and said "They are your family (Care is taken to avoid the use of 'A'isha's name.) and we and you know only good of them, and this is a lie and a falsehood.

'As for 'Ali he said: "Women are plentiful, and you can easily change one for another. Ask the slve girl, for she will tell you the truth." So the apostle called Burayra to ask her, and 'Ali got up and gave her a violent beating , saying, "Tell the apostle the truth," to which she replied, "I know only good of her. The only fault I have to find with "A'isha is that when I am kneading dough and tell her to watch it she neglects it and falls asleep and the sheep (T. 'pet lamb') comes and eats it !"

'Then the apostle came in to me. My parents and a woman of the Ansar were with me and both of us were weeping. He sat down and after praising God he said, "'A'isha , you know what people say about you. Fear God and if you have done wrong as men say then repent towards God, for He accepts repentance from His slaves." As he said this my tears ceased and I could not feel them. I waited for my parents to answer the apostle but they said nothing. By Allah I thought myself too insignificant for God to send down concerning me a Quran which could be read in the mosques and used in prayer, but I was hoping that the apostle would see something in a dream by which God would clear away the lie from me, because He knew my innonence, or that they would be some communication. As for a Quran coming down about me by Allah I thought far too little of myself for that. When I saw that my parents would not speak I asked them why, and they replied that they did not know what to answer, and by Allah I do not know a household which suffered as did the family of Abu Bakr in those days. When they remained silent my weeping broke out afresh and then I said: "Never will I repent towards God of what you mention. By Allah, I know that if I were to confess what men say of me, God knowing that I am innocent of it, I should admit what did not happen; and if I denied what they said you would not believe me." Then I racked my brains for the name of Jacob and could not remember it, so I said, "I will say what the father of Joseph said: 'My duty is to show becoming patience and God's aid is to be asked against what you describe.' " (Sura 12.18).

'And , by God, the apostle had not moved from where he was sitting when there came over him from God what used to come over him and he was wrapped in his garment and a leather cushion was put under his head. As for me, when I say this I felt no fear or alarm, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not treat me unjustly. As for my parents, as soon as the apostle recovered I thought that they would die from fear that confirmation would come from God of what men had said. Then the apostle recovered and sat up and there fell from him as it were drops of water on a winter day, and he began to wipe the sweat from his brow, saying, "Good news, 'A'isha ! God has sent down (word) about your innocence." I said, "Praise be to God," and he went out to the men and addressed them and recited tothem what God had sent down concerning that (T. "me"). Then he gave orders about Mistah b. Uthatha and Hassan b. Thabit and Hamna d. Jahsh who were the most explicit in their slander and they were flogged with the prescribed number of stripes. (i.e.eighty.)

'Myfather Ishaq b. Yasar told me from some of the men of B. al-Najjar that the wife of Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd said to him, "Have you heard what people are saying about 'A'isha?" "Certainly, but it is a lie," he said. "Would you do such a thing?" (sc.what 'A'isha was accused of.) She answered "No, by Allah , I would not." He said, " Well, 'A'isha is a better woman than you." '

'A'isha continued: When the Quran came down with the mention of those of the slanderers who repeated what the liars had said, God said: 'Those who bring the lie are a band among you. Do not regard it as a bad thing for you; nay it is good for you. Every man of them will get what he has earned from the sin, and he who had the greater share

therein will have a painful punishment,' (Sura 24.11.) meaning Hassan b. Thabit and his companions who said what they said (741).

Then God said, 'Why did not the believing men and women when you heard it think good of themselves ?' i.e. say what ABu Ayyub and his wife said. Then He said, 'When you welcomed it with your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge you thought it a light thing, yet with God it is grave.'

When this came down about 'A'isha and about those who spoke about her, Abu Bakr who used to make an allowance to Mistah because he was of his kin and needy said, Never will I give anything to Mistah again, nor will I ever help him in any way after what he said about 'A'isha and brought evil on us.' She continued: 'So God sent down concerning that "And let not those who possess dignity and ease among you swear not to give to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate for God's sake. Let them forgive and show forbearance. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? And God is forgiving, merciful"' (742).

Abu Bakr said, 'Yes, by Allah, I want God to forgive me,' so he continued the allowance that he was accustomed to give to Mistah, saying, 'I will never withdraw it form him.'

Then Safwan b. al-Mu'attal met Hassan b. Thabit with a sword when he heard what he was saying about him, for Hassan had also uttered some verse alluding to him and the Arabs of Mudar who had accepted Islam:

Then vagabond immigrants have become powerful and numerous
And Ibnu'l-Furay'a has become solitary in the land. (Here in a bad sense. He is speaking of himself submerged in a sea of refugees.)
As good as bereaved is the mother of the man I fight
Or caught in the claws of a lion.
The man I kill will not be paid for
By money or by blood.
When the wind blows in the north and the sea rides high
And bespatters the shore with foam
'Tis no more violent than I when you see me in a rage
Devastating as a cloud of hail.
As for Quraysh, I will never make peace with them
Until they leave error for righteousness
And abandon al-Lat and al-'Uzza
And all bow down to the One, The Eternal,
And testify that what the apostle said to them is true,
And faithfully fulfil the solemn oath with God. (The language is reminiscent of the Quran. The point of the reference to Safwan is not clear to me.)

Safwan met him and smote him with his sword, saying according to what Ya'qub b. 'Utba told me:

Here's the edge of my sword for you !
When you lampoon a man like me you don't get a poem in return!

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas leapt upon Safwan when he smote Hassan and tied his hands to his neck and took him to the quarter of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj. ABdullah b. Rawaha met him and asked what had happened, and he said: 'Do I surprise you ? He smote Hassan with the sword and by Allah he must have killed him.' Abdullah asked if the apostle knew about what he had done, and when he said that he did not he told him that he had been very daring and that he must free the man. He did so. Then they came to the apostle and told him of the affair and he summoned Hassan and Safwan. The latter said, 'He insulted and satirized me and rage so overcame me that I smote him.' The apostle said to Hassan, 'Do you look with an evil eye on my people because God has guided them to Islam?' He added, 'Be charitable about what has befallen you.' Hassan said, 'It is yours, O apostle' (743).

The same informant told me that the apostle gave him in compensation Bir Ha, today the castle of B. Hudayla in Medina. It was a property belonging to Abu Talha b. Sahl which he had given as alms to the apostle who gave it to Hassan for his blow. He also gave him Sirin a Copt slavegirl, and she bare him 'Abdu'l-Rahman.

'A'isha used to say, 'Questions were asked about Ibnu'l-Mu'attal and they found that he was impotent; he never touched women. He was killed as a martyr after this.'

Hassan b. Thabit said, excusing himself for what he had said about 'A'isha:

Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
Never thinking of reviling innocent women;
A noble woman of the clan of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
Seekers of honour whose glory passes not away.
Pure, God having purified her nature
And cleansed her from all evil and fasehood.
If I said what you allege that I said Let not my hands perform their office.
How could I, with my lifelong affection and support
For the family of the apostle who lends splendour to all gatherings,
His rank so high above all others that
The highest leap would fall short of it?
What has been said will not hold
But is the word of one who would slander me (744).

A Muslim said about the flogging of Hassan and his companions for slandering 'A'isha (745):

Hassan, Hamna, and Mistah tasted what they deserved
For uttering unseemly slander;
They slandered with ill-founded accusations their prophet's wife;

They angered the Lord of the glorious throne and were chastised.
They injured God's apostle through her
And were made a public and lasting disgrace.
Lashes rained upon them like
Raindrops falling from the highest clouds.

171 - THE AFFAIR OF AL-HUDAYBIYA, A.G. 6. THE WILLING HOMAGE AND THE PEACE BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND SUHAYL B. 'AMR

Then the apostle stayed in Medina during the months of Ramadan and Shawwal and went out on the little pilgrimage in Dhu'l-Qa'da with no intention of making war (746). He called together the Arabs and neighbouring Bedouin to march with him, fearing that Quraysh would oppose him with arms or prevent him from visiting the temple, as they actually did. Many of the Arabs held back from him, and he went out with the emigrants and Ansar and such of the Arabs as stuck to him. He took the sacrificial victims with him and donned the pilgrim garb so that all would know that he did not intend war and that his purpose was to visit the temple and to venerate it.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwan b. al-Hakam told me: The apostle went out in the year of al-Hudaybiya with peaceful intent meaning to visit the temple, and took with him seventy camels for sacrifice. There were seven hundred men so that each camel was on behalf of ten men. Jabir b. 'Abdullah, so I have heard, used to say, 'We, the men of al-Hudaybiya, were fourteen hundred.'

Al-Zuhri continued: When the apostle was in 'Usfan, Bishr b. Sufyan al-Ka'bi met him (747) and said: 'There are Quraysh who have heard of your coming and have come out with their milch-camels and have put on leopards' skins, (This passage and 744, line 5, imply that leopard skins were actually worn. The language in Hamasa 82.13 and Mufad. 640.6 appears to be figurative. For 'milch-camels' some substitute 'women and children.') and have encamped at Dhu Tuwa swearing that you will never enter Mecca in defiance of them. This man Khalid b. al-Walid is with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kura'u'l-Ghamim.' (A wadi about 8 miles from 'Usfan.) The apostle said: 'Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them ! What harm would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to go our own ways ? If they should kill me that is what they desire, and if God should give me the victory over them they would enter Islam in flocks. If they do not do that they will fight while they have the strength, so what are Quraysh thinking of ? By Allah, I will not cease to fight for the mission with which God has entrusted me until He makes it victorious or I perish.' Then he said, 'Who will take us out by a way in which we shall not meet them?'

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that a man of Aslam volunteered to do so and he took them by a rugged, rocky track between passes which was very hard on the Muslims, and when they emerged from it on to the easy ground at the end of the wadi the apostle said to the men, 'Say, We ask God's forgiveness and we repent towards Him.' They did so and he said, 'That is the "putting away" (hitta is said to mean 'take away our sins.' Cfr. Suras

2.55 and 7.161.) that was enjoined on the children of Israel; but they did not say the words.'

The apostle ordered the force to turn to the right through the salty growth (Hamd here may be a place-name, but the place of this name in Yaq. ii.339 is much too far away from Mecca.) on the road which leads by the pass of al-Murar to the declivity of al-Hudaybiya below Mecca. They did so, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw from the dust of the army that they had turned aside from their path they returned at a gallop to Quraysh. The apostle went as far as the pass of al-Murar and when his camel knelt and the men said, 'The camel won't get up, 'he said: 'It has not refused and such is not its nature, but the One who restrained the elephant from Mecca is keeping it back. Today whatever condition Quraysh make in which they ask me to show kindness to kindred I shall agree to.' Then he told the people to dismount. They objected that there was no water there by which they could halt, so he took an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his companions and he took it down into one of the waterholes and prodded the middle of it and the water rose until the men's camels were satisfied with drinking and lay down there.

One of the B. Aslam told me that the man who went into the hole with the apostle's arrow was Najiya b. Jundub b. 'Umayr b. Ya'mar b. Darim b. 'Amr b. Wa'ila b. Sahm b. Mazin b. Salaman b. Aslam b. Afsa b. Abu Haritha who drove the apostle's camels to sacrifice (748).

A traditionsit alleged to me that al-Bara'b. 'Azib used to say that it was he who went down with the apostle's arrow, and God knows which it was.

The Aslam quoted verses from the lines which Najiya made. We think that it was he who went down with the arrow. Aslam allege that a slave-girl of the Ansar came up with her bucket while Najiya was in the well supplying the people with water and said:

O you down below, my bucket is here.
I can hear all our men who wish you good cheer
Praising the one who draws water here (749).

Najiya said as he was in the hole getting the water:

The Yamani slave-girl knows
That I'm Najiya down below getting water.
Many a wide bloody wound I've made
In the breasts of advancing foes.

In his tradition al-Zuhri said: When the apostle had rested Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuza'i came to him with some men of Khuza'a and asked him what he had come for. He told them that he had not come for war but to go on pilgrimage and venerate the sacred precincts. Then he said to them what he had said to Bishr b. Sufya. Then they returned to Quraysh and told them what they had heard; but they suspected them and spoke roughly to them, saying, 'He may have come not wanting war but by Allah he shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that we have allowed it.'

Khuza'a were the apostle's confidants, both their Muslims and their polytheists. They kept him informed of everything that happened in Mecca.

Then Quraysh sent Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyaf brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to him. When he saw him approaching the apostle said, 'This is a treacherous fellow!' When he came up and spoke to him the apostle gave him the same reply as he had given Budayl and his companions, and he returned and told the Quraysh what the apostle had said.

Then they sent to him al-Hulays b. 'Alqama or Ibn Zabban, who was at tht time chief of the black troops, being one of B. al-Harith b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana. When he saw him the apostle said, 'This is one of the devout people, so send the sacrificial animals to meet him so that he can see them ! When he saw them going past him from the side of the wadi with their festive collars round their necks and how they had eaten their hair (It is just possible that aubar is the pl. of wibar, a bitter salty herb with thorns (hamida). In that case it would support the rendering of Hamd on p.741.)because they had been so long kept back from the place of sacrifice, he went back to Quraysh and did not come to the apostle, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. When he told them that, they said, 'Sit down ! You are only a Bedouin, utterly ignorant.'

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that this enraged al-Hulays, who said: 'You men of Quraysh, it was not for this that we made an alliance and agreement with you. Is a man who comes to do honour to God's houe to be excluded from it ? By him who holds my life in his hand, either you let Muhammad do what he has come to do or I shall take away the black troops to the last man.' They said, 'Be quiet, Hulays ! until we obtain for ourselves acceptable terms.'

In his narrative al-Zuhri said: Then they sent 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi to the apostle and he said: 'You men of Quraysh, I have seen the harshness and rude words with which you have received those you sent to Muhammad when they returned to you. You know that you are the father and I am the son-for 'Urwa was the son of Subay'a d. 'Abdu Shams - I heard of what befell you and I collected those of my people who obeyed me ; then I came to you to help you.' They agreed and said that they did not suspect him. So he came to the apostle and sat before him and said: 'Muhammad, have you collected a mixed people together and then brought them to your own people to destroy them ? Quraysh have come out with their milch-camels (v.s.) clad in leopard skins swearing that you shall never enter Mecca by force. By God I think I see you deserted by these people (here) tomorrow.' Now Abu Bakr was sitting behind the apostle and he said, 'Suck al-Latp's nipples! Shoud we desert him ?' He asked who had spoken, and when he heard it was Ibn Abu Quhafa he said, 'By Allah, did I not owe you a favour I would pay you back for that, but now we are quits.' Then he began to take hold of the apostle's beard as he talked to him. Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba was standing by the apostle's head clad in mail and he began to hit his hand as he held the apostle's beard saying, 'Take your hand away from the apostle's face before you lost it.' 'Urwa said, 'Confound you, how rough and rude you are!' The apostle smiled and when 'Urwa asked who the man was he told him that it was

his brother's son, al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and he said, 'O wretch, it was only yesterday that I washed your dirty parts!' (750).

The apostle told him what he had told the others, namely that he had not come out for war. He got up from the apostle's presence having seen how his companions treated him. Whenever he performed his ablutions they ran to get the water he had used; if he spat they ran to it; if a hair of his head fell they ran to pick it up. So he returned to Quraysh and said, 'I have been to Chosroes in his kingdom , and Caesar in his kingdom and the Negus in his kingdom, but never I seen a king among a people like Muhammad among his companions. I have seen a people who will never abandon him for any reason, so form your own opinion.'

A traditionst told me that the apostle called Khirash b. Umayya al-Khuza'i and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Tha'lab to tell their chiefs from him what he had come for. They hamstrung the apostle's camel and wanted to kill the man, but the black troops protected him and let him go his way so that he came back to the apostle.

One whom I do not suspect from 'Ikrima client of Ibn 'Abbas from the latter told me that Quraysh had sent forty or fifty men with orders to surround the apostle's camp and get hold of one of his companions for them, but they were caught and brought to the apostle, who forgave them and let them go their way. They had attacked the camp with stones and arrows. Then he called 'Umar to send him to Mecca with the same message, but 'Umar told him that he feared for his life with Quraysh, because there were non of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b in Mecca to protect him, and Quraysh knew of his enmity and his rought treatment of them. He recommended that a man more prized there than himself should be sent, namely 'Uthman. The apostle summoned 'Uthman and sent him to Abu Sufyan and the chiefs of Quraysh to tell them that he had not come for war but merely to visit the house and to venerate its sanctity.

As 'Uthman entered or was about to enter Mecca Aban b. Sa'id b. al-'As met him and carried him in front of him. Then he gave him his protection until he could convey the apostle's message to them. Having heard what 'Uthman had to say, they said: 'If you want to go round the temple, go round it.' He said that he could not do so until Muhammad did so, and Quraysh kept him a prisoner with them. The apostle and the Muslims were informed that 'Uthman had been killed.

172 - THE WILLING HOMAGE

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle heard that 'Uthman had been killed he said that they would not leave until they fought the enemy, and he summoned the men to give their undertaking. The pledge of al-Ridwan took place under a tree. Men used to say that the apostle took their pledge unto death. Jabir b. 'Abdullah used to say that the apostle did not take their pledge unto death, but rather their undertaking that they would not run away. Not one of the Muslims who were present failed to give his hand except al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of B. Salima. Jabir used to say: 'By Allah, I can almost see him

now sticking to his camel's side cringing as he tried to hide himself from the men.' Then the apostle heard that the news about 'Uthman was false (751).

173 - THE ARMISTICE

Al-Zuhri said: Then Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to the apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a forcible entry. When the apostle saw him coming he said, 'The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man.' After a long discussion peace was made and nothing remained but to write and agreement 'Umar jumped up and went to Abu Bakr saying, 'Is he not God's apostle, and are we not Muslims, and are they not polytheists?' to which Abu Bakr agreed, and he went on: 'Then why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?' He replied, 'Stick to what he says, for I testify that he is God's apostle.' 'Umar said, 'And so do I.' Then he went to the apostle and put the same questions to which the apostle answered, 'I am God's slave and His apostle. I will not go against His commandment and He will not make me the loser.' 'Umar used to say, 'I have not ceased giving alms and fasting and praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day out of fear for what I had said, when I hoped that (my plan) would be better.'

Then the apostle summoned 'Ali and told him to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful.' Suhayl siad 'I do not recognize this; but write "In they name, O Allah." The apostle told him to write the latter and he did so. Then he said: 'Write "This is what Muhammad, the apostle of God has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr."' Suhayl said, 'If I witnessed that you were God's apostle I would not have fought you. Write your own name and the name of your father.' The apostle said: 'Write "This is what Muhammad b. 'Abdullah has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr:they have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muhammad without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them; and if anyone of those with Muhammad comes to Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wished to enter into a bond and agreement with Muhammad many do so and he who wished to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so." ' Here Khuza'a leapt up and said, 'We are in a bond and agreement with Muhammad,'and B. Bakr leapt up and said the same with regard to Quraysh, adding 'You must retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more.'

While the apostle and Suhayl were writing the document, suddenly Abu Jandal b. Suhayl appeared walking in fetters, having escaped to the apostle. The apostle's companions had gone out without any doubt of occupying Mecca because of the vision which the apostle had seen, and when they saw the negotiations for peace and a withdrawal going on and what the apostle had taken on himself they felt depressed almost to the point of death. When Suhayl saw Abu Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and

took holf of his collar, saying, 'Muhammad, the agreement between us was concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He began to pull him roughly by his collar and to drag him away to return him to Quraysh, while Abu Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may enttice me from my religion O Muslims?' and that increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'O Abu Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escapre for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.' 'Umar jumped up and walked alongside Abu Jandal saying, 'Be patient for they are only polytheists; the blood of one of them is but the blood of a dog,' and he brought the hilt of his sword close up to him. 'Umar used to say, 'I hoped that he would take the sword and kill his father with it, but the man spared his father and so the matter ended.'

When the apostle had finished the document he summoned representatives of the Muslims and polytheists to witness to the peace, namely Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf, 'Abdullah b. Suhayl b. 'Amr, and Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas, Mahmud b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Hafs who was a polytheist at the time, and 'Ali who was the writer of the document.

The apostle was encamped in the profane country, and he used to pray in the sacred area. When the peace was concluded he slauthtered his victims and sat down and shaved his head. I have heard that it was Khirash b. Umayya b. al-Fadl al-Khuza'i who shaved him then. When the men saw wqhat the apostle had done they leapts up and did the same.

'Abdullah b. ABu Najih from Mujahid from Ibn 'Abbas told me, 'Some men shaved their heads on the day of al-Hudaybiya while others cut their hair.' The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on the shavers.' They said, 'The cutters, too, O apostle?' Three times they had to put this question until finally he added 'and the cutters'. When they asked him why he had repeatedly confined the invocation of God's mercy to the shavers he replied,'Because they did not doubt.'

The same authorities told me that the apostle sacrificed in the year of al-Hudaybiya among his victims a camel belonging to Abu Jahl which had a silver nose-ring, thus enraging the polytheists.

Zuhri continued: The apostle then went on his way back and when he was half-way back the sura al-Fath came down: 'We have given you a plain victory that God may forgive you your past sin and the sin which is to come and may complete his favour upon you and guide you on an upright path.' (Sura 48.) Then the account goes on about him and his companions until he comes to mention the oath of allegiance and He said: 'Those who swear allegiance to you really swear allegiance to God, the hand of God being above their hands; so he who breaks his oath breaks it to his own hurt; while he who is faithful to what he has convenanted with God, to him will He give a great reward.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin who held back from him. Then He said when he urged them to take the field with him and they procrastinated, 'The Bedouin who were left behind will say to you: Our possessions and our families preoccupied us!' Then follows an account of them until the words 'Those who were left behind will say when you go out to capture spoil, Let us follow you, wishing to change what God has said. Say, You shall not follow us. Thus has God said beforehand.' Then follows an account of them and how it was explained to them that they must fight a people of great prowess.

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih from 'Ata' b. Abu Rabah from Ibn 'Abbas said (That means) Persia. One whom I do not suspect from al-Zuhri told me that 'a people of gret prowess' meant Hanifa with the arch-liar.

Then He said: 'God was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down the Sakina (This is (a) a genuine Arabic word meaning 'tranquillity', 'calm'; and (b) a borrowing from the Hebrew shekinah, possibly through the medium of Syriac. A summary of what has been said about it with a bibliography is given by A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, 174.) upon them and rewarded them with a recent victory and much spoil which they will take. God is mighty, wise. God has promised you much spoil which you will capture and has given you this in advance, and kept men's hands from you, that it may be a sign to the believers and that He may guide you on an upright path, and other (things) which you have not been able to get. God encompasses them, and God is almighty.'

Then He mentioned how He had kept him away from battle after the victory over them, meaning those He had kept from him. Then He said: 'He it is who has kept their hands from you and your hands from them in the vale of Mecca, after He had given you victory over them. God is a seer of what you do.' Then He said: 'They are those who disbelieved and debarred you from the sacred mosque and the offering from reaching its goal' (752). 'And had it not been for the believing men and women whom you did not know lest you should tread them under foot and thus incur guilt for them unwittingly.' Ma'arra means 'a fine', i.e. lest you should suffer loss for them unwittingly and pay its bloodwit; as for real guilt he did not fear it on their account (753).

Then he said, 'When those who disbelieve had set in their hearts zealotry, the zealotry of paganism,' i.e. Suhayl b. 'Amr when he scorned to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful ' and that Muhammad is God's apostle. Then He said 'God sent down His sakina ((This is (a) a genuine Arabic word meaning 'tranquillity', 'calm'; and (b) a borrowing from the Hebrew shekinah, possibly through the medium of Syriac. A summary of what has been said about it with a bibliography is given by A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, 174). upon his apostle and the believers and imposed on them the word of piety, for they were meet and worthy of it,' i.e. the declaration of God's unity, the witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and His apostle.

Then He said: 'God has fulfilled the vision to His apostle in truth. You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will, safely with heads shaved and hair cut short fearing not. For

He knows what you do not know,' i.e. the vision which the apostle saw that he would enter Mecca safely without fear. He says 'with your heads shaved and hair cut short' along with him without fear, for He knows what you do not know of that, and more than that He has wrought a near victory, the peace of al-Hudaybiya.

No previous victory in Islam was greater than this. There was nothing but battle when men met; but when there was an armistice and war was abolished and men met in safety and consulted together none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many or more than double as many entered Islam as ever before (754).

174 - THE CASE OF THOSE LEFT HELPLESS AFTER THE PEACE

When the apostle arrived in Medina Abu Basir 'Utba b. Asid b. Jariya , one of those imprisoned in Mecca, came to him. Azhar b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi wrote to the apostle about him, and they sent a man of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy with a freed slave of theirs. When they came to the apostle with the letter he said, 'You know the undertaking we gave these people and it ill becomes us that treachery should enter our religion. God will bring relief and a way of escape to those helpless like you, so go back to your people.' He said, 'Would you return me to the polythists who will seduce me from my religion?' He said, 'Go, for God will bring relief and a way of escape for you and the helpless ones with you.' So he went with them as far as Dhu'l-Hulayfa (About six or seven miles from Medina) where he and the two men sat against a wall. Abu Basir said, 'Is your sword sharp, O brother of B. 'Amir?' When he said that it was he said that he would like to look at it. 'Look at it if you want to,' he replied. Abu Basir unsheathed it and dealt him a blow that killed him. The freedman ran off to the apostle who was sitting in the mosque, and when the apostle saw him coming he said, 'This man has seen something frightful.' When he came up the apostle said, 'What's the matter, woe to you?' He said: 'Your man has killed my man,' and almost at once Abu Basir came up girt with the sword, and standing by the apostle he said, 'Your obligation is over and God has removed it from you. You duly handed me over to the men and I have protected myself in my religion lest I should be seduced therein or scoffed at.' The apostle said, 'Woe is his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him.' (Or,'The firebrand! Would that others had been with him!)

The Abu Basir went off until he halted at al-'Is in the region of Dhu'l-Marwa by the sea-shore on the road which Quraysh were accustomed to take to Syria. The Muslims who were confined in Mecca heard what the apostle had said of Abu Basir so they went out to join him in al-'Is. About seventy men attached themselves to him, and they so harried Quraysh,killing everyone they could get hold of and cutting to pieces every caravan that passed them, that Quraysh wrote to the apostle begging him by the ties of kinship to take these men in, for they had no luse for them; so the apostle took them in and they came to him in Medina (755).

When Suhayl heard that Abu Basir had killed his 'Amiri guard he leant his back against the Ka'ba and swore that he would not remove it until this man's bloodwit was paid. Abu Sufyan b. Harb said, 'By God, this is sheer folly. It will not be paid.' Three times he said it.

Mauhab b. Riyah Abu Unays, an ally of B. Zuhra, said (756):

A brief word from Suhalyl reached me
And woke me from my sleep.
If you wish to reproach me
Then reproach me, for you are not far from me.
Would you threaten me when 'Abdu Manaf is round me
With Makhzum ? Alas, whom are you attacking?
If you put me to the test you will not find me
A weak support in grave misfortunes.
Ican rival in birth the best of my people.
When the weak are ill-treated I protect them.
They defend the heights of Mecca without doubt
As far as the valleys and the wadi sides
With every blood mare and fiery horse
Grown thin from long fighting.
Ma'add know they have in al-Khayf (A place in Mina)
A provision of glory exalted high.

'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra answered him:

Mauhab has become like a poor donkey
Braying in a village as he passes through it.
A man like you cannot attack Suhayl.
Vain is your effort. Whom are you attacking?
Shut up, you son of a blacksmith,
And stop talking nonsense in the land. Don't mention the blame of Abu Yazid.
There's a great difference between occeans and puddles.

175 - THE WOMEN WHO EMIGRATED AFTER THE ARMISTICE

Umm Kulthum d. 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt migrated to the apostle during this period. Her two brothers 'Umara and al-Walid sons of 'Uqba came and asked the apostle to return her to them in accordance with the agreement between him and Quraysh at Hudaybiya, but he would not. God forbade it.

Al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me: Icame in to him as he was writing a letter to Ibn Abu Hunayda, the friend of al-Walid b. Abdu'l-Malik who had written to ask him about the word of God: 'O you who believe, when believing women come to you as emigrants test them. God knows best about their faith. If you know that they are believers do not send them back to the unbelievers. They are not lawful to them nor vice

versa. And give them (the unbelievers) what they have spent on them. It is no sin for you to marry them when you have given them their dues, and hold not to the ties of unbelieving women' (Sura 60.10) (757). Ask for what you have spent and let them ask for what they have spent. That is the judgement of Allah who judges between you. God is a knower, wise.'

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (He was the principal authority on apostolic tradition. His father was a cousin of the prophet, his mother Asma' was a daughter of Abu Bakr, and his brother was a cadidate for the caliphate, and he was closely associated with 'A'isha , who was his aunt. He was born in A.H. 23 and died in 94.)wrote to him: The apostle made peace with Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya on condition that he should return to them those who came without the permission of their guardians. But when women migrated to the apostle and to Islam God refused to allow them to be returned to the polytheists if they had been tested by the test of Islam, and they knew that they came only out of desire for Islam, and He ordered that their dowries should be returned to Quraysh if their women were withheld from them if they returned to the Muslims the dowries of the women they had withheld from them. 'That is the judgement of God which He judges between you, and Allah is knowing, wise.' So the apostle withheld the women and returned the men, and he asked what God ordered himto ask of the dowries of the women who were withheld from them,and that they should return what was due if the other side did the same. Had it not been for this judgement of God's the apostle would have returned the women as he returned the men. And had it not been for the armistice and covenant between them on the day of al-Hudaybiya he would have kept the women and not returned the dowries, for that is what he used to do with the Muslim women who came to him before the covenant.

I asked al-Zuhri about this passage: 'And if any of your wives have gone to the unbelievers and you have your turn of triumph, they give those whose wives have gone the like of what they spent, and fear Allah in whom you believe.' He said, If one of you loses his family to the unbelievers and a woman does not come to you you may take for her the like of what they take from you, then compensate them from any booty that you secure. When this verse came down, 'You who believe when believing women come to you as emigrants, ' as far as the words 'and hold not to the cords of disbelieving women' it referred to 'Umar's divorcing his wife Qurayba d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira. Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan married her afterwards while they were both polytheists in Mecca; and Umm Kulthum the Khuza'ite woman d. Jarwal mother of Ubaydullah b. 'Umar whom Abu Jahm b. Hudhayfa b. Ghanim a man of 'Umar's people married while they both were polytheists (758).

176 - THE EXPEDITON TO KHAYBAR A.H.7

After his return from al-Hudaybiya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhu'l-Hijja and part of al-Muharram, the polytheists superintending the pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khaybar (759).

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi from Abu'l -Haytham b. Nasr b. Duhr al-Aslami from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to 'Amir b. al-Akwa 'who was the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who was named Sinan: 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and chant one of your camel-songs for us'; so he got down and recited this rought rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have been guided
Not given alms nor prayed.
If people treat us unjustly
And if they wish to seduce us we resist.
Send down Sakina (v.s) upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on you!' 'Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer.' He was killed at Khaybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying, and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Ata' b. Abu Marwan al-Aslami from his father from Abu Mu'attib b. 'Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khaybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to stop. Then he said:

'O God, Lord of the heavens and what they o'ershadow
And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow
And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw
And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,
We ask Thee for the good of this town and the good of its people and the good of what is in it, and we take refuge in Thee from its evil and the evil of its people and the evil that is in it. Forward in the name of Allah.' He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Malik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call prayer (This is the usual meaning of adhan, but probably here a more general term is indicated: 'a call to get up and work'.) he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. We came to Khaybar by night, and the apostle passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer,(This is the usual meaning of adhan, but probably here a more genral term is indicated: 'a call to get up and word'.) so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abu Talha with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khaybar coming out in the morning with thier spades and baskets. When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Muhammad with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah akbar! Khaybar is destroyed. When we arive in a people's square it is a bad

morning for those who have been warned.' Harun told us from Humayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khaybar he went by way of 'Isr, (A mountain between Medina and Wadi'l-Fur'.) and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Sahba'. (An evening's journey from Khaybar.) Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Raji', halting between the men of Khaybar and Ghatafan so as to prevent the latter reinforcing Khaybar, for they were on their side against the apostle.

I have heard that when Ghatafan heard about the apostle's attack on Khaybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumour about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, so they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khaybar open to the apostle.

The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Na'im; there Mahmud b. Maslama was killed by amillstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qamus the fort of B. Abu'l-Huqayq. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab who had been the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi'b. Abu'l-Huqayq, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Safiya for himself.

Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had asked the apostle for Safiya, and when he chose her for himself he gave him her two cousins. The women of Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Damra al-Fazari told me from 'Abdullah b. Abu Salit from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me from Makhul that the apostle prohibited four things that day: carnal intercourse with pregnant women who were captured; eating the flesh of domestic donkeys; eating any carnivorous animal; and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

Sallam b. Kirkira told me from 'Amr b. Dinar from Jabir b. 'Abdullah al-Ansar)Jabir had not been present at Khaybar) that when the apostle forbade the flesh of donkeys he allowed them to eat horseflesh.

Yazid b. Abu Habib told me from Abu Marzuq client of Tujib from Hanash al-San'ani: With Ruwayfi' b. Thabit al-Ansari we attacked the Maghrib, and one of its towns called Jirba (Anisland near Qabis) was conquered. A man arose as a preacher and said, 'Let me tell you what I heard the apostle say on the day of Khaybar. He got up among us and said: "It is not lawful for a man who believes in Allah and the last day to mingle his

seed with another man's (meaning to approach carnally a pregnant woman among the captives), nor is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanness; nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been properly divided ; nor is it lawful for him to ride an animal belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pol when he has worn it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has reduced it to rag.'"

Yazid b. 'Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that he was told from 'Ubada b. al-Samit: On the day of Khaybar the apostle forbade us to buy or sell gold ore for gold coin or silver ore for silver coin. He said, 'Buy gold ore with silver coin and silver ore with gold coin.' Then the apostle began to take the forts and the property one by one.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of Aslam told him that B. Sahm of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that they had fought and got nothing and found nothing with the apostle which he could give them. He said: 'O God, You know their condition and that they have not strength, and that I have nothing to give them, so conquer for them the wealthiest of the enemy's forts with the richest food.' The following day God conquered the fort of al-Sa'b b. Mu'adh which contained the richest food in Khaybar.

When the apostle had conquered some of their forts and got possession of some of their property he came to their two forts al-Watih and al-Sulalim, the last to be taken, and the apostle besieged them for some ten nights (760).

'Abdullah b. Sahl b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sahl, brother of B. Haritha, told me from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: Marhab the Jew came out from their fort carrying his weapons and saying:

Khaybar knows that I am Marhab,
An experienced warrior armed from head to foot,
Now piercing, now slashing,
As when lions advance in their rage.
The hardened warrior gives way before my onslaught;
My hima (The sacred territory of an idol or a sanctuary and so any place that a man is bound to protect from violation)
cannot be approached.

With these words he challenged all to single combat and Ka'b b. Malik answered him thus:

Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b,
The smoother of difficulties, bold and dour.
When war is stirred up another follows.
I carry a sharp sword that glitters like lightning- We will tread you down till the strong are humbled;
We will make you pay till the spoil is divided-

In the hand of a warrior sans reproche (761). (The obcious break in the sense is corrected in I.H.'s version. 'Lightning' ('aqiq) in 1.4 may mean 'a jewel!'

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this fellow?' Muhammad b. Maslama said thata he would, for he was bound to take revenge on the man who had killed his brother the day before. The apostle told him to go and prayed Allah to help him. When they approached the one the other an old tree with soft wood (Said by Lany, 2051c, to be the Asclepias gigantea or great swallow-wort.) lay between them and they began to hide behind it. Each took shelter from the other. When one hid behind the tree the other slashed at it with his sword so that the intervening branches were cut away (T.'s text (1576) is clearer here.) and they came face to face. The tree remained bereft of its branches like a man standing upright. Then Marhab attacked Muhammad b. Maslama and struck him. He took the blow on his shield and the sword bit into it and remained fast. Muhammad then gave Marhab a fatal would.

After Marhab's death his brother Yasir came out with his challenger:

(Khaybar knows that I am Yasir,
Fully armed, a doughty warrior.
As when lions advance at a rush
The enemy give way before my onslaught.)

Hisham b. 'Urwa alleged that al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam went out to fight Yasir. His mother Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said, 'Will he kill my son, O apostle?' He replied, 'Nay, your son will kill hi, if God will.' So al0Zubayr went out saying (T.

Khaybar know that I am Zabbar,
Chief of a people no cowardly runaways,
The son of those who defend their glory, the son of princes.
O Yasir, let not all the unbelievers deceive you,
For all of them are like slowly moving mirage).

When the two met al-Zubayr killed Yasir.

Hisham b. 'Urwa told me that it was said to al-Zubayr, 'By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,' to which he replied that it was not sharp, but he used it with great force.

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami told me from his father Sufyan from Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa': The apostle sent Abu Bakr with his banner (762) against one of the forts of Khaybar. He fought but returned having suffered losses and not taken it. On the morrow he sent 'Umar and the same thing happened. The apostle said, 'Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and his apostle. Allah will conquer it by his means; he is no runaway.' So he called 'Ali who was suffering from ophthalmia at the time and spat in his eye, saying, 'Take this flag and go with it until God gives victory through you.' So 'Ali went off with it gasping as he hurried, while we followed behind in

his tracks until he stuck the flag in a pile of rocks under the fort. A Jew looked at him from the top of the fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, 'You have won, by what was revealed to Moses !" (Apparently the Jew takes the name 'Ali as an omen when he says 'alautum.) or words to that effect. He did not return until God had conquered by his hands.

'Abdullah b. al-Hasan told me from one of his family from Abu Rafi, freed slave of the apostle: We went with 'Ali when the apostle sent him with his flag and when he got near the fort the garrison came out and he fought them. A Jew struck him so that his shield fell from his hand, so 'Ali laid hold of a door by the fort and used it as a shield. He kept it in his hand as he fought until God gave victory, throwing it away when all was over. I can see myself with seven others trying to turn that door over, but we could not.

Burayda b. Sufyan al-Aslami told me from one of B. Salima from Abu'l-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr: We were with the apostle one evening at Khaybar when along came some sheep belonging to a Jew, making for their fort while we were besieging them. The apostle asked who would get this food for us and Abu'l-Yasar volunteered to go. He said, 'I went out running like an ostrich, and when the apostle saw me coming back he said " O God, may we long enjoy him." I had overtaken the flock as the first sheep entered the fort and I seized the two last and carried them off under my arms bringing them back at a run as though I carried nothing until I cast them down before the apostle. They were duly killed and eaten.' Abu'l-Yasar was the last of the apostle's companions to die. Whenever he told this story he used to weep, saying, 'They did enjoy me a long time; indeed I am the last of them.'

When the apostle had conquered al-Qamus the fort of B. Abu'l-Huqayq, Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab was brought to him along with another woman. Bilal who was bringing them led them past the Jews who were slain; and when the woman who was with Safiy a saw them she shrieked and slapped her face and poured dust on her head. When the apostle saw her he said, 'Take this she-devil away from me.' He gave orders that Safiya was to be put behind him and threw his mantle over her, so that the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself. I have heard that the apostle said to Bilal when he saw this Jewess behaving in that way, 'Had you no compassion, Bilal, when you brought two women past their dead husbands?' Now Safiya had seen in a dream when she was the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqaya that the moon would fall into her lap. When she told her husband he said, 'This simply means that you covet the king of the Hijaz, Muhammad.' He gave her such a blow in the face that he blacked her eye. When she was brought to the apostle the mark was still there, and when he asked the cause of it she told him this story.

177 - THE REST OF THE AFFAIR OF KHAYBAR

Kinana b. al-Rabi,' who had the custody of the treasure of B. al-Nadir, was brought to the apostle who asked him about it. He denied that he knew where it was. A Jew came (T.was brought) to the apostle and said that he had seen Kinana going round a certain ruin every morning early. When the apostle said to Kinana, 'Do you know that if we find

you have it I shall kill you?' he said Yes. The apostle gave orders that the ruin was to be excavated and some of the treasure was found. When he asked him about the rest he refused to produce it, so the apostle gave orders to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam, 'Torture him until you extract what he has,' so he kindled a fire with flint and steel on his chest until he was nearly dead. Then the apostle delivered him to Muhammad b. Maslama and he struck off his head, in revenge for his brother Mahmud.

The apostle besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Watih and al-Sulalim until when they could hold out no longer they asked him to let them go, and spare their lives, and he did so. No the apostle had taken possession of all their property-al-Shaqq, Nata, and al-Katiba and all their forts-except what appertained to these two. Cf. Baladhuri, p.25. He quotes 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr as I.I.'s authority. When the people of Fadak heard of what had happened they sent to the apostle asking him to let them go and to spare their lives and they would leave him their property, and he did so. The one who acted as intermidiary was Muhayyisa b. Mas'ud, brother of B. Haritha. (Cf.Bal.29f.) When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these conditions they asked the apostle to employ them on the property with half share in the produce, saying, 'We know more about it than you and we are better farmers.' The apostle agreed to this arrangement on the condition that 'if we wish to expel you we will expel you.' He made a similar arrangement with the men of Fadak. So Khaybar became the prey of the Muslims, while Fadak was the personal property of the apostle because they had not driven horses or camels against it .(Cf.Sura 27.66, i.e. captured it by force of arms.)

When the apostle had rested Zaynab d. al-Harith, the wife of Sallam b. Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a morsel of it, but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Bara'b. Ma'rur who was with him took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the apostle spat it out, saying, 'This bone tells me that it is poisoned.' Then he called for the woman and she confessed, and when he asked her what had induced her to do this she answered: 'You know what you have done to my people. I said to myself, If he is a king I shall ease myself of him and if he is a prophet he will be informed (of what I have done).' So the apostle let her off. Bishr died from what he had eaten.

Marwan b. 'Uthman b. Abu Sa'id b. al-Mu'alla told me: The apostle had said in his illness of which he was to die when Umm Bishr d. al-Bara'came to visit him, 'O Umm Bishr, this is the time in which I feel a deadly pain from what I ate with your brother ata Khaybar.' The Muslims considered that the apostle died as a martyr in addition to the prophetic office with which God had honoured him.

Having finished with Khaybar, the apostle went to Wadi'l-Qura and besieged its people for some nights, then he left to return to Medina.

Thaur b. Zayd told me from Salim, freed slave of 'Abdullah b. Muti' from Abu Hurayra, who said: When we left Khaybar to go to Wadi'l-Qura with the apostle we halted there in the evening as the sun was setting. The apostle had a slave which Rifa'a b.

Zayd al-Judhami, of the clan al-Dubaybi, had given him (763). He was laying down the apostle's saddle when suddenly a random arrow hit him and killed him. We congratulated him on paradise, but the apostle said, 'Certainly not. His cloak is even now burning on him in Hell. He had surreptitiously stolen it on the day of Khaybar from the spoil of the Muslims.' One of his companions heard this and came to him saying,' I took two sandal thongs.' He said , 'Two thongs of fire will be cut for you like them.'

One I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mughaffal al-Muzani: 'I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my shoulder to my companions, when the man who had been put over the spoil met me and laid hold of the end of it, saying, "Hie! This we must divide among the Muslims." I said that I would not give him it and he began to try and pull the bag away from me. The apostle saw what was happening and laughed. then he said to the officer in charge of the spoil "Let him have it confound you," so he let go of it and I went off to my companions and we ate it.'

When the apostle married Safiya in Khaybar or on the way, she having been beautified and combed, and got in a fit state for the apostle by Umm Sulaym d. Milhan mother of Anas b. Malik, the apostle passed the night with her in a tent of his. Abu Ayyub, Khalid b. Zayd brother of B. al-Najjar passed the night girt with his sword, guarding the apostle and going round the tent until in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till recently she was in unbelief, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They allege that the apostle said 'O God, preserve Abu Ayyub as he spent the night preserving me.'

Al-Zuhri told me from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab: When the apostle left Khaybar and was on the way he said towards the end of the night: 'Who will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilal volunteered to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilal got up and prayed as long as God willed that he should; then he propped himself against his camel, and there was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept. The first thing to wake the others was the feel of the sun. The apostle was the first to wake up and he asked Bilal what he had done to them. He said that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle, and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle let himself be taken a short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men performed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilal to call to prayer, and the apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said, 'If you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has said, "Perform prayer for My remembrance." ' (Sura 20.14)

I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-'Absi the hens and domestic animals which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in Safar. Ibn Luqaym said:

Nata was stormed by the apostle's squadron
Fully armed, powerful, and strong.
It was certain of humiliation when it was split up
With the men of Aslam and Ghifar in its midst.

They attacked B. 'Amr b. Zur'a in the morning
And Shaqq's people met a day of gloom.
They trailedtheir cloaks (W.'s reading 'They made the cocks run' may be right.) in their plains
And left only hens cackling among the trees.(C.ashar.)
Every fort had a man of 'Abdu'l-Ashhal or B. al-Najjar
Busy with their horses,
And Emigrants who had displayed their badges
Above their helms, never thinking of flight.
I knew that Muhammad would conquer
And would stay there many Safars.
The Jews in the fighting that day
Opened their eyes in the dust (764). (The glassy eyes of the dead are meant. The reading 'ama' ima l-ansar with farrat understood as 'fled' seems much inferior.)

Some Muslims women were with the apostle at Khaybar, and they apostle allowed them a small portion of the booty. He did not give them a definite share.

Sulayman b. Suhaym told me from Umayya b. Abu'l-Salt from a woman of B. Ghifar whom he named to me: She said, 'I came to the apostle with some women of B. Ghifar and we told the apostle, as he was going to Khaybar, that we wanted to go with him where he went, to tend the wounded and to help the Muslims as far as we could. He told us to go with God's blessing, and so we went with him. I was a young girl and the apostle took me on the back of his saddle. When the apostle dismounted for mroning prayer and I got off the back of his saddle, lo, some of my blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I rushed to the camel in my shame. When the apostle saw my distress and the blood he guessed the reason and told me to cleanse myself; then to take water and put some salt in tit, and then to wash the back of the saddle and go back to my mount.'

She added: 'When the apostle conquered Khaybar he gave us a small part of the booty. He took this necklace which you see on my neck and gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand, and by God it will never leave me.' It was on her neck until she died when she gave instructions that it was to be buried with her. She never cleansed herself but she put salt in the purifying water, and gave instructions that it should be put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead.

The names of the Muslims who met martyrdom at Khaybar are: of Quraysh of the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams of their allies: Rabi'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. 'Amr, and Rifa'a b. 'Amir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad, and Thaqif b. 'Amr and Rifa'a b. Masruh . Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: 'Abdullah b. al Hubayb (765). Of the Ansar of B. Salima: Bishr b. al-Bara'b. Ma'rur who died of the mutton with which the apostle was poisoned, and Fudayl b. al-Nu'man, 2 men. Of B. Zurayq : Mas'ud b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khalada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq. Of Aus of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal: Mahmud b. Maslama b. Khalid b. 'Adiy b. Majda'a b. Haritha b. al-Harith, an ally of theirs from B. Haritha. Of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Abu Dayyah b. Thabit b. al-Nu'man b. Umayya b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Auf; al-Harith b. Hatib; 'Urwa b. Murra b. Suraqa; Aus b. al-Qa'id; Unayf b. Habib;

Thabit b. Athla, and Talha. Of B. Ghifar: 'Umara b. 'Uqba, shot by an arrow. Of Aslam: 'Amir b. al-Akwa, and al-Aswad the shepherd whose name was Aslam (766).

Of those who found martyrdom at Khaybar according to what Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri said was Mas'ud b. Rabi'a, an ally of B. Zuhra from al-Qara; and from the Ansar of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Aus b. Qatada.

178 - THE AFFAIR OF AL-ASWAD THE SHEPHERD

According to what I have heard al-Aswad came to the apostle with his flock of sheep as he was besieging Khaybar. He was the hired servant of a Jew there. He asked the apostle to explain Islam to him, and when he did so he accepted it, for the apostle never thought too little of anyone to invite him to accept Islam. Having become a Muslim he told the apostle that he was the hired servant of the owner of the sheep which were entrusted to his care, and what was he to do with them? He told him to hit them in the face and they would go back to their owner. So al-Aswad got up and took a hanful of pebbles and threw them in their faces,saying, 'Go back to your master, for I will look after you no more.' They went off in a body as though someone were driving them, until they went into the fort. Afterwards he advanced to the fort with the Muslims and was struck by a stone and killed, never having prayed a single prayer. He was brought to the apostle and laid behind him and covered by his shepherd's cloak. The apostle, who was accompanied by a number of his companions, turned towards him and then turned away. When they asked him why, he said, 'He has with him now his two wives from the dark-eyed houris.'

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that he was told that, when a martyr is slain, his two wives from the dark-eyed houris pet him, wiping the dust from his face, saying the while, 'May God put dust on the face of the man who put dust on your face, and slay him who slew you!'

179 - THE AFFAIR OF AL-HAJJAJ B. 'ILAT AL-SULAMI

When Kaybar had been conquered al-Hajjaj b. 'Ilat al-Sulami of the clan al-Bahz said to the apostle, 'I have money with my wife Umm Shayba d. Abu Talha-when they had lived together he had a son called Mu'rid by her-and money scattered among the Meccan merchants, so give me permission to go and get it.' Having got his permission he said, 'I must tell lies, O apostle.' He said, 'Tell them.' Al-Hajjaj said, 'When I came to Mecca I found in the pass of al-Bayda' (The pass of al-Tan'im in Mecca.) some men of Quraysh trying to get news and asking how the apostle fared because they had heard that he had gone to Khaybar. They knew that it was the principal town of the Hijaz in fertility, fortifications, and population, and they were searching for news and interrogating passing riders. They did not know that I was a Muslim and when they saw me they said, "It is al-Hajjaj b. 'Ilat. He is sure to have news. Tell us, O Abu Muhammad, for we have heard that the highwayman has gone to Khaybarwhich is the town of the Jews and the garden of the Hijaz." I said, "I have heard that and I have some news that will please you." They came up eagerly on either side of my camel, saying, "Out with it, Hajjaj!" I said, "He has suffered a defeat such as you have never heard of and his companions have been

slaughtered; you have neverheard the like, and Muhammad has been captured." The men of Khaybar said, "We will not kill him until we send him to the Meccans and let them kill him among themselves in revenge for their men whom he has killed." They got up and shoulted in Mecca, "Here's news for your! You have only to wait for this fellow Muhammad to be sent to you to be killed in your midst."n$_
said, "Help me to collect my money in Mecca and to get in the money owed to me, for I want to go to Khaybar to get hold of the fugitives from Muhammad and his companions (The word fall, for which I.H. quotes the variat fay", 'spoil', may possibly mean the same thing: more often it means a defeated force. Perhaps we could render 'to get some advantage from the defeat of Muhammad and his companions'.) before the merchants get there" (767). They got up and collected my money for me quicker than I could have supposed possible. I went to my wife and asked her for the money which she had by her, telling her that I should probably go to Khaybar and seize the opportunity to lbuy before the merchants got there first. When 'Abbas heard the news and heard about me he came and stood at my side as I was in one of the merchants' tents, asking about the news which I had brought. I asked him if he could keep a secret if I entrusted it to him. He said he could, and I said, "Then wait until I can meet you privately, for I am collecting my money as you see, so leave me (T.and he left me) until I have finished"; and so, when I had collected everything I had in Mecca and decided to leave, I met 'Abbas and said, "Keep my story secret for three nights, then say what you will for I am afraid of being pursued." When he said that he would, I said, "I left your brother's son married to the daughter of their king, meaning Safiya, and Khaybar has been conquered and all that is in it removed and become the property of Muhammad and his companions." He said, "What are you saying, Hajjaj ?" I said, "Yes, by Allah, but keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my money fearing that I may be deprived of it. When three nights have passed publish the news as you will." When the third day came 'Abbas put on a robe of his and scented himself and took his stick, and went to the Ka'ba and went round it. When the people saw him they said, " O Abu'l-Fadl, this is indeed steadfastness in a great misfortune!" He answered, "By no means, by Allah by whom you swear, Muhammad has conquered Khaybar and was left married to the daughter of their king. He has seized all that they possess and it is now his property and the property of his companions." They asked, "Who brought you this news?" He said, "The man who brought you your news. He came in to you as a Muslim and has taken his money and gone off to join Muhammad and his companions and to be with him." They said "O men of Allah, the enemy of Allah has escaped. Had we known we would have dealt with him." Almost at once the true news reached them.'

Among the verses about the day of Khaybar are the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

How badly the Khaybaris fought To preserve their crops and dates!
They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became a spoil
And they behaved like miserable cowards.
Would they flee from death?
The death of the starved is not seemly.

Hassan also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usama b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

At the time when Ayman's mother said to him
You are a coward and were not with the horsemen of Khaybar
Ayman was no coward, but his horse
Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
Had it not been for the state of his horse
He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse
And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Najiya b. Jundub al-Aslami said:

O servants of Allha, why do you prize
What is nothing but food and drink
When Paradise has amazing joy?

He also said:

I am Ibn Jundub to one who does not know me.
How many an adversary when I charged turned aside.
He perished in the feeding-place of vultures and jackals (769).

180 - THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF KHAYBAR

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided, al-Shaqq and Nata fell to the Muslims while al-Katiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (T.fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (T. and wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives; and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. To Muhayyisa, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram was absent and the apostle gave him the same share as the others. Its two wadis, al-Surayr and Khass, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Nata and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Nata formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.

The number of the companions among whom Khaybar was divided was 1,800 with shares for horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every 100 men, i.e. 18 blocks of shares (770).

The chiefs were 'Ali; al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam; Talha b. 'Ubaydullah; 'Umar; 'Abdu'l-Rahman; 'Asim b. 'Adiy; Usayd b. Hudayr. Then the share of al-Harith b. al-Kazraj; then the share in Na'im; then the share of B. Bayada, B. 'Ubayd, B. Haram of B. Salima, and 'Ubayd 'of the shares' (771), Sa'ida, Ghifar and Aslam, al-Najjar, Haritha, and Aus.

The first lot in Nata fell to al-Zubayr, namely al-Khau', and al-Surayr followed it; the second to B. Bayada; the third to Usayd; the fourth to B. al-Harith; the fifth in Na'im to B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj and Muzayna and their partners. In it Mahmud b. Maslama was killed. So much for Nata.

Then they went down to al-Shaqq: the first lot fell to 'Asim b. 'Adiy brother of B. al-'Ajlan and with it the apostle's share; then the shares of 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Sa'ida, al-Najjar , 'Ali, Talha, Ghifar and Aslam, 'Umar, Salama b. 'Ubayd and B. Haram, Haritha, 'Ubayd 'of the shares'; then the share of Aus which was the share of al-Lafif to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined; opposite it was the apostle's share which he got with 'Asim's share. (This complicated and unsystematic account can be understood thus: the 18,000 shares were divided into 18 which were allotted.)

(a) to the chief distributors, viz. 'Ali, al-Zubayr, Talha, 'Umar, 'Abdu'l-Rahman, 'Asim and Usayd. 7

(b) to tribal 'shareholders , viz. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, B. Bayada, B. 'Ubayd, B. Haram, B. Sa'ida, B. Ghifar and Aslam, B. al-Najjar, B. Haritha, B. Aus, and other elements 9

(c) By the name of the property itself, Na'im 1

(d) By the name of the owner 'Ubayd, who bought up the shares 1

Total 18

Then the apostle distributed al-Katiba which is Wadi Khass between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fatima 200 loads; 'Ali 100; Usama b.Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; 'A'isha 200 loads; Abu Bakr 100 ; Aqil b. Abu Talib 140; B. Ja'far 50 ;Rabi'a b. al-Harith 100; al-Salt b. Makhrama and his two sons 100, 40 of them for al-Salt himself; Abu Nabiqa 50; Rukana b. 'Abdu Yazid 50; Qays b. Makhrama 30; his brother Abu'l-Qasim 40; the daughters of 'Ubayda b. al-Harith and the daughter of al-Husayn b. al-Harith 100; B. 'Ubayd b. 'Abdu Yazid 60; Ibn Aus b. Makhrama 30; Mistah b. Uthatha and Ibn Ilyas 50; Umm Rumaytha 40; Nu'aym b. Hind 30; Buhayna d. al-Harith 3-; 'Ujayr b. 'Abdu Yazid 30; Umm Hakim d. al- Zubayr b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib 30; Jumana d. Abu Talib 30; I. al-Arqam 50; 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Bakr 40; Hamna d. Jahsh 30; Ummu'l-Zubayr 40; Duba'a d. al-Zubayr 40; I. Abu Khunaysh 30; Umm Talib 40; Abu Basra 20; Numayla al-Kalbi 50; 'Abdullah b. Wahb

and hs two daughters 90 of which 40 were for his two sons; Umm Habib d. Jahsh 30; Malku (Proper names with final waw written out instead of nunation are common in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, but are rarely met with in classical Arabic.) b. 'Abda 30; and to his own wives 700 (772).

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Muhammad the apostle of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaybar. he distributed to them 180 loads. He gave his daughter Fatima 85, Usama b. Zayd 40, al-Miqdad b. al- Aswad 15, Umm Rumaytha 5. 'Uthman b. 'Affan was witness and 'Abbas wrote the document.

Salig b. Kaysan told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ud: The only dispositions that the apostle made at his death were three: He bequeathed to the Rahawis alnd which produced a hundred loads in Khaybar, to the Dariyis, the Saba' is, and the Ash'aris the same. He also gave instructions that the mission of Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha should be carried through (The reading of W. tanfil should be corrected to tanfidh with C. See Musa b. 'Uqba , Nos.13 and 14.) and that two religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.

181 - THE AFFAIR OF FADAK

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar, God struck teror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar. They sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar or on the road (The reading of W. bil-Ta'if should be corrected to bil-tariq with MSS. and T.) or after he came to Medina and he accepted their terms. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not ben attacked by horse or camel. (Cf. Sura 7.66 and supra, p.764 of W.'s text.)

182 - THE NAMES OF THE DARIYUN

They were B. al-Dar b. Hani'b. Habib b. Numara b. Lakhm who had come to the apostle from Syria, namely, Tamim b. Aus and Nu'aym his brother , Yazid b. Qays, and 'Arafa b. Malik whom the apostle named 'Abdu'l-Rahman (773) , and his brother Murran b. Malik, and Fakih b. Nu'man , Jabala b. Malik, and Abu Hind b. Barr and his brother al-Tayyib whom the apostle named 'Abdullah.

According to what 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me the apostle used to send to Khaybar 'Abdullah b. Rawaha to act as assessor between the Muslims and the Jews. When he made his assessment they would say, 'You have wronged us,' and he would say, 'If you wish it is yours and if you like it is ours,' and the Jews would say, 'On this (foundation) Heaven and earth stand. (This is a characteristically Jewish expression and if one compares the Arabic bihadha qamat... al-ard with Pirqe Abhoth 1.19 'on three things the world stand (qaim): on justice, truth, and peace one can hardly doubt that 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr has preserved an accurate account of what took place.) But 'Abdullah acted as assessor for one year only before he was killed at Mu'ta. After him Jabbar b. Sakhr b.

Umayya b. Khansa' brother of B. Salima took over the work. All went well and the Muslims found no fault in their behaviour until they attacked 'Abdullah b. Sahl brother of B. Haritha and killed him in violation of their agreement with the apostle, and the apostle and the Muslims suspected them on that account.

Al-Zuhri and Bushayr b. Yasar told me from Sahl b. Abu Hathma: 'Abdullah b. Sahl was killed in Khaybar. He had gone there with friends of his to take away the dates and was found in a pool with his neck broken, having been thrown there. So they took him and then came to the apostle and told him about the affair. His brother 'Abdu'l-Rahman came to him accompanied by his two cousins Huwayyisa and Muhayyisa the sons of Mas'ud. Now 'Abdu'l-Rahman was the youngest of them and the avenger of blood and a prominent man among his people and when he spoke before his two cousins the apostle said, 'The eldest first, the eldest first!' (774) and he became silent. The two cousins then spoke and he spoke after them. They told the apostle of the killing of their relative and he said, 'Can you name the killer, then swear fifty oaths against him that we should deiver him up to you?' They said that they could not swear to what they did not know. He said, 'If they swear fifty oaths that they did not kill him and do not know the slayer, will they be free from the guilt of his blood?' They answered, 'We cannot accept the oaths of Jews. Their infidelity is so great that they would swear falsely.' The apostle paid the bloodwit of a hundred she-camels from his own property. Sahl said, (Sahl is the transmitter of the story. The avenger of blood was 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sahl.) 'By Allah, I shall not forget a young red camel who kicked me as I was leading her.'

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Bujayd b. Qayzi brother of B. Haritha. Muhammad b. Ibrahim said: 'By God, Sahl did not know more than he, but he was the elder. He said to him, 'By Allah, the affair was not thus but Sahl misunderstood. The apostle did not say "Swear to something you have no knowledge of, " but he wrote to the Jews of Khaybar when the Ansar spoke to him: "A dead man has been found among your dwellings. Pay his bloodwit." The Jews wrote back swearing by Allah that they had not killed him and did not know who had, so the apostle paid the blood-money.'

'Amr b. Shu'ayb told me the same story as 'Abdu'l-Rahman except that he said, 'Pay the blood-money or be prepared for war.'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, (This incident is reported by al-Baladhuri from I.I. via al-Bakka'i in an abbreviated form. There is no significant difference.) "How was it that the apostle gave the Jews of Khaybar their palms when he gave them on a tax basis? Did he assign that to them until he was taken or did he give them them for some other necessary reason?' He told me that the apostle took Khaybar by force after fighting and KHaybar was part of what God gave to him as booty. The apostle divided it into five parts and distributed it among the Muslims, and after the fighting the population surrendered on condition that they should migrate. The apostle called them and said that if they wished he would let them have the property on condition that they worked it and the produce was equally divided between both parties and he would leave them there as long as God let them stay. They accepted the terms and used to work the property on those conditions. The apostle used to send 'Abdullah b. Rawaha and he would divide the produce and make

a just assessment. When God took away His prophet, Abu Bakr continued the arrangement until his death, and so did 'Umar for the beginning of his amirate. Then he heard that the apostle had said in his last illness, 'Two religions shall not remain together in the peninsula of the Arabs' and he made inquiries until he got confirmation. Then he sent to the Jews saying, 'God has given permission for you to emigrate,' quoting the apostle's words. 'If anyone has an agreement with the apostle let him bring it to me and I will carry it out; he who has no such agreement let him get ready to emigrate.' Thus 'Umar expelled those who had no agreement with the apostle.

Nafi' client of 'Abullah b. 'Umar told me from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar: With al-Zubayr and al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad I went out to our property in Khaybar to inspect it, and when we got there we separated to see to our individual affairs. In the night I was attacked as I was asleep on my bed and my arms were dislocated at the elbows. In the morning I called my companions to my aid and when they came and asked me who had done this I had to say that I did not know. They reset my arms and then took me to 'Umar who said, 'This is the work of the Jews.' Then he got up and addressed those present saying that the apostle had arranged with the Jews of Khaybar that we could expel them if we wished; that they had attacked 'Abdullah b. 'Umar and dislocated his arms, as they had heard, in addition to their attack on the Ansari previously. There was no doubtthat they were the authors of these outrages because there was no other enemy on the spot. Therefore if anyone had property in Khaybar he should go to it, for he was on the point of expelling the Jews. And he di expel them.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from 'Abdullah b. Maknaf brother of B. Haritha: When 'Umar expelled the Jews from Khaybar he rode with the Muhajirin and Ansar and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' brother of B. Salima who was the assessor and accountant of the Medinans and Yazid b. Thabit; and these two divided Khaybar among its owners according to the original agreement of the lots.

'Umar divided Wadi'l-Qura into shares: (Khatar. I.H. (note 777) says that the word means 'share'. My colleague, Dr.R.B.Sergeant, Le Museon, lxvi, 1953, p.130, writes of the Hadramaut: 'The main bund or channel leading the flood water from the wadi to the fields is called khatar (pl.khutur), a word known to Ibn Hisham, Sira, p.780.' If I.I. meant 'irrigation channel', as is very probable, then the channels would mark out the limits of each man's property or 'share'. It is difficult to escape the connusion that such an unusual word was used in a technical sense. It is not astonishing that a word of external origin should be used in this context because the Arabs of the Hijaz in this epoch looked down on agriculture, and most of the terms they used were borrowed from their neighbours.) one each to 'Uthman, 'Abdu'l- Rahman, 'Amr b. Abu Salama, 'Amir b. Abu Rabi'a, 'Amr b. Suraqa, Ushaym (775), Mu'ayqib and Abdullah b. al-Arqam; two shares each to 'Abdullah and 'Ubaydullah; one share each to the son of Abdullah b. Jahsh, Ibnu'l-Bukayr, Mu'tamir, Zayd b. Thabit, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Mu'adh b. 'Afra', Abu Talha and Hassan, Jabbar b. Sakhr, Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. Ri'ab, Malik b. Sa'sa'a, Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr, the son of Hudayr, the son of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Salama b. Salama, 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Thabit, Abu Sharik, Abu 'Abs b. Jabr, Muhammad b. Maslama and 'Ubadab. Tariq (776); half a share eah to Jabr b. 'Atik and the two sons of al-Harith b. Qays; one share to

Ibn Hazama. Such is our information about the allocation of Khaybar and Wadi'l-Qura (777).

183 - THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD MIGRATED TO ABYSSINIA (778)

These are the names of the prophet's companions who stayed in Abyssinia until he sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus to fetch them back in two boats and who ultimately rejoined him in Khaybar after al-Hudaybiya:

From B. Hashim: Ja'far b. Abu Talib with his wife Asma'd. 'Umays; (The genealogies I have nastically shortened. Full details have already been given.) and his son 'Abdullah who was born to him in Abyssinia. Ja'far was killed at Mu'ta in Syria when acting as the apostle's amir. I man.

From B. 'Abdu Shams: Khalid b. Sa'id b. al'As b. Umayya with his wife Umayna d. Khalaf b. As'ad (779); his two children Sa'id and Ama begotten in Abyssinia (Khalid was killed at Marj al-Suffar (A place in Damascus) in the caliphate of Abu Bakr) ; his brother 'Amr whose wife, Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith al-Kinani, died in Abyssinia ('Amr was killed at Ajnadayn in Syria during the caliphate of Abu Bakr).

With reference to 'Amr b. Sa'id his father Sa'id b. al-'As b. Umayya Abu Uhayha said:

O 'Amr, I wish that I knew about you whether
When you carry arms when your arms have grown strong
Will you leave you people's affairs in such disorder
As will disclose the rage they retain in their breasts?

With reference to 'Amr and Khalid , their brother Aban said when the former had become Muslims, and their father Sa'id had died in al-Zurayba in the region of Ta'if:

Would that a dead man in Zurayba could see
What 'Amr and Khalid are falsely introducing into religion!
They obeyed the commands of women concerning us
And assisted the very enemies we were fighting.

Khalid answered him and said:

I do not insult my brother's honour since he is my brother Though he does not refrain from evil words.
When affairs went ill with him he said,
'Would that a man dead in Zurayba would rise from the grave!'
Leave the dead in peace, for he has gone his way,
And deal with the man at hand who has more need of you.

And Mu'ayqib b. Abu Fatima who became 'Umar's guardian of the public purse; he belonged to the family of Sa'id b. al-'As; and Abu Musa al-Ash'ari 'Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abdu Shams.4.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu;l-'Uzza: Al-Aswad b. Naufal. I.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar:Jahm b. Qays with his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma. His wife Umm Harmala d. 'Abdu'l-Aswad (she died in Abyssinia) with her two children. I.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: 'Amir b. Abu Waqqas and 'Utba b. Mas'ud an ally of their from Hudhayl. 2.

From B. Taym b. Murra: Al-Harith b. Khalid whose wife Rayta d. al-Harith b. Jubayla died in Abyssinia.I.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr: 'Uthman b. Rabi'a b. Uhban. I.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Mahmiya b. al Jaz ', an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. The apostle put him in charge of the fifths of the Muslims. I.

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: Ma'mar b. 'Abdullah. I.

From B. 'Amir: Abu Hatib b. 'Amir; Malik b. Rabi'a with his wife 'Amra d. al-Sa'di b. Waqdan. 2.

From B.al-Harith b. Fihr: Al-Harrith b. 'Abdu Qays. I.

The widows of those who had died in Abyssinia were also brought in the two boats.

The total number of the men whom the Negus sent in the two boats with 'Amr b. Umayya was 16.

Of those who migrated to Abyssinia and did not return until after Badr and the Negus did not send in the two boats to the apostle; and those who came afterwards and those who died in Abyssinia were:

From B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams: 'Ubaydullah b. Jahsh, an ally from Asad of Huzayma with his wife Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan and his daughter Habiba from whom Abu Sufyan's daughter got her kunya, her own name being Ramla. 'Ubaydullah had migrated with the Muslims, but when he got to Abyssinia he turned Christian and died there as such having abandoned Islam. The apostle afterwards married his wife.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa told me about Ubaydullah's turning Christian and said: When he passed by the apostle's companions he used to say, 'Our eyes are opened but yours veiled,' i.e.We can see clearly but you are only trying to see:

you can't yet see clearly, the metaphor being taken from a puppy who tries to open its eyes and flutters them before he can do so, i.e. We have opened our eyes and we see, but you have not opened your eyes to see though you are trying to do so.

And Qays b. 'Abdullah of B. Asad b. Khuzayma who was father of Umayya d. Qays who was with Umm Habiba, and his wife Baraka d. Yasar, the freed slave of Abu Sufyan. They were the two foster-mothers of 'Ubaydullah b. Jahsh and Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan. They took them with them when he migrated to Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: Yazid b. Zama'a who was killed a martyr with the apostle at Hunayn; and 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Abu'l-Rum b. 'Umayr and Firas b. al-Nadr. 2.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Al-Muttalib b. Azhar with his wife Ramala d. Abu 'Auf b. Dubayra who died in Abyssinia. She bare him there 'Abdullah b. al-Muttalib. It was said that he was the first man in Islam to inherit his father's property I.

From B. Taym b. Murra : 'Amr b. 'Uthman who was killed at Qadisiya with Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. I.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Habbar b. Sufyan b. 'Abdu'l-Asad killed at Ajnadayn in Abu Bakr's caliphate; and his brother 'Abdullah killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in 'Umar's caliphate. (There is doubt as to whether he was killed there or not); and Hisham b. Abu Hudhayfa. 3.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr: Hatib b. al-Harith and his two sons Muhammad and al-Harith with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallal. Hatib died in Abyssinia as a Muslim and his wife and his two sons came in one of the boats; and his brother Hattub with his wife Fukayha d. Yasar. He died there as a Muslim and his wife Fukayha came in one of the boats; and Sufyan b. Ma'mar b. Habib b. and his two sons Junada and Jabir with their mother Hasana, and their half-brother by their mother Shurahbil b. Hasana. Sufyan and his two sons Junada and Jabir died in the caliphate of 'Umar. 6.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullah b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia; and Qays b. Hudhafa; and Abu Qays b. al-Harith who was killed at al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and 'Abdullah b. Hudhafa who was the apostle's envoy to Chosroes; and al-Harith b. Qays; and Ma'mar b. al-Harith; and Bishr b. al-Harith and a son of his mother from B. Tamim called Sa'id b. 'Amr who was killed at Ajnadayn in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and Sa'id b. al-Harith who was killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in the caliphate of 'Umar; and al-Sa'ib b. al-Harith who was wounded at al-Taif with the apostle and killed in the battle of Fihl (In Syria. Cf. Yaq.853) in the caliphate of 'Umar--others say in the fight at Khaybar; and 'Umayr b. Ri'ab who was killed at 'Ayn al-Tamr with Khalid b. al-Walid when he came from al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. II men.

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Urwa b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza who died in Abyssinia; and 'Adiy b. Nadla who also died there . 2.

'Adiy had a son called al-Nu'man who returned with the Muslims. In the caliphate of 'Umar he was put over Maysan in the district of Basra. He composed some verses:

Hasn't al-Hasna' (Or 'the beauty') heard that her husband in Maysan
Is drinking from glasses and jars ?
If I wished, the chief men of the city would sing to me
And dancing-girls pirouette on tiptoe.
If you're my friend, give me a drink in the largest cup,
Don't give me the smallest half broken!
Perhaps the commander of the faithful will take it amiss
That we're drinking together in a tumbledown castle!

When 'Umar heard of these verses he said: 'He's right, by God, I do take it amiss! Anyone who sees him can tell him that I have deposed him.' After his deposition he came to 'Umar and pleaded that he had never acted in the way that his verses implied, but that he was a poet who wrote in their exaggerated way. 'Umar replied that as long as he lived he would never act as his governor after having used such words.

From B. 'Amir b. Ghalib: Salit b. 'Amr who was the apostle's envoy to Haudha b. 'Ali al-Hanafi in al-Yamama. I.

From B. al-Harith b. Fihr: 'Uthman b. 'Abdu Ghanm; and Sa'd b. 'Abdu Qays; and 'Iyad b. Zuhayr. 3.

The total number of those who were not at Badr and did not come to the apostle in Mecca and those who came afterwards, and those whom the Negus did not send in the two boats was 34 men.

The names of those who died in Abyssinia and their childredn were:

From B. 'Abdu Shams: 'Ubaydullah b. Jahsh who died a Christian.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith.

From B. Jumah: Hatib b. al-Harith and his brother Hattab.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullah b. al-Harith.

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Urwa b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza and 'Adiy b. Nadla. 7 men.

Of their children: Musa b. al-Harith b. Khalid b. Sakhr b. 'Amir from B. Taym b. Murra. I man.

The total number of women who migrated to Abyssinia, those who came back and those who died there was 16 women besides their daughters whom they bore there who came back and who died there and who went along with them;

From Quraysh of B. Hashim: Ruqayya d. of the apostle.

From B. Umayya: Umm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan with her daughter Habiba. She took her with her from Mecca and they returned together.

From B. Makhzum: Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya. She brought back her daughter Zaynab whom she bore there.

From B.Taym b. Murra: Ratra d. al_harith b.Jubayla who died on the journey and her two daughters Aisha and Zaynab by al-Harith born in Abyssinia. They all, together with their brother Musa b. al-Harith, died on the journey from drinking foul water. Only her daughter Fatima, born there, survived to return.

From B. Sahm b. Amr: Ramla d.Abu Auf b.Dubayra.
From B. Adiy b. Ka'b: Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Ghanim
From B. Amir b. Luayy: Sauda d. Zamaa b. Qays; and Sahla d. Suhayl b. Amr and his daughter al-Mujallal; and Amra d. al-Sadi b. Waqdan; and Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. Amr.

From distant Arab tribes: Asma d. Umays b. al-Numan al-Khathamiya; and Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith al-Kinaniya; and Fukayha d. Yasar; and Baraka d. Yasar; and Hasana Umm Shurahbil b. Hasana.

These are the names of the children who were born to them in Abyssinia:
From B. Hashim:Abdullah b. Jafar b. Abu Talib.

From B. Abdul Shams: Muhammad b. Abu Hudhayfa; and Sa'id b. Khalid b. Sa'id and his sister Ama.

From B. Makhzum: Zaynab d. Abu Salama b. al-Asad.

From B. Zuhra: Abdullah b. al-Muttalib b. Azhar

From b. Taym: Musa b. al-Harith b. Khalid and his sisters Aisha and Fatima and Zaynab. 5 boys and 5 girls.

THE FULFILLED PILGRIMAGE, (The umra which can be performed at any time during the year, not the hajj which must include a visit to Arafat), A.H. 7

When the apostle returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Rabi until Shawwal, sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhul-Qada-the

month in which the polytheists had prevented him from pilgrimage- he went out to make the fulfilled pilgrimage (780) in place of the umra from which they had excluded him.

Those Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in A.H.7 and when the Meccans heard of it they got out of his way. Quraysh said among themselves,`Muhammad and his companions are in desitution, want, and privation.'

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn Abbas said: They gahtered at the door of the assembly house to look at him and his companions, and when the apostle entered the mosque he threw the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said: "God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong." Then he kissed (istalama means to embrace with outstretched arms; to stroke with the hand; and to kiss) the stone, and went out trotting (harwala, says Burton Pilgrimage (London 1919, 167) is very similar to the French pas gymnastique, or tarammul, that is to say, "moving the shoulders as if walking in sand.") as did his companions until when the temple concealed him from them and he had kissed (istalama means to embrace with outstretched arms; to stroke with the hand; and to kiss the southern corner he walked to kiss (istalama means to embrace with outstretched arms; to stroke with the hand; and to kiss) the black stone. Then he trotted (harwala says Burtom Pilgrimage (London 1919, 167) is very similar to the French pas gymnastique, or tarammul, that is to say, "moving the shoulders as if walking in sand.") similarly three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn Abbas used to say,`People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the apostle only did it for this clan of Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until when he made the farewell pilgrimage he adhered to it (Here, for falazimaha T.has faramalaha. See n 3. above) and the sunna carried it on.'

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle entered Mecca on that pilgrimage Abdullah b. Rawaha was holding the halter of his camel and saying:

Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way (T. adds a spurious hemistich which destroys the balance of the poem)
Every good thing goes with His apostle
O Lord I believe in his word,
I know God's truth in accepting it.
We will fight you about its interpretation. (I.H.'s Comment is congent. S. says the occasion of the poem was Siffin; in other words it belongs to Shite polemic).
As we have fought you about its revelation.
With strokes that will remove heads from shoulders
And make friend unmindful of friend (781)

Aban B. Salih and Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Ata'b. Abu Rabah and Mujahid Abul-Hajjaj from Ibn Abbas told me that the apostle married Maymuna d. al-Harith in the journey of his when he was haram. Al-Abbas b. Abdul-Muttalib married him to her (782). (This is a tradition which is a bone of contention among Muslim lawyers. Cf. J. Schacht, The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford, 1959,p.153).

The apostle remained three days in Mecca. Huwaytib b. Abdul Uzza b. Abu Qays b. Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik b. Hisl with a few Quraysh came to him on the third day because Quraysh had entrusted him with the duty of sending the apostle out of Mecca. They said: "Your time is up, so get out from us. The apostle answered : `How would it harm you if you were to let me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and we prepared food and you came too?' They replied,`We don't need your food, so get out.' So the apostle went out and left Abu Rafi his client in charge of Maymuna until he brought her to him in Sarif. (A place near al-Tanim). (T. The apostle ordered them to change the (normal) sacrificial animal and did so himself. Camels were hard to come by so he allowed them to offer oxen.) The apostle consummated his marriage with her there, and then went on to Medina in Dhul-Hijja (783).

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He remained there for the rest of Dhu'l-Hijja, while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage , and throughout al-Muharraman and Safar and the two Rabi's. In Jumada'l-Ula he sent to Syria his force which met with disaster in Mu'ta.

Muhammad b.Ja'far b.al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b.al-Zubayr said : the apostle sent his expedition to Mu'ta inJumada'l-Ula in the year 8 and put Zayd b.Haritha in Command; if Zayd were slain then Ja'far b.Abu Talib was to take command, and if he were killed then , 'Abdullah b.Rawaha. The expedition got ready to the number of 3000 and prepared to start. When they were about to set off they bade farewell to the apostle's chiefs and saluted them. When 'Abdullah b.Rawaha took his leave of the chiefs he wept and when they asked him the reason he said,'By God, it is not that I love the world and am inordinately attached to you,but I heard the apostle read a verse from God's book in which he mentioned hell: "There is not one of you but shall come to it; that is a determined decree of your Lord,"(Sura I9.72) and I do not know how I can return after I have been to it.' The Muslims said, 'God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound.' 'Abdullah said:

But I ask the Merciful's pardon
And a wide openwound discharging blood,
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
That will pierce the bowels and liver;
So that men will say when they pass my grave,
'God guide him, fine raider that he was,he did well!'

Then, when the people wereabout to start, 'Abdullah came to the apostle to bid him farewell and said:

May God confirm the good things He gaveyou
As he confirmed them to Moses with victory.(The dubious syntax and faulty rhyme in these lines is rightly corrected by I.H.)
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.

God knows that I can see deeply.
You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth(784)

Then the people marched forth,the apostle accompanying them until he said farewell and returned. 'Abdullah said:

May peace remain on the best companion and friend,
The man I saidgood-bye to amid the palms.

They went on their way as far as Ma'an in Syria where they heard that Heraclius had come down toMa'ab in theBalqa' with 100,000 Greeks joined by 100,000 men from Lakhm and Judham and al-qayn and Bahra and Bali commanded by a man of Bali of Irasha called Malik b.Zafila . When the Muslims heard this they spent two nights at Ma'an pondering what to do. They were in favour writing to the apostle to tell him of the enemy's numbers; if he sent reinforcements well and good, otherwise they would await his orders. 'Abdullah b.Rawaha encouraged the men saying, 'Men , what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, viz. martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting (T.fighting) them this religion with which God has honoured us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom.' The men said, 'By God, Ibn Rawaha is right.' So they went forward and 'Abdullah said concerning their holding back:

We urged on our horses from Aja' and Far',(Two mountains of Tayyi')
Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten.
We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,
Its surface smooth as leather.
They stayed two nights at Ma'an;
After their rest they were full of spirit.
We went forward, our horses given free rein,
The hot wind blowing in their nostrils.
I swear that we will cometo Ma'ab
Through arabs and Greeks be there.
We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,
Their dust arose in streamers
With an army whose helmets as their points appeared
Seemed to shine like stars.
The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced.
She can remarry or remain a widow(785).

Then the army went forward, and 'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr told me that he was told that zayd b.Arqam said: I was an orphan child of 'Abdullah b.Rawaha and he took me with him on this expedition riding on the back of his sadle,and as he journeyed by night I heard him reciting these verses of his:(He addreses his camel)

When you have brought me and carried my gear
A four nights' journey from the swampy ground,

Then enjoy life and bear no blame
And may I never return to my people at home.(And when)
The Muslims have gone and left me
In Syria where I wish to be,
And a near relative of mine in God,
Though no blood relation, has brought you back,
There I shall not care for fruit that depends on rain
Or palms whose roots are watered by man.

I wept on hearing these words and he flicked me with his whip and said, 'Why worry, wretched fellow, ifGod grants me martyrdom and you return firmly in the saddle?' Then in one of his rajaz poems he said:

O Zayd, Zayd of the swift lean camels, Long is the night you have been led, so dismount.

The people went forward until when they were on the borders of the Balqa' the Greek and Arab forces of Heraclius met them in a village called Masharif. When the enemy approached, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces met and the Muslims made their dispositions, putting over the right wing Qutbah Quatada of the B.'Udhra, and over the left wing and Ansari called 'Ubaya b.Malik(786).

When fighting began Zyad b.Haritha fought holding the apostle's standard, until he died from loss of blood among the spears of the enemy. Then Ja'far took it and fought withit until when the battle hemmed him in he jumped off his roan and hamstrung her and fought till he was killed. Ja'far was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse.

Yahya b.Abbad b.'Abdullah b.al-Zubayr from his father who said, 'My foster-father,who was of the B.Murra b.'Auf, and was in the Mu'ta raid said,"I seem to see Ja'far when he got off his sorrel and hamstrung her and then fought until he was killed as he said:

Welcome Paradise so near,
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer.
Greeks will soon have much to fear
Infidels, of descent unclear
When we meet their necks I'll shear.'"(787)

Yahya b.'Abbad on the same authority told me that when Ja'far was killed 'Abdullah b.Rawaha took the standard and advanced with it riding his horse. He had to put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward . Then he said:

I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;
You shall fight or be made to fight.
Though men shout and scream aloud,
Why should you spurn Paradise?
Long have you been at ease.

You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin!

He also said:

O soul, if you are not killed you will die.
This is the fateof death which you suffer.(There is a paly on the words here)
You have been given what you hoped for.
If you do what these two did you will have been guided alright__

meaning his two companions Zayd and Ja'far. Then he dismounted and a cousin of his came up with a meat bone,saying, 'Strengthen yourself with this, for you have met in these battles of yours difficult days.' He took it and ate a little. Then he heard the sounds of confusion in the force and threw it away, saying, 'And you are still living?' He seized his sword and died fighting. Then Thabit b.aqram took the standard. He called on the Muslims to rally to him he demurred and they rallied to Khalid b.al-Walid. When he took the standard he tried to keep the enemy off and to avoid an engagement.(Some MSS. have wakhasha by him 'took precautions for their safety', a reading which is supported by 798.10, and may well be right.) Then he retreated and the enemy turned aside from him until he gotaway with the men.

According to what I have been told, when the army was smitten the apostle said:'Zayd took the standard and fought with it until he was killed as a martyr; then Ja'far took it and fought until he waskilled as a martyr.' Then he was silent until the faces of the Ansar fell and they thought that something disastrous had happened to 'Abdullah b.Rawaha. Then he said: "Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed as a martyr. I saw in a vision that they were carried up to me in Paradise upon beds of gold. I saw 'Abdullah's bed turning away from the beds of the other two, and when I asmed why,I wastold that theu had gone on but he hesitated before hewent forward.'

(T.'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr told me that when the news of Ja'far's death reached the apostle he said,'Ja'far went by yesterday with a company of angles making for Bisha in the Yaman. He had two wings whose fore-feathers were stained with blood.')

'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr from Umm 'Isa al-Khuzaiya from Umm Ja'far d.Muhammad b.Ja'far b.Abu Talib from her grandmother Asma d.'Umays said: When Ja'far and his companions were killed, the apostle came in to me when I had just tanned forty skins(788)and kneaded my dough and washed and oiled and cleaned my children. He asked me to bring him Ja'far's sons and when I did so he smelt them and his eyes filled with tears. I asked him whether he had heard bad news about Ja'far and his companions, and he said that he had and that they had been killed that day. I got up and cried aloud and the women gathered to me. The apostle went out to his family saying, 'Do not neglect Ja'far's family so as not to provide them with food, for they are occupied with the disaster that has happened to their head.'(A reference to the practice of sending cooked food to a bereaved family to provide a meal for the mourners and their visitors.)

'Abdu'l-Rahman b.al-Qasim b.Muhammad told me from his father from 'A'isha the prophet's wife who said; When news of Ja'far's death came we saw sorrow on the apostle's face. A man went to him and said,"The women trouble us and disturb us.' He told him to go back and quieten them. He went but came back again saying same words.A'isha here commented,'Meddling often injures the meddler.' The apostle said, 'Go and tell them to be quiet, and if they refuse throw dust in their mouths.' 'A'isha added: 'I said to myself, God curse you, for you have neither spared yourself the indignity of a snub nor are you able to do what the apostle said. I knew he could not throw dust in their mouths.'
Qutba b.Qatada al-'Udhri who was over the right wing had attacked Malik b.Zafila (T.leader of the mixed Arabs) and killed him, and said:

I pierced Ibn Zafila b.al-Irashwith a spear
Which went through him and then broke.
I gave his neck blow
So that he bent like a bough of mimosa.
We led off the wives of his cousins
On the day of Raquqayn as sheep(789)

A kahina of Hadas who heard about the advance of the apostle's army had said to her people who were a clan called B.Ghanm:

I warn you of a proud people
Who are hostile in their gaze.
They lead their horses in single file
And shed turgid blood.

They took hed to her words and separated themselves from Lakhm. Afterwards Hadas remained a large and prosperous tribe. Those who took part in the war that day, the B.Tha'laba a clan of Hadas, remained in significant. When Khalid went off with the men he took the homeward road.

Muhammad b.Ja'far b.al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b.al-Zubayr that when they got near Medina the apostle and the Muslims met them and the boys came running while the apostle came with the people on his beast. He said, "Take the boys and carry them and give me Ja'far's son.' They gave him 'Abdullah and he took him and carried him in front of him. The men began to throw dirt at the army, saying ,'You runaways,you fled in the way of God!' The apostle said,'They are not runaways but come agains if God will.'

'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr told me from 'Amir b.Abdullah b.al-Zubayr from one of the family of al-Harith b.Hisham who were his maternal uncles,from Umm Salama the Prophet's wife who said to the wife of Salama b.Hisham b.al-'As b.al-Mughira, 'Why is it that I do not see salama at prayers with the apostle with the rest of the Muslims?' She replied, 'By God, he can't go out. Whenever he goes out the men call out "Runaway! you ran away when in the path of God !" until he has taken to sitting in his house and not going out at all.'

Qays b.al-Musahhar al-ya'muri composed the following verses in which he made excuses for what he and the other men did that day and shows how Khalid took precautions for their safety and got away with them:

By God, I never cease to blame myself for stopping
When the horses were leaping forward (The readings vary: qa'ia leaping; na'ia lifting up theirheads; qabi' a panting.) with bolting eyes.
I stopped there neither asking help nor acting decisively
Nor protecting those for whom death was decreed.
However, I did but imitate Khalid
And Khalid has no equal in the army.
My heart was moved for Ja'far in Mu'ta
When an arrow was no good to an archer.
And he linked up their twowinghs tous
Muhajirs not polytheists nor unarmed.

Thus Qays made clearin his verse the facts which people dispute, namely that the armykept their distance and were afraid of death, and established the fact that Khalid and his men avoided battle(790)

Among the lamentations over the apostle's companions who died at Mu'ta are thelines of Hassan b.Thabit:

A miserable night I had in Yathrib,
Anxiety that robbed me of sleep when others slept soundly.
At the thought of a friend my tears ran fast.
(Memory is of the cause of weeping.
Nay, the loss of a friend is a calamity,
And how many a noble sould is afflicted and endures
Patiently.)
I saw the best of the believers follow one another to death,
Though some held back behind them.(This is banal. The Diwan (xxi)'for I had been kept back with those who were left behind' is better.)
May God receive the slain at Mu'ta who went one after another.
Among them Ja'far now borne on wings,
And Zayd and 'Abdullah when they too followed
When the cords of death were active
On the day they went on with the believers,
The fortunate radiant one leading them to death.
Bright as the full moon__of Hashim's sons,
Haughty against wrong, daringly bold,
He fought till he fell unpillowed
On the battlefield, a broken shaft in his body.
He has his reward with the martyrs,
Gardens and green spreading trees. We saw in Ja'far a man loyal to Muhammad,

One who gave decisive orders.
May there ever be in Islam of Hashim's line
Pillars of strength and an endless source of pride;
In Islam they are a mountain and the people round them
Are rocks piled up to mount majestic and lofty.
Splendid leaders: of them Ja'far and his brother 'Ali
And of them Ahmad the chosen one.
And Hamza and al-'Abbas and 'Aqil
And the sap of the wood from which he was squezed.(In popular language:
a chip of the old block.)
By them relief comes in every hard dusty fight
Whenever men are in a tight corner.
They are the friends of God Who sent down His wisdom to them
And among them is the purified bringer of the Book.
(All this reads like Alide propaganda.)

Ka`b b. Malik said:

While the eyes of others slept my eye shed tears
Like the dripping of a faulty water-skin.
In the night when sorrows came upon me
When I was not sobbing (Or, reading ahimu `yearning'
or `moaning'.) I turned restlessly on my couch.
Grief came repeatedly and I passed the night
As though I had to shepherd Ursa and Pisces.(i.e.he watched the stars in their passage across the sky while others slept. A cliche.)
'Twas as though betwen my ribs and bowels
A burning piercing pain afflicted me,
Sorrowing for those who one after another
Were left lying that day in Mu'ta.
God bless them, the heroes,
And may plenteous rains refresh their bones!
They forced themselves for God's sake
To ignore the fear of death and cowardly failure.
They went in front of the Muslims
Like stallion foals, clad in long mail
When they were led by Ja'far and his flag
In front of their leader, and what a fine leader.
Until the ranks were trapped lay prostrate.
The moon lost its radiance at his death,
The sun eclipsed and wellnigh dark.
A chief of high lineage from Hashim,
In lofty eminence and authority immovable,
A people by whom God protected His servants,
To them was sent down the revealed book.
They excelled other tribes in glory and honour

And their enlightened minds covered up the ignorance of others.
They would not embark on a vicious enterprise,
You could see their speaker deciding justly.
Their faces welcomed, their hands gave freely
When days of famine would excuse parsimony.
God was pleased with their guidance of His creation,
And by their good fortune the apostolic propher was victorious.

Hassan b.Thabit mourning Ja'far:

I wept, and the death of Ja'far the prophet's friend
Was grievous to the whole world.
I was distressed, and when I heard of your death said, Who is for fighting by the flag Hawk and its shadow
With swords drawn from scabbards
Striking and lances piercing again and again?
Now Ja'far, Fatima's blessed son, is dead,
The best of all creatures, most heavy is his loss,
Noblest of all in origin, and most powerful
When wronged, most submissive to right
When it was indubitably true;
Most open-handed, least in unseemliness;
Most lavish in generosity and kindness
Always excepting Muhammad,
Whom no living being can equal.

Mourning Zayd b.Haritha and 'Abdullah b.Rawaha he said:

O eye,be generous with the last drop of thy tears
And remember in thy ease those in their graves.
Remember Mu'ta and what happened there
When they went to their defeat,
When they returned leaving Zayd there.
Happy be the abode of the poor one, imprisoned (in the grave), (Or 'That fair refuge of the poor and the captive'.)
The friend of the best of all creatures,
The lord of men whose love fills their breasts.
Ahmad who has no equal,
My sorrow and my joy are for him.
Zayd's position with us
Was not that of a man deceived.
Be generous with thy tears for the Khazrajite,(i.e.'Abdullah b.Rawaha.)
He was a chief who gave freely there.
We have suffered enough by their death
And pass the night in joyless grief.

At Muslim poet who returned from Mu'ta said:

Enough cause for grief that I have returned while Ja'far
And Zayd and 'Abdullah are in the dust of the grave!
They met their end when they went their way
And I with the survivors am left to life's sorrows.
Three men were sent forward and advanced
To death's loathed pool of blood.

The names of those who died a martyr's death at Mu'ta:
Of Quraysh: of the clan of B.Hashim, Ja'far and Zayd.
Of B.'Adiy b. Ka'b: Mas'ud b.al-Aswad b.Harith b.Nadla.
Of B.Malik b.Hisl: Wahb b.Sa'd b.Abu Sarh.
Of the Ansar: of the clan of B.al-Harith b.al-Khazraj, 'Abdullah b.Rawaha and Abbad b.Qays.
Of B.Ghanam b.Malik b.al-Najjar, al-Harith b.Nu'man b.Usaf b.Nadla b.'Abd b.'Auf b.Ghanam.
Of B.Mazin b.al-Najjar, Suraqa b.'Amr b'Atiya b.Khansa'(791).

185 - THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA, A.H.8

After he had sent his force to Mu'ta the apostle stayed in Medina during the latter Jumada and Rajab. Then the B.Bakr b.Abdu Manat b.Kinana attacked Khuza'a while they were at a well of theirs in the lower region of Mecca called al-Watir. The cause of the quarrel was that a man of B.al-Hadrami called Malik b.'Abbad__the Hadrami being at that time allies of al-Aswad b.Razan__had gone out on a trading journey; and when he reached the middle of the Khuza'a country they attacked and killed him and took his possessions. So B.Bakr attacked the sons of al-Aswad b.Razn al-Dili who were the most prominent chiefs of B.Kinana__Salma, Kulthum, and Dhu'ayb__and killed them in 'Arafa at the boundary stones of the sacred area.

One of the B.al-Dil told me that B.al-Aswad during the pagan era were paid double bloodwit because of their position among them,while they only go a single bloodwit.

While B.Bakr and Khuza'a were thus at enmity Islam intervened and occupied men's minds. When the peace of Hudaybiya was concluded between the apostle and Qurash one of the conditions__according to what al-Zhuri told me from 'Urwa b.al-Zubayr from al- Miswar b.Makhrama and Marwan b.al-Hakam and other traditionists__was that anyone who wanted to enter into a treaty relationship with either party could do so; the B.Bakr joined Quraysh and Khuza'a joined the apostle. When the armistice was established B.al-Dil of B.Bakr took advantage of it against Khuza'a in their desire to revenge themselves on them for the sons of Aswad whom they had killed. So Naufal b.Mu'awiya al-Dili, who was their leader at the time, went out with the B.al-Dil, though all the B.Bakr did not follow him and attacked Khuza'a by night while they were at al-Watir their well, killing one of their men. Both parties fell back and continued the fight.

Qurash helped B.Bakr with weapons and some of them fought with them secretly under cover of the night until they drove Khuza'a into the sacred area. When they reached it the B.Bakr said, 'O Naufal, we are in the sacred area. Remember your God, remember your God!' He replied in blasphemous words that he had no god that day. 'Take your revenge, ye sons of Bakr. By my life, if you used to steal in the sacred area, won't you take vengeance in it?' Now on the night they attaked them in al-Watir they killed a man called Munabbih who had gone out with one of his tribesmen called Tamim b.Asad. Munabbih had a weak heart and he told Tamim to escape for he was as good as dead whether they killed him or let him go, for his heart had given out. So Tamim made off and escaped and Munabbih was overtaken and killed. When Khuza'a entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budayl b.Warqa and the house of a freed slave of theirs called Rafi'.

Tamim in excusing himself for running away from Munabbih said:

When I saw the B.Nufatha had advanced
Covering every plain and hil,
Rock and upland,no one else in sight,
Leading their swift wide-nostrilled horses
And I remembered the old blood feud between us,
A legacy of years gone by;
And I smelt the odour of death coming from them
And feared the stroke of a sharp sword
And knew that they would leave him they smote
Meat for mother lions and carrion for crows,
I set my feet firmly not fearing stumbling
And threw my garments on the bare ground.
I ran__no wild ass strong, lean-flanked, ran as I ran.
She may blame me, but had she been there
Her disapproval would have been urine wetting her.
Men well know that I did not leave Munabbih willingly.
Ask my companions (if you do not believe me) (792).

Al-Akhzar b.Lu't al-Dili describing the fight between Kinana and Khuza'a said;

Have not the most distant Ahabish (Possibly the Abyssinians are meant.) heard
That we repulsed B.Ka'b in impotent disgrace? ('with arrows snapped off near the feathered end')
We made them keep to the dwelling of the slave Rafi'
And they were confined helpless with Budayl
In the house of a low person who accepts humiliation
After we had slaked our vengeance on them with the sword.
We held them there for many a day
Until from every pass we charged down on them.
We slaughtered them like goats,
We were like lions racing to get our teeth in them.
They had wronged us and behaved as enemies

And were the first to shed blood at the sacred boundary.
When they pursued them with their vanguard in the wadi's bend
They were like young ostriches in full flight.(Fathur is a place in Najd as A.Dh. says; but unless the action referred to occured before they reached the haram it is hard to see what the
combatants were doing. As fathur means the contingent that leads the pursuit of a fleeing enemy it is to be preferred here to W.'s athur.)

Budayl b.'Abdu Manat b.Salama b.'Amr b.al-Ajabb who was called Budayl b.Umm Asram answered him thus:

May those people lose one another who boast
Since we left them no chief to call them to assembly save Nafil.
Was it for fear of a people you scorn
That you went past al-Watir fearful, never to return?
Everyday we give to others to pay bloodwit for those they have killed While we take no help in paying our bloodwit.
We came to your home in al-Tala'a, (Awell belonging to B.kinana. The second hemistich is a reference to the proverb 'The sword comes before recrimination'.
Our swords silenced all complaints.
From Bayd and 'Itwad (Places belonging to Kinana) to the slopes of Radwa
We held off the attacks of horsemen.
On the day of al-Ghamim (Between Mecca and Medina) Ubays ran away.
We terrified him with a doughty leader
Was it because the mother of one of you defecated in her housein her trepidation
While you were leaping about that we met no opposition?
By God's house you lie, you did not fight
But we left you in utter confusion (793).

When Quraysh and B.Bakr had combined against Khuza'a and killed some of them, there by breaking their covenanted word with the apostle in violating Khuza'a who were in treaty with him, 'Amr b.Salim al-Khuza'i of the clan of B.Ka'b went to the apostle in Medina. (This led to the conquest of Mecca.) He stood by him as he was sitting among the men in the mosque and said:

O Lord, I come to remind Muhammad
Of the old alliance between our fathers.
You are sons for whom we provided the mother,
Then we made peace (S.insists on this meaning for aslamna, despite the last verse, on the ground that Khuza'a had not yet become Muslims. The poem is a later invention and the natural translation 'Then we became Muslims' is to be preferred.) and have not changed our minds. Help us,now God guide you,
And call God's servants to our aid.
Among them the apostle of God prepared for war.(Or,reading taharrada, 'enraged.)
When he is wronged his face becomes black with anger
With a great army foaming like the sea.

Verily Quraysh have broken their promise to you,
They have violated their pledged word,
And they set men to watch out for me in Kada.(A place on the heights above Mecca.)
They claim that I can get no one to help us
And they but a miserable few.
They attacked us at night in al-Watir
And killed us as we performed the ritual prayers(794).

The apostle said, 'May you be helped O 'Amr b.Salim!'(Or perhaps nusirta here means 'You shall be helped'.) Then as a cloud appeared in the sky he said, 'This cloud will provide help for the B.Ka'b'.'

Then Budayl b.Warqa came with a number of Khuza'a to the apostle in Medina and told him of their misfortune and how Quraysh had helped B.Bakr against them. Having done so they returned to Mecca. The apostle said,'I think you will see Abu Sufyan coming to strengthen the agreement and to ask for moretime.' When Budayl and his companions had got as far as 'Usfan (Two days' journey on the road from Mecca to Medina.) they met Abu Sufyan who had been sent by Quraysh to strengthen the agreement with the apostle and to ask for an extension, for they were afraid of the consequences of what they had done. Abu Sufyan asked Buday whence he had come because he suspected him of having visited the apostle. He replied that he had come along the shore and the bottom of this valley with the Khuza'a, and denied that he had been to Muhammad. When Buday had gone off to Mecca Abu Safyan said,'If Budayl came to Medina he will have given his camels dates to eat there,'so he went to where the camels had knelt and split up their dung and looked at the stones. 'By God,I swear Budayl has come from Muhammad,' he said.

Having arrived at Medina he went in to his daughter Umma Habiba, and as he went to sit on the apostle's carpet she folded it up so that he could not sit on it. 'My dear daughter,' he said, 'I hardly know if you think that the carpet is too good for me or that I am too good for the carpet!' She replied: 'It is apostle's carpet and you are an unclean polytheist. I do not want you to sit on the apostle's carpet.' 'By God,' he said, 'since you left me you have gone to the bad.' Then he went to the apostle, who would not speak to him;. he then went to Abu Bakr and asked him to speak to the apostle for him; he refused to do so. Then he went to 'Umar who said,'Should I intercede for you with the apostle! If I had only an ant I would fight you with it.' Then he went in to see 'Ali with whom was Fatima the apostle's daughter who had with her 'Ali's little son Hasan crawling in front of her. He appealed to 'Ali on the ground of their close relationship to intetcede with the apostle so that he would not have to return disappointed; but he answered that if the apostle had determined on a thing it was useless for anyone to talk to him about it; so he turned to Fatima and said,'O daughter of Muhammad, will you let your little son here act as a protector between men so that he may become lord of the Arabs for ever?' She replied that her little boy was not old enough to undertake such a task and in any case none could give protection against God's apostle. He then asked for 'Ali's advice in the desperate situation. He said, 'I do not see anything that can really help you, but you are the chief of B.Kinana, so get up and grant protection between men and then go back home.' When he asked if he thought that that would do any good he replied that he did not, but that he

could see nothing else. Thereupon Abu Sufyan got up in the mosque and said, 'O men, I grant protection between men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off to Quraysh who asked for his news. He said that Muhammad would not speak to him, that he got no good from Abu Quhafa's son, and that he found 'Umar an implacable enemy(795). He had found 'Ali the most helpful and he had done what he recommended, though he did not know whether it would do any good. He told them what he had done and when they asked whether Muhammad had endorsed his words, he had to admit that he had not. They complained that 'Ali had made a fool of him and that his pronouncement was valueless, and he said that he could find nothing else to do or say.

The apostle ordered preparations to be made for a foray and Abu Bakr came in to see his daughter 'A'isha as she was moving some of the apostle's equipment. He asked if the apostle had ordered her to get things ready, and she said that he had, and that her father had better get ready also. She told him that she did not know where the troops were going. Later the apostle informed the men that he was going to Mecca and ordered them to make careful preparations. He said 'O God, take eyes and ears (i.e.reports from travellers and others who have seen the Muslims assembling.) from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land,' and the men got themselves ready.

Hassan b.Thabit, inciting the men and mentioning the killing of the men of Khuza'a said:

It pained me though I did not see in Mecca's valley The men of Banu Ka'b with their heads cut off
By men who had not drawn their swords
And the many dead who were left unburied.(He means that Quraysh were really responsible for the death of these men in the sacred territory. This is implied in the v.l. in the Diwan which has qatla bi-haqqin.)
Would that I knew if my help with its biting satire(Hassan was no fighter. He relied on his tongue to hurt the enemy.)
Would injure Suhayl b.'Amr, and Safwan
That old camel who groans from his arse.
This is the time for war__its girths are tightened.(War is compared to a camel.)
Don't feel safe from us, son of Umm Mujalid,
When its pure milk is extracted and its teeth are crooked.
Don't be disappointed, for our swords
Will open the door to death(796).

Muhammad b.Ja'far b.al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b.al-Zubayr and another of our traditionists said that when the apostle decided to go to Mecca Hatib b.Abu Balta'a wrote a letter to Quraysh telling them that the apostle intended to come at them. He gave it to a woman whom Muhammad b.Ja'far alleged was from Muzayana while my other informant said she was Sara, a freed woman of one of the B.'Abdu'l-Muttalib. He paid her some money to carry it to Quraysh. She put the letter on her head and then plaited her locks over it and went off. The apostle received news from heaven of Hatib's action and sent 'Ali and al-Zubayr b.al-'Awwam with instructions to go after her. They overtook her in al-Khulayqa of B.Abu Ahmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but

found nothing. 'Ali swore that the apostle could not be mistaken nor could they, and that if she did not produce the letter they would strip her. When she saw that he was in earnest she told him to turn aside, and then she let down her locks and drew out the letter and gave it to him and he took it to the apostle. The apostle summoned Hatib and asked him what induced him to act thus. He replied that he believed in God and His apostle and had never ceased to do so, but that he was not a man of standing among Quraysh and he had a son and a family there and that he had to deal prudently with them for their sakes. 'Umar wanted to cut off his head as a hypocrite but the apostle said, 'How do you know,' 'Umar; perhaps God looked favourably on those who were at Badr and said, "Do as you please,for I have forgiven you." Then God sent down concerning Hatib: 'O you who believe, choose not My enemies and yours as friends so as to show them kindness' as far as the words'You have a good example in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: We are quit of you and what you worship beside God; we renounce you and between us and you enmity and hatred will ever endure until you belive in God alone.'(Sura 60 1-4)

Muhammad b.Muslim b.Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b.'Abdullah b.'Utba b.Mas'ud from 'Abdullah b.'Abbas told me: Then the apostle went on his journey and put over Medina Abu Ruhm Kulthum b.Husayn b.'Utba b.Khalaf al-Ghifari. He went out on the e10th of Ramadan and he and the army fasted until when he reached al-Kudayd between 'Usfan and Amaj he broke his fast. He went on until he came to Mar al-Zahran with 10,000 Muslims; Sulaym numbered 700 and some say 1,000; and Muzayna 1,000 Muslims; and in every tribe there was a considerable number and Islam. The Muhajirs and Helpers went as one man; not one stayed behind. When the apostle had reached Marr al-Zahran Quraysh were completely ignorant of the fact and did not even know what he was doing. On those nights Abu Sufyan b.Harb and Hazim and Budayl b.Warqa' went out searching for news by eye or ear when al-'Abbas had met the apostle in the way(797).

Abu Sufyan b.al-Harith b.'Abdul-Muttalib and 'Abdullah b.Abu Umayya b.al-Mughira had met the apostle also in Niqu'l-'Uqab between Mecca and Medina and tried to get in to him. Umm Salama spoke to him about them, calling them his cousin and his brother-in-law. He replied:'I have no use for them. As for my cousin he has wounded my pride; and as for my aunt's son and my brother-in-law he spoke insultingly of me in Mecca.' When this was conveyed to them Abu Sufyan who had his little son with him said, 'By God, he must et me in or I will take this little boy of mine and we will wander through the land until we die of hunger and thrist.' When he heard this the apostle felt sory for them and let them come in and they accepted Islam. Abu Sufyan recited the following verses about his Islam in which he excused himself for what had gone before:

By thy life when I carried a banner
To give al-Lat's cavalry the victory over Muhammad
I was like one going astray in the darkness of the night,
But now I am led on the right track.
I could not guide myself, and he who with God overcame me
Was he whom I had driven away with all my might.

I used to do all I could to keep men from Muhammad
And I was called a relative of his, though I did not claim the relation.
They are what they are. He who does not hold with them
Though he be a man of sense is blamed and given the lie.
I wanted to be on good terms with them (Muslims)
But I could not join them while I was not guided.
Say to Thaqif I do not want to fight them;
Say, too, 'Threaten somebody else!'
I was not in the army that attacked 'Amir,
I had no part with hand or tongue.
'Twas tribes that came from a distant land,
Strangers from Saham and Surdad (798).

They allege that when he recited his words `He who with God overcame me was he whom I had driven away with all my might' the apostle punched him in the chest and said, `You did indeed!'

When the apostle camped at Marr al-Zahran Abbas said, (T 1630 of following Yunus's version of I.I has a slightly longer text. Only significant difference will be noted.) 'Alas, Quraysh. if the apostle ebters Mecca by force before they ciome abd ask for protection that will be the end of Quarysh for ever.' I sat upon the apostle's white mule and webt out on it until came to the arak trees, thinking that I might find some woodcutters or milkers or someone who could go to Mecca and tell them where the apostle was so that they could come out and ask for safety before he entered the town by assault. As I was going along with this intent suddenly I heard the sound if Abu Sufyan (T. and Hakim b. Hazam) and Budayl talking together. Abu Sufyan was saying,I have never seen such fires and such a camp before.' Budayl was saying, 'These, by God, are (the fires of) Khuza 'a which war has kindled.' Abu Sufyan was saying, 'Khuza'a are to poor and few to have fires and camps like these.' I recognized his voice and called to him and he recognized my voice. I told him that the apostle was here with his army and expressed concern for him and for Quaraysh: 'If he takes you he will behead you, so ride on the back of this mule so that I can take you to him and ask for you his protection.' So he rode behind me and his two companions returned. Whenever we passed a Muslim fire we were challenged, and when they saw the apostle's mule with me riding it they said it was the prophet's uncle riding his mule until I passed by 'Umar's fire. He challenged me and got up and came to me, and when he saw Abu Sufyan on the back of the beast he cried:' Abu Sufyan.the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has delivered you up without agreement or word.' then he ran towards the apostle and I made the mule gallop, and the mule won by the distance a slow beast will outrun a slow man. I dismounted and went in to the apostle and Umar came in saying the same words and adding, 'Let me take off his head.' I told the apostle that I had promised him my protection; then I sat by him and took hold of his head and said, 'By God, none shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present'; and when 'Umar continued to remonstrate I said, 'Gently. 'Umar! If he had been one of the B.'Adiy b. Ka'b you would not have said this; but you know that he is one of the B. 'Abdu Manaf.' He replied, 'Gently, 'Abbas! for by God your Islam the day you accepted it was dearer to me than the Islam of al-Khattab would have been had he become a Muslim. One thing I surely know is that your Islam

was dearer to the apostle than my father's would have been.' The apostle told me to take him away to my quarters and bring him back in the morning. He stayed the night with me and I took him in to see the apostle early in the morning and when he saw him he said, 'Isn't it time that you should recognize that there is no God but Allah?' He answered, 'You are dearer to me than father and mother. How great is your clemency, honour, and kindness! By God, i thought that had there been another God with God he would have contined to help me.' He said: 'Woe to you, Abu Sufyan, isn't it time that you recognize that I am God's apostle?' He answered, 'As to that I still have some doubt.

I said to him, 'Submit and testify that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the apostle of God before you lose your head ,'so he did so. I pointed out to the apostle that Abu Sufyan was a man who liked to have some cause for pride and asked him to do something for him. He said, 'He who enters Abu Sufyan's house is safe, and he who locks his door is safe, and he who enters the mosque is safe.' When he went off to go back the apostle told me to detain him in the narrow part of the wadi where the mountain projected (Lit'at the nose of the mountain) so that God's armies would pass by and he would see them; so I went and detained him where the prophet had ordered

The squadrons passed him with their standards, and he asked who they were. When I said Sulaym he would say, `What have I to do with Sulaym?" and so with Muzayana until all had passed, he asking the same question and making the same response to the reply. Finally the apostle passed with his greenish-black squadron (799) in which were Muhajirs and Ansar whose eyes alone were visible because of their armour. He said, `Good heavens, `Abbas, who are these?' and when I told him he said that none could withstand them. `By God, O Abu FadI, the authority of your brother`s son has become great.' I told him that it was due to his prophetic office, and he said that in that case he had nothing to say against it.

I told him to hurry to his people. When he came to them he cried at the top of his voice: `O Quraysh, this is Muhammad who has come to you with a force you cannot resist. He who enters Abu Sufyan's house is safe.' Hind d. `Utba went up to him, and seizing his moustacles cried, `Kill this fat greasy bladdar of lard! What a rotten protector of the people!' He said, `Woe to you, don't let this women deceive you, for you cannot resist what has come. He who enters Abu Sufyan`s house will be safe.' `God slay you,' they said, `what good will your house to be us?' (i.e. it could not provide cover for them all.) He added, `And he who shuts his door upon himself will be safe and he who enters the mosque will be safe.' Thereupon the people dispersed to their houses and the mosque.

`Abdulla b.Abu Bakr told me that when the apostle came to Dhu Tuwa he halted on his beast turbaned with a piece of red Yamani cloth and that he lowered his head in submission to God, when he saw how god had honoured him with victory, so that his beard almost touched the middle of the saddle.

Yahya b. `Abbad b. `Abdulla b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandmother Asma` d. Abu Bakr said: When the apostle stopped in Dhu Tuwa Abu Quhafa said to a daughter of his, one of his youngest children, 'Take me up to Abu Qubays,' for his sight had almost gone. When they got there he asked her what she could
see and she told him 'a mass of black'. 'Those are the horses,'
he said. Then she told him that she could se a man running up and down in front of them and he said that that was the adjutant

meaning the man who carries and transmits the orders to the cavalry. Then she said, 'By God, the black mass has spread.' He
said, In that case the cavalry have been released, so bring me quickly to my house'. She took him down and the cavalry encountered him before he could get to his house. The girl had silver necklace and a man who met her tore it from her neck. When the apostle came in and entered the mosque Abu Bakr came leading his father. On seeing him the apostle said, 'Why did you not leace the old man in his house so that I could come to him there?' Abu Bakr replied that it was more fitting that he should come to him than vice versa. He made him sit before him and stroked his chest and asked him to accept Islam and he did so. When Abu Bakr brought his father in his head was as white as edelweiss, and the apostle told them to dye it. Then Abu Bakr got up and taking his sister's hand said;'i ask in the name of God and Islam for my sister's necklace' and none answered him; and he said, 'Sister, regard your necklace as taken by God [and look to Him to requite you] for there is not much honesty among people nowadays.'

'Abdullah b.Abu Najih told me that the apostle divided his force at Dhu Tuwa ordering al-Zubayr b.Awwam to go in with some of the men from Kuda. Al-Zubyr commanded the left wing;Sa'b d.
'Ubada he ordered to go in with some of the men from Kada'.

Some traditionists allege that when Sa'd started off he said,

Today is a day of war,

Sanctuary is no more,

and one of the muhajirs [800] heard him and told the apostle that it was to be feared that he would resort to violence. The apostle oedered 'Ali to go after him and take the flag from him and enter with it himself.

'Abdullah b.Abu Najih in his story told me that the apostle ordered Khalid to enter from al-Lit, the lower part of Mecca, with some men. Khalid was in command of the right wing with Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifar, Muzayna, Juhayna, and other Arab tribes. Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah advanced with the trops pouring into Mecca in front of the apostle who entered from Adhakhir (Yaqut knows nothing of this place, but it is mentioned frequently by al-Azraqi, Mecca, 1352, ii.232ff.as a pass near Mecca.) until he halted above Mecca and his tent was pitched there.

'Abdullah b.Abu Najih and Abdullah b.Abu Bakr told me that Safwan b.Umaya and 'ikrima b.Abu Jahl and Suhayl b. 'Amr had collected some men in al-Khandama (Not mentioned by Yaqut. Azr i. 146 says it is a peak on Abu Qubays.) to fight. Himas b. Qays b. Khalid brother of B. Bakr was sharpening his sword before the
apostle entered Mecca, and his wife asked him why he was doing so. When he told her it was for Muhammad and his companions she
said that she did not think that it would do them any harm. He
answered that he hoped to give her one of them as a slave and said:

I have no excuse if today they advance.
Here is my weapon, a long-bladed lance,
A two-edged sword in their faces will dance!

Then he went to al-Khandama with Safwan, Suhayl, and 'Ikrima and when the Muslims under Khalid arrived a Skirmish followed in which kurz b. Jabir, one of the B.Muharib b.Fihr, and Khunays
b.Khalid b.Rabi'a b. Asram, an ally of B. Munqidh, who were in Khalid's cavalry, were killed. They had taken a road of their own a part from Khalid and were killed together. Khunays was kiled
first and Kurz put him between his feet and fought in his defence until he was slain, saying meanwhile:

Safra of the B. Fihr knows
The pure of face and heart
That I fight today in defence of Abu Sakhr.

Khunays was surnamed Abu Sakhr (801).

Salama b. al-Mayla, one of Khalid's horsemen, was killed, and the Polytheists lost about 12 or 13 men; then they took to flight. Himas ran off and went into his house and told his wife
to bolt the door. When she asked what had become of his former words he said :

If you had witnessed the battle of Khandama
When Safwan and 'Ikrima fled
And Abu Yazid was standing like a pillar (This explanation of mutima is based on S.'s statement that elsewhere I.I. says that such is the meaning. The alternative 'A widow left with fatherless children' is supported by Azraqi, 47 kal'ajuzi' l.mutima (quoted by Noldeke, Glos. 103 and T.'s kal-ma' tama))
And the Muslims met them with their swords
Which cut through arms and skulls,
Only confused cries being heard
Behind us their cries and groans,
You would not have uttered the least word of blame (802)

The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka'ba. Among them was 'Abdullah b. Sa'd, brother

of the B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. The reason he ordered him to be
killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down
revelation; then he apostatized and returned to Quraysh and fled to 'Uthman b. 'Affan whose foster-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the apostle after the situation in
Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity.
They allege that the apostle remained silent for a long time till
finally he said yes. When 'Uthman had left he said to his companions who were sitting around him, 'I kept silent so that

one of you might get up and strike odd his head!' One of the Ansar said, 'Then why didn't you give me a sign, o apostle of God?' He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing (803)

Another was 'Abdullah b. Khatal of B. Ghalib. He had become a Muslim and the apostle sent him to collect the poor'tax in company with one of the Ansar. He had with him a freed slave who served him. (He was a Muslim) When they halted he ordered the latter to kill a goat for him and prepare some food and went to sleep. When he woke up the man had done nothing, so he attacked and killed him and apostatized. He had two singing-girls Fartana and her friend who used to sing satirical songs about the apostle, so he ordered that they should be killed with him.

Another was al-Huwayrith b.Nuqaydh b. 'Abd b. Qusayy, one of those who used to insult him in Mecca (804).

Another was Miqyas b. Hubaba (W.Dubaba on p.728 he writes Subaba which may well be right in spite of C.which follows the Qamus) because he had killed an Ansari who had killed his brother accidentally, and returned to Quraysh as a polytheist. And Sara, fred slave of one of the B. 'Abdul-Muttalib; and 'Irkima b. Abu Jahl. Sara had insulted him in Mecca. As for 'Irkima, he fled to the Yaman. His wife Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham became a Muslim and asked immunity for him and the apostle gave it. She went to the Yaman in search of him and brought him to the apostle and he accepted Islam. (T. 'Irkima used to relate according to what they say, that what turned him to Islam when he had gone to the Yaman was that he had determined to cross the sea to Abyssinia and when he found a ship the master said, 'O servant of God, you cannot travel in my ship until you acknowledge that God is one and disavow any rival to Him, for I fear that if you do not do so we should perish.' When I asked if none but such persons was allowed to travel in his ship he replied, 'Yes, and he must be sincere.' So I thought: Why should i leave Muhammad when this is what he has brought us? Truly our Gold on the sea is our God on the dry land. Thereupon i recognized Islam and it entered into my heart) 'Abdullah b.Khatal was killed by Sa'id b. Hurayth al-Makhzumi and Abu Barza al-Aslami acting together. Miquas was killed by Numayla b. 'Abdullah, one of his own people. Miquas sister said of his killing:

By my life, Numayla shamed his people
And distressed the winter guests when he slew Miquas.
Whoever has seen a man like Miqyas
Who provided food for young mothers in hard times.

As for ibn Khatal's two singing-girls, one was killed and the other ran away until the apostle, asked for immunity, gave it her. Similarly Sara, who lived until in the time of

'Umar a mounted soldier trod her down in the valley of Mecca and killed her. Al-Huwayrith was killed by 'Ali.

Sa'id b,Abu Hind from Abu murra, freed slave of 'Aqil b. Abu

talib, told me that Umm Hani'd. Abu Talib said; When the apostle halted in the upper part of Mecca two of my brothers-in-law from B. Makhzum fled to me. (She was the wife of Hubayra b. Abu wahb al-Makhzumi.) 'Ali came in swearing that he would kill them,. so I bolted the door of my house on them and went to the apostle and found him washing in a large bowl in which was the remains of dough while his daughter Fatima was screening him with his garment. When he had washed he took his garment and wrapped himself in it and prayed eight bendings of the morning prayer. Then he came forward and welcomed me and asked me why I had come. When I told him about the two men and 'Ali he said; 'We give protection to whomsoever you give protection and we give safety to those you protect. He must not kill them' (805)

Muhammad b. jafar b. al-Zubayr from 'Ubadullah b. 'Abdullah b.Abu Thaur from Safya d.Shayba told me that the apostle after arriving in Mecca when the populace had settled down went to the temple and encompassed it seven times on his camel touching the black stone with a stick which he had in his hand. This done he summoned 'Uthman b. Talha and took the key of the ka'ba from him, and when the door was opened for him he went in. There he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hands and threw it away. Then he stood by the door of the Ka;ba while the men in the mosque gathered to him. (Other explanations given for the word istakaffa are fixed their gaze on and surrounded'.)

(I.I. from 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from 'Ali b. Abdullah b.'Abbas; The apostle entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and it contained 360 idols which Iblis (A parllel tradition on the authority of I. 'Abbas via al-Zuhri simply says that the idols were strengthened by lead.) had strengthened with lead. The apostle was standing by them with a stick in his hand, saying,'The truth has come and falsehood has passed away; verily falsehood is sure to pass away' (Sura 17.82). Then he pointed at them with his stick and they collapsed on their backs one after the other.

When the apostle prayed the noon prayer on the day of the of the conquest he ordered that all the idols which were round the Ka'ba should be collected and burned with fire and broken up. Fadala b. al-Mulawih al-Laythi said commemorating the day of the conquest :

Had you seen Muhammad and his troops
The day the idols were smashed when he entered
You would have seen God's light become manifest
And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

I.I. from Hakim b. Abbad b.Hanif and other traditionists:
Quraysh had put pictures in the Ka'ba including two of Jesus son of Mary and Mary (on both of whom he peace!). I. Shihab said: Asma d.shaqr said that a woman of Ghassan joined in the pilgrimage of the Arabs and when she saw the picture of Mary in the Ka'ba she said, ' My father and my mother be your ransom! You are surely an Arab Woman!' The apostle ordered that the pictures should be erased except those of Jesus and Mary. (Apparently I.H. has cut out what I.I. wrote and adopted the later tradition that all the pictures were obliterated. A more detailed account of these pictures will be found in Azr. 104-6.)

A tradionist (There names the informants as 'Umar b. Mus'ab al- Wajih from Qatada al-Sadusi) told me that the apostle stod at the door of the Ka'ba and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone; He has no associate. He has made good His promise and helped His servant. He has put to flight the confederates alone.
Every claim of privilege (Especially inherited authority) or blood or property are abolished by me except the custody of the temple and the watering of the pilgrims. The unintentionally slain in a quasi-intentional way by club or whip, (i.e, manslaughter) for him the bloodwit is most severe; a hundred camels, forty of them to be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has taken from you the haughtiness of paganism and its veneration of ancestors. Man springs from Adam and Adam sprang from dust.' Then he read to them this verse: `O men, We created you from male and female and made you into peoples and tribes that you may know one another; of a truth the most noble of you in God's sight is the most pious' to the end of the passage. (Sura 49-13). Then he added, O Quraysh, what do you think that I am about to do with you? They replied,"Good. You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother.' He said,` Go your way for you are the freed ones.'

[T. Thus the apostle let them go though God had given him power over their lives and they were his spoil. For this reason the Meccans were called the `freed ones'. Then the populace gathered together in Mecca to do homage to the apostle in Islam. As I have heard, he sat (waiting) for them on al-Safa while Umar remained below him imposing conditions on the people who paid homage to the apostle promising to hear and obey God and His apostle to the best of their ability. This applied to the men; when they had finished he dealt with the woman. Among the Quraysh women who came was Hind d. Utba who came veiled and disguised because of what she had done especially in regard to Hamza, for she was afraid that the apostle would punish her. According to what I heard when they approached him he asked if they gave their word not to associate anything with God, and Hind said, `By God, you lay on us something that you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out.' He said, `And you shall not steal.' She said, `By God, I used to take a little of Abu Sufyan's money and I do not know whether that is lawful for me or not.' Abu Sufyan who was present when she said this told her that so far as the past was concerned it was lawful. The apostle said, "Then you are Hind d. Utba?' and she said `I am; forgive me what is past and God will forgive you.' He said,`And do not commit adultery.' She answered , Does a free woman commit adultery, O apostle of God?' He said , `And you shall not kill your children.' She said, `I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the

one to know about them!' Umar laughed immoderately at her reply. He said,` You shall not invent sladerous tales.' She said,`By God, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes, better to ignore it.' He said,`You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.' She said, `We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders.' The apostle said to `Umar, Accept their troth,' and he asked God's forgiveness for them while `Umar accepted their hoomage on his behalf. The apostle never used to take the women's hands; he did not touch a women nor did one touch him except one whom god had made lawful to him or was one of his harim. Ibn Ishaq from Abban b. Salih said that the women's homage according to what was put in front of the apostle and when he laid the conditions upon them and they accepted them and when they accepted them he said, `Go, I have accepted your homage,' and added nothing further.] (pp. 1642 (ult.) to 1644. 13.)

Then the apostle sat in the mosque and `Ali came to him with the key of the Ka`ba in his hand asking him to grant his family the right of guarding the temple as well as the watering of the pilgrims, but the apostle called for `Uthman b. Talha and said, `Here is your key; today is a day of good faith'(806).

Sa`id b. Abu Sandar al-Aslami from one of his tribesmen said: We had with us a brave man called Ahmar Ba`san. (Or Ihmarra Ba`san. A strange nickname. `Red in power', `Ruddybold', or the like.) When he slept he snored so loudly that everyone knew where he was. When he spent the night they would call his name and he would leap up like a lion and nothing could withstand him. It happened that a party of raiders from Hudhayl came, making for the people at their water; and when they drew near Ibn al- Athuwa` al-Hudhali told them not to hurry him until he had looked round; for if Ahmar was among the group there was no way to get at them. He snored so loudly that one could tell where he was. So he listened and when he heard his snoring he walked up to him and thrust his sword into his breast pressing on it so that he killed him. Then they rushed upon the party who cried `Ahmar!' But they had no Ahmar.

On the morrow of the conquest of Mecca Ibn al-Athwa 'came into Mecca to look round and find out what the situation was. Now he was still a polytheist, and Khuza'a saw and recoginzed him, and they surrounded him as he was at the side of one of the walls of Mecca, saying, `Are you the man who killed Ahmar?' `Yes', he said, `and what about it?' Thereupon Khirash b.Umayya advanced on him with drawn sword saying, `Get away from the man.' We supposed that he wanted to get the people away from him; but when we drew away he ran at him and thrust his sword in his belly. By God, I can almost see him now with his entrails flowing forth from his belly and his eyes two mere slits in his head the while he Sad, `Have you done it, you men of Khuza`a?' until he collapsed and fell. The apostle said, `Stop this killing, Khuza`a; there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. I will pay the bloodwit for the man you have killed.'

`Abdu'I-Rahman b.Harmala al-Aslami from Sa`id b. al-Musayyib told me that when the apostle heard what Khiirash had done he said, `Khirash is too prone to kill,' thereby rebuking him.

Sa`id b. Abu Sa`id al-Maqburi from Abu Shurayh al-Khuza'i said: When `Amr b. Zubayr (S. here points out that this is a mistake on the part of I.H. and that the man was `Amr b.Sa`id b. al-As b. Umayya; that the mistake is due either to I.H. or to al- Bakka`i; and that the true tradition is given by Yunus.) came to Mecca to fight his brother `Abdulla I came to him and said, `Listen! When we were with the apostle the day after the conquest of Mecca, Khuza`a attacked a man of Hudhayl and killed him, he being a polytheist. The apostle arose and addressed us, saying, "God made Mecca holy the day He created heaven and earth, and it is the holy of holies until the resurrection day. It is not lawful to anyone before me who belives in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down trees therein. It was not lawful to anyone before me and it will not be lawful to anyone after me. Indeed, it is not lawful for me except at this time because of (God's) anger against its people. Now it has regained its former holiness. Let those here now tell those that are not here. If anyone should say, The apostle killed men in Mecca, say God permitted His apostle to do so but He does not permit you. Refrain from killing, you men of Khuza`a, for there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. Since you have killed a man I will pay his bloodwit. If anyone is killed after my sojourn here his people have a choice: they can have his killer's life or the blood-money." Then the apostle paid the bloodwit for the man whom Khuza'a had slain.' `Amr replied, `Be off with you, old man! We know more about its sanctity than you. It does not protect the shedder of blood, nor the man who casts off his allegiance nor him who withholds tax.' Abu Shurayh answered, `I was there and you were not. The apostle ordered us who were present to tell those who were absent. I have told you and the responsibility now rests with you' (807).

Muhammad b. Ja`far from `urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Safwan b.Umayya went out to Judda to take ship to the Yaman. `Umayr b. Wahb told the prophet that Safwan, who was a chief among his people, had fled from him to cast himself into the sea, and asked him to grant him immunity. The prophet agreed to do so, and `Umayr asked him for a sign to prove it, and he gave him the turban with which he had entered Mecca. `Umayr took it and overtook Safwan just as he was about to embark. He begged him not to commit suicide and produced the token of his safety. Safwan told him to be off and not speak to him. He replied, `My parents be your ransom! He is the most virtuous, most pious, most clement, and best of men, your very cousin. His honour is your honour.' He replied, `I go in fear of my life because of him.' He answered, `He is too clement and too honourable to kill you.' So he went back with him to the apostle and told him that `Umayr had said that he had promised him immunity. He said that that was true. Safwan asked for two months in which to make up his mind, and he gave him four months (808).

Al-Zuhri told me that Umm Hakim d. al-Harith b.-Hisham and Fakhita d. al-Walid (who was married to Safwan, while Umm Hakim's husband was `Ikrima b. Abu Jahl) had become Muslims. The latter adked immunity for her husband and the apostle granted it and she joined him in the Yaman and brought him back. When `Ikrima and Safwann became Muslims the apostle confirmed their first marriages.

Sa`id b. Abdu`l-Rahman b. Hassan b. Thabit told me that Hassan directed a single verse and no more at I.al-Ziba`ra who was in Najran at the time: (The point is interesting

because the Diwan (h. exlii) adds two more verses which fit the context poorly. It looks almost as though Hassan's grandson knew that they had been grafted on to hassan's line and resented the impertinence.)

Do not be without a man, hatred of whom
Has made you live in Najran in utmost misery!

When this reached I. al-Ziba'ra he went to the apostle and accepted Islam. Thenn he said:

O apostle of God, my tongue is repairing
The mischief I did when a perishinng (sinner)
When I followed Satan in going astray.
(He who turns aside with him must perish.)
My flesh and my bones believe in my Lord.
My heart bears witness that you are the warner.
I will drive the clan of Lu'ayy from you there,
All of them being deceived.

When he became a Muslim he said also:

Cares and anxieties withheld sleep from me
And night pitch black was agitated above me
Because I heard that Ahmad had blamed me;
I passed the night like a man with fever. O best of these, a swift light-footed
Straight-running camel ever carried,
Forgive me for what I said and did
When I went wandering in error,
What time Sahm gave me most misleading orders,
And Makhzun did the same;
When I supported evil courses
Led by those who erred, whose way was ill omened.
Today my heart believes in the prophet Muhammad.
He who misses this is a loser.
Enmity has passed, its ties are ended;
Kinship and reason call us together.
Forgive my mistakes--my parents be thy ransom,
For you are compassionate having found mercy.
Upon you is the sign of God's knowledge,
A light most bright and a seal imprinted.
After His love He gave you His proof to honour you
And God''s proof is great.
I testify that your religion is true.
And that you are great among men.
And God testifies that Ahmad is the chosen,
The noble one, cynosure of the righteous,
A prince whose lofty house is from Hashim,
Strong from top to bottom (809).

As for Hubayra b. Abu Wahb al-Makhzumi, he lived there until he died an unbeliver. His wife was Umm Hani' d. Abu Talib whose name was Hind. When he heard that she had become a Muslim he said:

Does Hind long for you or do you know that she has asked about you?
Thus distance produces many changes.
On a high inaccessible fort in Najran she has banished my sleep.
When night falls her phantom roams abroad.
O that reproacher who wakes me at night and blames me!
She reproaches me by night--may her error err utterly!
Asserting that if I obey my family I shall perish,
But will anything but the loss of her kill me?
But I am of a people who if they do their utmost
They attain their end forthwith.
I protect the rear of my tribe
When they wheel beneath the spear points
And the swords in their hands become like
The sticks boys play with, no shade but the swords. (This line is an imitation of I.41 in the Mu`allaqa of `Amr b. Kulthum:
Ka'annna suyufana minna waminhum
makhariqunn bi'aydi la'ibind.
some lexicograhers favour a rendering `Knnotted rags'. In either case the meaning is that they regarded the swords as mere toys.)
I loathe the envious and their hannds become like
God will provide food for myself and my famliy.
Words spoken without truth.
Are like an arrow without a head.
If you have followed Muhammad's religion
And the ties of kinship draw you to your kin,
Then stay far distant on a high round rock,
Dry dust its only moisture (810). (The poet apostrophizes himself.)

The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Mecca numbered 10,000: of B.Sulaym 700 (Some say 1,000) ; of B. Ghifar 400; of Aslam 400; of Muzayna 1,003; and the rest of them were from Quraysh and the Ansar and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamim and Qays and Asad.

Among the poems about the consquest is the following from Hassan b. Thabit:
From Dhatul-Asabi and al_jiwa (These places are in Syria; the latter was the camp of al-Harith b. Abu Shamr the Ghassanid whom Hassan used to visit) to Adhra (One Post distant from Damascus)
Traces have disappeared, their camping-ground is empty.
The camps of B.al-Hashas (A clan of B. Asad) are a desert
Obliterated by wind and rain
There used always to be a friend there;

Its pastures held choice camels and sheep.
But leave that! Who will rid me of the night vision
Which keeps me from sleep when night's first hours have gone,
Of Shatha (Who this woman was is not certain; some say was d.Sallam b.Mishkam the Jew; others say a woman of Khuzaa; others someone else.) who fills me with longing.
So that my heart cannot be cured of it?
She is like the wine of Bayt Ra's (A place in Jordann noted for its wine.)
Mixed with honey and water.
All draughts that could be mentioned.
Cannot be compared with that wine.
We blame it for what we do amiss
If we are quarrelsome or insulting to others.
When we drink it we are as kings and lions,
Nothinng can keep us from the fray.
May we lose our horses if you do not see them (From this point the poem begins its theme.)
Raisinng the dust-clouds, their rendezvous Kada'.
They tug at the reins turning their necks to one side,
The thirsty lances couched above their shoulders.
As our horses raced along, (Tamattara in this sense is supported by T. 1650. 12v. Gloss `Rain-bespattered', suggested by A.Dh., gives poor sense unless it is a poetical way of saying that the sides of the horses were covered with foam. The Lisan explains that the women flapped their veils to hinder them. The reading inn Diwan and in some MSS> yuburina l-asinnata may be right: `they try to catch up with the points of the lanches whose thirsty shafts were couched above their shoulders'. The horses could see the the lance tips on their right front. Cf. W. 707, 15.)
The women flapped their veils in their faces.
If you don`t oppose us we shall celebrate the `Umara,
The conquest will be completed and the covering removed.
But if you do, expect a fight on the day
When God helps those He pleases
Gabriel, God`s messenger, is with us and
The holy spirit has no equal
God said, `I have sent a man
Who speaks the truth if you will profit by experience.
I bear witness to him, so arise (The Diwan has 'and my people confessed ' & c.) confess him truthful'.
But you said, 'We will not and we do not wish to'.
And God said, 'I have sent an army,
The Ansar accustomed to the fray'.
Every day we get from Ma'add (i.e. Quraysh who were desceded from 'Adnan.
Cursinng, battle, or lampooning.
We will repulse with verses those who lampoon us
And smite them when war breaks out.
Give Abu Sufyann a message from me,
For what was hidden has become clear,

Namely that our swords have left you a slave,
The heads of the 'Abdu'l-Dar mere bond women
You lampooned Muhammad and I answered for him:
There is a reward for that with God.
Would you lampoon him whom you cannot equal?
(The worse of you be a ransom for the better of you!)
You have lampooned the pure blessed hanif,
God's trusted one whose nature is loyalty.
Is he who lampoons God's apostle
And he who praises and helps him equal?
My father, my Grandfather, and my honour
Protect Muhammad's honour againnst you.
My tongue is a sharp sword without a flaw,
My verse a sea which the buckets cannot make turbid(811) (i.e. however many verses he composes from his inexhausible stock the well of poesy will not bbe fouled by bbad aand ineffectual lines.) Anas b.Zunaym al-Dili apologizing to the apostle for what 'Amr b. Salim al-Khuza'i said about them said;
Was it you by whose orders Ma'add was led?
Nay God guided them and said to you, Testify!
No camel ever carried a purer man
More true to his promise than Muhammad;
Swifter to do good, more lavish inn giving
When he went forth like a polished Indian sword;
More generous in giving a rich Yamani robe hardly worn
And the horse that was easily first in the race.
Know, O apostle of God, that you will get me
And that a threat from you is as good as fulfilled.
Know, O apostle, that you have power
Over them that dwell in highland and plain.
Know that the riders, the riders of 'Uwaymir,
Are liars which break every promise.
They told the apostle that I satirized him.
Were it true may my hand never lift a whip!
I merely said, Woe is the mother of the heroes
Who were slain in unhappy unlucky days!
Those not their equal in blood killed them
And great was my weeping and dismay.
you would break the convenant if you slandered
Abd b.'Abdullah annd the daughter of Mahwad
Dhu'ayb and Kulthum and Salma went successively to death,
So if my eye does not weep let me grieve.
There is no clan like Salma and his brothers;
Are kings the same as slaves?
I have no broken with custom or shed blood.
Consider, you who know the truth, and act!
Budayl b.Abdu Manaf b. Umm Asram answered him:

Anas wept Razn, how loud was his cry.
He should have wept for 'Adiy unavennged and destroyed.
You wept, Abu Abs, because they were blood relations
That you might have an excuse if none started a war.
Noble warriors killed them onn the day of Khandama, (A mountain in Meca)
Nufayl and Ma'bad amonng them if you inquire.
If your tears flow for them you will not be blamed
And if the eye does not weep then be sad (812)

Bujayr b.Zuhayr b.Abu Sulma said concerning the day of the conquest:

Muzaya and the Banu Khufaf that day
Expelled the people of al-Haballaq (I cannot understand this verse. If the people of al-haballaq were, as S.says the tribes of Muzanya and Qays, B. Khufaf beinng a clan of Sulaym, then we have the extraordinary statement that Muzanya expelled their own tribesmen. We can take 'every ravine' as the subject
of the sentence. as C.does and take nafa in the sense of 'sent out'; but then we must take Muzanya as an accusative and read Bani Kh. A.Dh. says that haballaq means ;small sheep; but that gives little help. What one would expect is some reference to the meccans, but they were not expelled from the town.) from every ravine.
We smote them with our sharp swords
The day the good prophet entered mecca.
We came on them with seven hundred from Sulaym
And a full thousand from Banu 'Uthman.
We smote (Lit. 'trod'. For aktdfahum some MSS have aknafahum 'their flanks') their shoulders with cut and thrust
And shot them with our feathered shafts.
You could hear among the ranks their whisper
As if the notched end were split from its binding. (After long hesitation I have adopted this rendering; but it might be that the poet is thinking of the arrows of the opposing forces passing one another in the air.)
We went with lances straight levelled
While our horses wheeled among them.
We came back plundering as we would While they went back discomfited.
We pledged our faith to the apostle
In sincere friendship.
They heard what we said and determined
To depart from us that day of fear (813).

187 - KHALID'S EXPEDITION AFTER THE CONQUEST TO THE B.JADHIMA OF KINANA AND 'ALI'S EXPEDITION TO REPAIR KHALID'S ERROR

The apostle sent out troops in the district round Mecca inviting men to God: he did not order them to fight. Among those he sent was Khalid b. al-walid whom he ordered to go to the lower part of the flat country as a missionary; he did not send him to fight. He

subdued the BB.Jadhima and killed some of them (814) (T. 's history (1649) is better arrannged. It shows that I.I.s narrative recorded that the force halted at al-Ghumayasa a well belonging to jadhima, and records the latter's killing of Khalid's uncle. I.H. has disturbed the natural flow of events.)

Hakim b.Hakim b. 'Abbad b. Hunayf from Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali said : when he took possession of Mecca the apostle sent Khalid forth as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He had with him the Arab tribes of Sulaym b. Mannsur and Mudlij bb. Murra, and they subdued Bb. Jadhima b. 'Amir b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana. When the people saw him they grasped their weapons, and Khalid said, 'Lay down your arms, for everybody has accepted Islam.'

A traditionist of B. Jadhima who was one of our companions told me: 'When Khalid ordered us to lay down our arms one of our men called Jahdam said, "Woe to you, B.Jadhima! This is Khalid. If you lay down your arms you will be bound, and after you have been bound you will be beheaded. By God, I'll never lay down my arms." Some of his people laid hold of him saying "Do you want to shed our blood? Everyone else has accepted Islam and laid down their arms; War is over and everybody is safe." They persisted to the point of taking away his arms, and they themselves laid down their arms at Khalid's word.'

Hakim b.Hakim from Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali told me: As soon as they had laid down their arms Khalid ordered their hands to be tied behind their backs and put them to the sword, killing a number of them. When the news reached the apostle he raised his hands to heaven and said, 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khalid has done' (815).

Hakim on the same authority told me that the apostle summoned 'Ali and told him to go to these people and look innto the affair, and abolish the practices of the pagann era. So 'Ali went to them with the money the apostle had sent and paid the bloodwit and made good their monetary loss even for a dog's bowl. When all blood and property had been paid for he still had some money over.He asked if any compensation was still due and when they said it was not he gave them the rest of the money on behalf of the apostle in case claims of which neither he nor they knew at the time should arise. Then he returned and reported to the apostle what he had done and he commended him. Then the apostle arose and faced the Qibla and raised his arms so that his armpits could be seen and said: 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khalid has done.' This he said three times.

Some who would excuse Khalid said that he said: 'I did not fight until ;Abdullah b.Hudhafa al-sahmi ordered me to do so and he said, "The apostle has ordered you to fight them because they keep back from Islam". (816)

Jahdam had said to them when they laid down their arms and he saw what Khalid was doing with the B. Jadhima: 'O B. Jadhima, the battle is lost. I gave you full warning of the disaster into which you have fallen,' I have heard that Khalid and Abu l-Rahman b. 'Auf had words about this. The latter said to him, 'You have done a pagan act in Islam,' to

which he replied that he had only avenged 'Abdul-Rahman's father. He answered that he was a liar because he himself had killed his father's slayer; but Khalid had taken vengeance for his uncle al-Fakih b. al-Mughira so that there was bad feeling between them. Hearing of this the apostle said, 'Gently, Khalid, leave my companions alone, for by God if you had a mountain (Lit. Uhud) of gold and spent it for God's sake you would not approach the merit of my companions.'

Now al-Fakih b. al-Mughira b. ;Abdullah b. 'Umar b.Makhzum and 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abdul-Harith b. Zuhra, and 'Affan b. Abu'l-As b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams had gone out trading to the Yaman. 'Affan took his son 'Uthman annd 'Auf took his son ;Abdul-Rahman. When they returned they carried the money of a man of B. Jadhima b.'Amir, who had died in the Yaman, to his heirs. One of their men called Khalid b. Hisham claimed it and met them in the Jadhima territory before they could get to the dead mann's family. They refused to give it up. A fight for the possession of the money took place during which 'Auf annd al-Fahik and 'Affan and his son escaping. They seized the property of al-Fahik and 'Auf and took it away and 'Abdul-Rahmann killed Khalid b. Hisham the slayer of his father. Quraysh meditated an attack on B. Jadhima, but they declared that the assault had not been plannned by them and that they did not know of it until afterwards. They offered to pay compensation for blood and property and Quraysh agreed, and so war was avoided.

One of the B.Jadhima said, though some say it was a woman called Salma:

Had not one tribe said to another, Be Muslims.
Sulaym, that day would have met a strong opponent.
Busr and the men of jahdam and Murra would have smitten them
Until they left the camels groaning in pain.
How many warriors did you see onn the day of Ghumaysa'
Dead, never wounded before, always giving the wounds? (If lam Yajrah be read here, the meaning would be: 'Dead, having wounded no one, though they could have done so (had they had the chance).'
(War) made husbandless women remain with the marriagemakers
And separated the men who were married from their wives (817).

'Abbas b. Mirdas answered her; some say it was a;-Jahhaf b. Hakim al-Sulami:

Stop this idle talk: sufficiennt opponent
Are we always to the hero of the battle.
Khalid was more to be excused than you The day he took the plain way in the affair.
Helped by God's command driving towards you
(Horses) which stumble not going left and right.
They brought the news of Malik's death inn the plain when they went down to it.
Stern visaged showing their teeth in clouds of dust.
If we have bereaved you, Salma,

You have left (C. 'You have been left'. In the absence of further information one can only adopt what seems the more probable sense: You were the aggressors when you killed Malik.)
men and women to bewail Malik.

Al-Jahhaf b.Hakim al-Sulami said:

Horses given free rein were with the prophet at Hunayn
Bleeding from their wounds;
In Khalid's raid too their hooves
Galloped in the sacred area.
We set our faces against the spears
Faces never given to be slapped.
I am not one to throw my garments from me (i.e. to expose himself so as to obtain quarter from his opponent: or, if thiyab here means 'mail', to reduce his weight so that his mount could run away the faster.)
Whenever a warrior shakes his lance,
But my colt beneath me bears me
To the heights (Perhaps meaning 'to the heights of glory'.)
with my sharp sword.

Ya;qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas from al-Zuhri from Ibn Abu Hadrad al-Aslami told me: I was with Khalid's cavalry that day when a young man of the B.Jadhima who was about my own age spoke to me. His hands were tied to his neck by an old rope and the women were standing in a group a short distance away. He asked me to take hold of the rope and lead him to the women so that he might say what he had to say and then bring him back and do what we liked with him. I said that that was a small thing to ask and I led him to them. As he stood by them he said, 'Fare you well, Hubaysha, though life is at an end.'

Tell me when I sought and found you in Halya
Or came on you in al-Khawaniq,
Was I not a lover worthy to be given what he asked,
Who undertook journeys by night and noonday?
I did no wrong when I said when our people were together,
Reward me with love before some misfortune befalls!
Reward me with love before distance divides
And the chief goes off with a dear one thus parted.
For I was never disloyal to our secret troth
And my eye never looked admiringly at another.
When the tribe's troubles distracted me from love
Even then the attraction of love was there (818).

The same authority told me that she said: 'May your life be prolonged seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter.' Then I took him away and he was beheaded.

Abu Firas b. Abu Sunbula al-Aslami from some of their shaykhs from one who was present said; She went to him when he was beheaded and bent over him and kept on kissing him until she died at his side.

One of the B. Jadhma said:

God requite Mudlij for the evil they did us
Wherever they go or rest.
They took our goods and divided them;
The spears came at us not once nor twice.
Were it not for the religion of Muhammad's people
Their cavalry (Reading with C.Khuyul) would have fled and
been driven off.
What hindered them from helping a squadron
Like a swarm of locusts loose and scattered abroad?
If they repent or return to their (right) way
We will not repay them for what the squadron lost. (Or, reading the passive with W. 'for the squadron having been led astray'.)

Wahb of the B. Layth answered him:
We called 'Amir to Islam and the truth.
It is not our fault if 'Amir, confound them, is not our fault
Because their minds were foolish and went astray.

One of the B. Jadhima said:

Congratulate B. Kalib on the coming of Khalid and his companions
The morn when the squadrons came on us.
Ibn Khuwaylid showed no desire for revenge.
You would have been content had you not been there.
Our men do not keep their fools from us,
Nor is the malady of the day of al-Ghumaysa' cured.

A young man of B. Jadhima who was leading his mother and his two sisters in their flight from Khalid's force said:

Set free your skirts, let your garments trail;
Walk as chaste women who do not quail.
We guard our women, we will not fail.

Young men of B. jadhima known as B. Musahiq were composing rough verse when they heard of Khalid, and one of them said;

Safra white of flanks whom a man with flocks and camels
Possesses, knows that I will do all a man can do this
day.

And Another said;

Safra who diverts her husband well knows,
She who eats but a morsel of meat,
That today I will deliver a swift blow
As one leaving the sacred area hits sluggish pregnant camels.

And another said:

No long-maned lion with ponderous paws,
Ferocious mien, and tawny whiskers, (I prefer this reading to W.'s shibal 'cubs'.)
Roaring 'twixt jungle and thicket when the morn is cold,
Whose only food is man,
Is bolder than I was that day, I swear.

187a -KHALID'S JOURNEY TO DESTROY AL-'UZZA

Then the apostle sent Khalid to al-'Uzza which was in Nakhla. It was a temple which this tribe of Quraysh and Kinana and all Mudar used to venerate. Its gurdians and wardens were B. Shayban of B.Sulaym, allies of B. Hashim. When the Sulami guardian heard of Khalid's coming he hung his sword on her, climbed the mountain on which she stood, and said :

O `Uzza, make an annihilating attack on Khalid,
Throw aside your veil and grid up your train.
O `Uzza, if you do not kill this man Khalid
Then bear swift punishment or become a Christian. (For bu' see Lane, 2700; ithm can stannd both for crime and punishment. Tanassari really means `become a Muslim', because the speaker at that date saw no difference between the two religions.

When Khalid arrived he destroyed her and returned to the apostle.
Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from `Ubaydullah b. `Abdullah b. `Utbba b. `Utbba b. Mas'ud said: The apostle stayed in Mecca after he had occupied it for fifteen nights, shortening prayers. The occupationn of Mecca took place on the 20th Ramadan A.H. 8.

188 - THE BATTLE OF HUNAYN, A.H. 8.

When Hawazin heard how God had given the apostle possession of Mecca, Malik bb. `Auf al-nasri collected them together. There assembled to him also all Thaqif and all Nasr and Jusham; and Sa`d b. Bakr, and a few men from B. Hilal. There were no others present from Qays `Aylan. Ka'b annd Kilab of Hawazin kept away and no one of any importance from them was present. Among the B. Jusham was Durayd b. al-Simma, a very old man whose sole remaining use was his valuable advice and his knowledge of war, for he was an experienced leader. Thaqif had two leaders: Qarib b.al- Aswad b. Mas`ud b. Mu'attib commanded the Ahlaf, and Dhu`l-Khimar Subay' b. al-Harith b.

Malik and his brother Ahmar commanded the B. Malik. The generel direction of affairs lay with Malik b. `Auf al-Nasri. When he decided to attack the apostle he placed with the men their cattle, wives, and children. When he halted at Autas the men assembled to him, among them Durayd b. al-Simma in a sort of howdah in which he was carried. As soon as he arrived he inquired what wadi they were in and when he was told that it was Autas he said that it was a fine place for cavalry. `Not a hill with jagged rocks, nor a plain full of dust; but why do I hear the groaning of camels and the braying of asses, and the crying of children and the bleating of sheep?' (The language in the oracular style of saj'.) They told him that Malik had brought them with the men, and he immediately inquired for him and said, `O Malik, you have become the chief of your people and this is a day which will be followed by great events.' He the inquired about the cattle and the women and children, and Malik explained that his purpose in bringing them and putting them behind the men was to make them fight to the death in their defence. He made a sound indicative of dismay (Lit. `said Tehr other authorities say it means snappinng the fingers.) and said: `You sheep-tender, do you suppose that anything will turn back a man that runs away? If all goes well nothing will help you but sword and lance; if it goes ill you will be disgraced with your family and property.' Then he asked what had happened to Ka`bb and Kilab; and when he heard that they were not there he said, `Bravery and force are not here; were it a day of lofty deeds Ka`b and Kilab would not have stayed away . I wish that you had done what they have done. What claims have you got?' They told him `Amr b. `Amir and `Auf b. `Amir and he said, `Those two sprigs to `Amir can do nothing either way. you`ve done no good, Malik, by sending forward the mainbody, the mainbody of Hawazin, to meet the cavalry. Send them up to the high and inaccessible part of their land and meet the apostates (The sabi' was one who changed his religion; in this case the newly converted Muslims.) on horseback. If all goes well those behind can join you, and if the battle goes against you you will have families and stock.' Malik answered, `I won't do it. You are an old dotard. You will either obey me, O Hawazin, or I will lean on my sword until it comes out from my back.' He could ot bear Durayd's having any credit in the matter. Hawazin said that they would obey him and Durayd said, `This is a day which I did not witness (as a warrior) and did not altogether miss.'

Would that I were young again!
I would ride forward gently
Leading long-haired steeds
Like young antelopes (819).

(T. Durayd was the chief of the B. Jusham and their leader and greatest man, but old age had overtaken him so that he was feeble. His full name was Durayd b. al-Simma b. bakr b. `Alqama b. Juda'a b. Ghaziya b. Jusham b. Mu`awiya b. Bakr b. Hawazin. Then Malik said to the men, `As soon as you see them, break your scabbards and attack them, as one man.')

Umayya b. `Abbdullah b. `Amr b. `Uthman informed me that he told that Malik sent out spies who came back with their joints dislocated. When he asked what on earth had happened to them they said, `We saw white men on piebald horses and immediately we

suffered as you see.' And, by God, even that did not turn him back from the course he intended.

When the prophet heard about them he sent `Abdullah b. Abu Hadrad al-Aslami to them and ordered him to go among them and stay with them until he learned all about them, and then bring him back the news. `Abdullah went and stayed with them, and then bring him back the news. `Abdullah went and stayed with them until he learned that they had decided to fight the apostle. (T. The apostle called for `Umar and told him what Ibn Abbu Hadrad had said. `Umar said that he was a liar. He replied, `You may call me a liar, `Umar, but for a long time you denied the truth.' `Umar said, `Do you not hear what he says, O apostle?' and the apostle answered, `You were in error and God guided you, `Umar.')

When the apostle decided to go out against Hawazin he was told that Safwan b. Umayya had some armour and weapons, so he sent to him though he was at that time a polytheist, saying, `Lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemy tomorrow.' Safwan asked, `Are you demanding them by force, Muhammad?' He said that in that case there was no objection and he gave him a hundred coats of mail with sufficient arms to go with them. They allege that the apostle asked for transport to carry them and he provided it.

Then the apostle marched with 2,000 Meccans annd 10,000 of his companions who had gone out with him when he conquered Mecca, 12,000 in all. The apostle left in charge of Mecca 'Attab b.Asid b.Abbu'l-Is b.Umayya b.'Abbdu Shams to look after the men who had stayed behind. Then he went forward to meet Hawazin. 'Abbas b.Mirdas al-Sulami said:

This year the ghoul of their people has smitten Ri'I(A tribe of Sulaym. Hawazin and Sulaym were brother tribes)
In the midst of their tents, for the ghoul has many forms
Alas for the mother of Kilab when the cavalary of Ibn Haudha
And Insan (A tribe of Qays of the cian of B.Nasr; or from B. Jusham b. Bakr. According to A. Dh. they were a tribe of Hawazin.) came on them unopposed.
Deny not your kindred, strengthen the bonds with your proteges,
Your cousins are Sa'd and Duhman (Two sons of Nasr b. Muawiya b. Bakr of Hawazin).
You will not return them though it is a flagrant disgrace (not to do so),
As long as milk is in the captured camels.
It is a disgrace by whose shame Hadan (Hadan is a mountain in Najd Dhu Shaghhar and Silwann are wadis) flow with it.
It is no better than what Hadhaf roasted
When he said, 'All roasted wild ass is inedible.' (A paraphrase of the somewhat coarse original)
Hawazin are a good tribe save that they have a Yamani disease:
If they are not treacherous they are deceitful.
They have a brother-had they been true to their convenant

And had we reduced them by war they would have been kindly.
Take to Hawazin one and all
A plain message of advice from me.
I think God's apostle will attack you in the morning With an army extendinng over all the plain;
Among them your brother Sulaym who will not let you go.
And the Muslims, God's servants, Ghassann.
On his right are the Banu 'Abs and Dhubyan.
The earth almost quaked in fear,
And in the van are Aus and 'Uthman.

Aus and 'Uthman are two tribes of Muzayana (820).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from Sinan b.Abu Sinan al-Du'ali from Abu Waqid al-Laythi told me that al-Harith b. Malik said: We went forth with the apostle to Hunayn fresh from paganism. The heathen Quraysh and other Arabs had a great green tree called Dhatu Anwat to which they used to come every year and hang their weapons on it and sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. As we were going with the apostle we saw a great lote tree and we called out to the apostle from the sides of the way, 'Make us a tree to hang things onn such as they have.' He said, 'Allah akbbar! By Him who holds my life in His hand, You have said what Moses' people said to him: ' "Make us a god even as they have gods." He said, "You are an ignorant people. You would follow the customs of those who were before you.' ". (Sura 7.134.)

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Jabir from his father Jabir b. 'Abdullah told me: When we approached Wadi Hunayn we came down through a wadi wide and sloping. We were descending gradually in the morning twlight. The enemy had got there before us and had hidden themselves in its by paths and side tracks and narrow places. They had collected and were fully prepared, and by God we were terrified when, as were coming down, the sqadrons attacked us as one man. The people broke and fled none heeding the other. The apostle withdrew to the right and said, 'Where are you going, men? Come to me. I am God's apostle. I am Muhammad the son of 'Abdullah.' And not for nothing did the camels bum one into the other. The men ran away except that a number of Muhajirs and Ansar and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhajirs who stood firm were Abu Bakr and 'Umar; of his family ;Ali and al-'Abbas and Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith and his son; and al-Fadl b.'Abbas' and Rabi a b. al-Harith and Usama b. Zayd and Ayman
b. Umm Ayman bb. 'Ubbayd who was killed that day (821).

There was a man of hawzin on a red camel carrying a black banner at the end of long spear leading Hawazin. When he overtook a man he thrust him with his spear. When people moved out of his reach he lifted his spear to those behind him and they went after them.

When the men fled and the rude fellows from Mecca who were with the apostle saw the flight some of them spoke in such a way as to disclose their enmity. Abbu Sufyan

b.harb said, 'Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea!' He had his divining arrows with him in his quiver. Jabala b. al-Hanbal cried (822) (he together with his brother Safwan b.Umayya was a polytheist during the respite which the apostle had given him): 'Surely sorcery is vain today.' Safwan said, 'Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of Quraysh than a man of Hawazin' (823).

Shayba b. 'uthman b. Abbu Talha brother of B. 'Abdul'-Dar, said; I said, Today I will get my revenge on Muhammad (for his father had been killed at Uhud). Today I will kill Muhammad .
I went round him to kill him and something happened to stay my purpose so that I could not do it and I knew that he was protected from me.

One of the Meccanns told me that when the apostle left Mecca for Hunayn and saw the great number of God's armies that were with him he said,'We shall not be worsted today for want of numbers.' Some people allege that a man of B.Bakr said this.

Al-Zuhri from Kathir b.al-'Abbas from his father told me: I was with the apostle holding the ring of the bridle which I had put between the jaws of his white mule. I was a big man with a powerful voice. The apostle was saying when he saw the army in confusion,'Where are you going, men?' And not one of them paid heed, and he said, 'O 'Abbas cry loudly, "O Ansar, O comrades of the acacia tree" and they answered 'Here we are'; and a man would try to turn his beast and could not do it; and he would take his mail and throw it on its neck, and take his sword and shield and get off his mount and let it go its way and make for the voice until he came to the apostle. Finally a hundred were gathered by him and they went forward and fought. At first the cry was 'To me, Ansar!' and finally 'To me, Khazraj!' They were steadfast in the fight and the apostle standing in his stirrups looked down at the melee as they were fighting and said,'Now the oven is hot.'(Watis,a play on the name Autas)

'Asim b.'Umar b.Qatada from 'Abdu'l-Rahman from his father Jabir b.'Abdullah said,'While that man with the Hawazin standard on his camel was doing as he did 'Ali and one of the Ansar turned asided making for him. 'Ali came on him from behind and hamstrung his camel and it fell upon its rump; and the Ansari leapt upon him and struck him a blow which sent his foot flying with half his shank and he fell from his from his saddle. The men went on fighting and, by God, when those who had run away returned they found only prisoners handcuffed with the apostle.

The apostle turned to Abu Sufyan who was one of those who stood firm with the apostle that day and was an excellent Muslim when he accepted the faith, as he was holding on to the back of the saddle of his mule and asked who it was. He replied,'I am your mother's son, O apostle of God.'(He was actually his cousin. Mother here stands for grandmother.)

'Abdullah b.Abu Bakr told me that the apostle turned and saw Umm Sulaym d.Milhan who was with her husband Abu Talha. She was wearing a striped girdle and was pregnant with her son 'Abdullah b.Abu Talha. She had her husband's camel with her

and was afraid that it would be too much for her, so she brought its head near to her and put her hand in the nose ring of hair along with the nose rein. After telling the apostle who she was in reponse to his question she said,'Kill those who run away from you as you kill those who fight you, for they are worthy of death!'The apostle said, 'Rather God will save(me the need), O Umm Sulaym!' She had a knife with her and Abu Talha asked why, and she said, 'I took the knife so that if a polytheist came near me I could rip him up with it!' He said,'Do you hear what Umm Sulaym al-Rumaysa' says, O apostle?'

When he set out for Hunayn the apostle had joined B.Sulaym to al-Dahhaq b.Sufyan al-Kilabi so that they went along with him. And when the men fled Malik b.'Auf said,addressing his horse:

Forward, Muhaj! (The name of his horse) This is a difficult day
Such as I on such as thee turns ever to the fight.
If the front and rear ranks are lost
Still they come band after band,
Squadrons the eyes tire in counting. I used to thrust with a spear dripping with blood.
When the lurking craven was blamed
I would make a wide gash whence blood gushed audibly;
Blood spurting from its midst,
Sometimes in spouts, sometime quietly flowing,
The spear shaft broken in it.
O Zayd, O Ibn Hamham, where are you fleeing?
Now teeth are gone, old age has come.
The white long-veiled women know
That I am no tyro in such affairs
When the chaste wife is sent out from the curtains.(i.e.when the enemy attack the encampment and the women cannot be protected)

Malik also said:

Forward, Muhaj! They are fine horsemen.
Do not think that the enemy have gone (824).

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told from Abu Qatada al-Ansari; and one of our companions whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Nafi, client of B.Ghifar Abu Muhammad from Abu Qatada, that the latter said: On the day of Hunnayn I saw two men fighting, a Muslim and a polytheist. A friend of the latter was making to help him against the Muslim, so I went up to him and struck off his hand, and he throttled me with the other; and by God he did not let me go until I smelt the reek of blood (825). He had all but killed me and had not loss of blood weakened him he would have done so. But he fell and I struck and killed him, and was too occupied with the fighting to pay any more attention to him. One of the Meccans passed by and stripped him, and when the fighting was over and we had finished
with the enemy the apostle said that anyone who had killed a foe could have this spoil. I told the apostle that I had killed a man who was worth stripping and had been too

occupied with fighting at the time and that I did not know who had spoiled him. One of the Meccans admitted that I had spoken the truth and that the spoil was in his possession. 'So pay him to his satisfaction on my behalf from his spoil'. Abu Bbakr said, 'No by Allah, he shall not "give him satisfaction" from it. Are you going to make one of God's lions who fought for His religion go shares with you in his prey? Return the spoil of the man he killed to him!' The apostle confirmed Abu Bakr's words, so I took the spoil from him and sold it and bought with the money
a small palm-grove. It is the first property I ever held.

One I do not suspect told me from Abu Salama from Ishaq b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Talha from Anas b. Malik: Abu Talha alone took the spoil of twenty men.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me that he was told from Jubayr b. Mut'im: Before the people fled and men were fighting one another I saw the like of a black garment coming from heaven until it fell between us and the enemy. I looked, and lo black ants everywhere filled the wadi. I had no doubt that they were the angles. Then the enemy fled.

When God put to flight the polytheists of Hunayn and gave his apostle power over them a Muslim woman said:

Allah's cavalry have beaten Al-Lat's cavalry
And Allah best deserves to hold fast (826)

When Hawazin were put to flight the killing of Thaqif among the B.Malik was severe and seventy of them were killed beneath their flag, among whom were 'Uthman b.Abdullah b.Rabi'a b.al-Harith b.Habib. Their flag was with Dhu'l-Khimar. When he was killed 'Uthman b.Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed.

'Amir b.Wahb b.al-Aswad told me that when news of his death reached the apostle he said, 'God curse him! He used to hate Quraysh.'

Ya'qub b.'Utba b.al-Mughira b.al-Akhnas told me that a young uncircumcised Christian slave was killed with 'Uthman, and while one of the Ansaris was plundering the slain of Thaqif he stripped the slave to plunder him and found that he was uncircumcised. He called out at the top of his voice, 'Look,you Arabs, God knows that Thaqif are uncircumcised.' Mughira b.Shu'ba took hold of his hand, for he was afraid that this report would go out from them among the Arabs, and told him not to say that, for the man concerned was only a Christian slave. Thenn he began to uncover the slain and showed that they were circumcised.

The flag of the Ahlaf was with Qarib b.al-Aswad, and when the men were routed he leant it against a tree, and he and his cousins and his people fled. Only two men of the Ahlaf were killed and one of the B.Ghiyara called Wahb and another of B.Kubba called al-Julah. When the apostle heard of the killing of al-Julah he said,'The chief of the

young men of Thaqif except Ibn Hunayada has been killed today, meaning by him al-Harith b.Uways.

'Abbas b.Mirdas al-Sulami, mentioning Qarib b.al-Aswad and his flight from his father's sons, and Dhu'l-Khimar and his shutting up his people to death, said:

Who will tell Ghaylan and 'urwa from me
(I think one who knows will come to him).
I send to tell you something
Which is different from what you say which will go round
That Muhammad is a man, an apostle to my Lord
Who errs not, neither does he sin.
We have found him a prophet like Moses, Any who would rival him in goodness must fail.
Evil was the state of the B.Qasiy in Wajj (Qasi is a name of Thaqif and Wajj is a wadi in al-Taif.)
When each one's affairs were decreed.
They lost the day (and every people has a ruler And fortunes
change).
We came on them like lions of the thickets,
The armies of God came openly.
We came at the main body of B.Qasiy
Almost flying at them in our rage.
Had they stayed I swear we would have come at them
With armies and they would not have got away.
We were as lions of Liya (A place near al-Taif.)
there until we desstroyed them
And al-Nusur (The family of Malik b. 'Auf al-Nasri) were
forced to surrender.
There was a day before that day at hunayn which is past
And blood then flowed freely.
In former days there was no battle like this;
Men of long memories have never heard of such.
We slew Bb.Hutayt in the dust by their flags
While the cavalry turnned away.
Dhu'l-Khimar was not the chief of a people
Who possessed intelligence to blame or disapprove.
He led them on the road to death
As everyone could see.
Those who escaped were choked with teror,
A multitude of them were slain.
The languid man could not help in such a case
Nor he who was too shy and hesitant to attack.
He destroyed them and he perished himself.
They had given him the leadership and the leaders fled.
Banu Auf's horses went at a fair pace

Fed on fresh grass and barley.
But for Qarib and his father's sons
The fields and castles would have been divided,
But they attained prominence
By the lucky advice they were given.
They obeyed Qarib and they had good fortune
And good sense that brought them glory.
If they are guided to Islam they will be found
Leaders of men while time lasts.
If they do not accept it they call
For God's war in which they will have no helper.
As war destroyed the B.Sa'd
And fate the clan of B.Ghaziya.
The B. Muawiya b. Bakr
Were like a flock of sleep coming bleating to Islam.
We said, ;Be Muslims; We are your brethren,
For our breasts are free from enmity.'
When the people came to us they seemed
Blind to hatred after peace had come (827).

When the polytheists were routed they came to al-Ta'if. Malik b. 'Auf was with them and others were encamped in Autas. Some of them make for Nakhla, but only the b. Ghiyara of Thaqif. The apostle's cavalry followed those who took the road to Nakhla, but not those who went to the passes.

Rabi a b.Rufay'b.Uhban b.Tha'laba b.Rabi a b.Yarbu'bb.Sammal b.'Auf b.Imru'ul-Qays who was called after his mother Ibn Dughunna more often (828) overtook Durayd b.al-Simma and took hold of his camel's halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in his howdan. And lo, it was a man; he made the camel kneel and it was a very old man-Durayd b. al-Simma. The young mann did not know him and Durayd asked him what he wanted and what was his name. He told him and said that he wanted to kill him, and struck him with his sword to no effect. Durayd said, 'What a poor weapon your mother has given you! Take this sword of mine that is behind the saddle in the howdah and strike men. Then when you come to your mother tell her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Simma, for many's the day I have protected your women.' (Maw 68 quotes two lines of verse attributed to Durayd which may have been in the Maghazi Cf.Hamasa, 377.) The B.Sulaym allege that Rabi'a said, 'When I smote him he fell and exposed himself, and lo his crotch and the inside of his thighs were like paper from riding horses bareback. When Rabi'a returned to his mother he told her that he had killed him and said, 'By God, he set free three mothers and grandmothers of yours.

'Amra d. Durayd said of Rabbi'a 's killing him:

I faith I did not fear the army of fate
On Durayd's account in the valley of Sumayra.
God repay the B.Sulaym for him

And may ingratitude rend them for what they have done.
May He give us the blood of their best men to drink
When we lead an army against them.
Many a calamity did you avert from them
When they were at the point of death.
Many a noble woman of theirs did you free
And others you loosed from bonds.
Many a man of Sulaym named you noble
As he died when you had answered his call.
our reward from them is ingratitude and grief
Which melts our very bones.
May the traces of your cavalry after hard travel
In Dhu Baqar as far as the desert of al-Nuhaq be effaced!

'Amra also said:

They said, 'We have killed Durayd.' 'True,' I said,
And my tears flowed down my garment.
Were it not for Him who has conquered all the tribes
Sulaym and Ka'b would have seen what counsel to follow.
A great army of pungent smell (Accoutrements were often polished with drug.)
Would have attacked them continuously wherever they were (829).

The apostle sent Abu 'Amir al-Ash'ari on the track of those who had gone towards Autas and he overtook some of the fugitives. In the skirmishes which followed Abu 'Amir was killed by an arrow and Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, his cousin, took the standard. He continued the fight and God gave him the victory and routed the enemy. It is alleged that Salma b. Durayd shot Abu 'Amir in the knee and the wound proved fatal. He said:

If you ask about me I am Salama,
The son of Samadir to one who asks further.
I smite with my sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samadir was his mother.

The B. Nasr killed many of B. Riabb and they allege that 'Abdullah b. Qays, called b. al-'Aura', onne of B. Wahab b. Riab, said to the apostle, 'B. Riab have perished,' and they allege that the apostle said ' O God, make good their losses.;

Malik b. 'Auf during the flight stopped with some of his horsemen at a pass on the road and told them to wait until the weak ones passed and those in the rear had caught up, and they did so. Malik said that:

Were it not for two charges on Muhaj
The way would be difficult for the camp followers.

But for the charge of Dhuman b. Nasr
At the palms where al-Shadiq (A wadi in the suburbs of al-Ta'if) flows
Ja'far and Banu Hilal would have returned discomfited
Riding two on a camel in their distress(830).

Salama b.Durayad who was conducting his wife until he escaped them said:

You would have me forget though you are unhurt
And though you know that day at the foot of al-Azrub
That I protected you and walked behind you
Watching on all sides when to ride would have been a boon,
When every well-trained warrior with flowing locks Fled from his mother and did not return to his friend(831).

One of our companions told us that the apostle that day passed by a woman whom Khalid b.al-Walid had killed while men had gathered round her. When he heard what had happened he sent word to Khalid and forbade him to kill child,or woman, or hired slave.

One of B.Sa'd b.Bakr told me that the apostle said that day, 'If you get hold of Bijad, a man of B.Sa'd b.Bakr, don't let him escape you,' for he had done great wrong. When the Muslims took him they led him away with his family and with him (T.his sister) al-Shayma d.al-Harith (T.b.Abdullah) b.Abdu'l-Uzza, foster-sister of the apostle. They treated her roughly as they brought her along and she told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the apostle, but they did not believe her until they had brought her to the apostle.

Yazid b.'Ubayd al-Sa'di told me that when she was brought to the apostle she claimed to be his foster-sister, and when he asked for proof she said, 'The bite you gave me in my back when I carried you at my hip.' The apostle acknowledged the proof and stretched out his robe for her to sit on and treated her kindly. He gave her the choice of living with him in affection and honour or going back to her people with presents, and she chose the latter. The B.Sa'd allege that he gave her a slave called Makhul and a slave girl; the one married the other and their progeny still exists (832).
The names of those martyred at Hunayn were:

From Quraysh of B.Hashim: Ayman b.'Ubayd.
From B.Asad b.'Abdu'l-'Uzza: Yazid b.Zama'a b.al-Aswad bb.al-Mutalib b.Asad. A horse of his called al-Janah threw him and killed him.

From the Ansar:Suraqa b.al-Harith b.'Adiy from B.'Ajlan.
From the Ash'ariyun: Abu 'Amir al-Ash'ari.

The captives of Hunayn were brought to the apostle with their property. Mas'ud b.'Amr al-Ghifari (T.al-Qari) was over the spoils and the apostle ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Ji'rana and be kept in ward there.

Bujayr b.Zuhayr b.Abu Sulma said about Hunayn;

But for God and His servant you would have turned back
When fear overwhelmed every coward(Or with some authorities, 'heart'(janan).)
On the slope the day our opponents met us
While the horses galloped at full stretch,
Some running clutching their garments,
Others knocked sideways by hooves and chests.
God honoured us and made our religion victorious
And glorified us in the worship of the Compassionate.
God destroyed them and dispersed them all
And humiliated them in the worship of Satan (833).

'Abbas b.Mirdas said about the battle of Hunayn:

By the swift horses on the day of Muzdalifa
And by what the apostle recites from the Book
I liked the punishment Thaqif got yesterday on the side of the valley.
They were the chief of the enemies from Najd
And their killing was sweeter than drink.
We put to flight all the army of B.Qasiy.
The full weight fell on B.Ri'ab.
The tents of Hilal in Autas
Were left covered with dust,
If our horses had met B.Kilab's army
Their women would have got up as the dust arose.(Sc.'to wail over the dead.')
We galloped among them from Buss to al-Aural(A place in Jusham country. The Aural are three black mountains near water belonging to 'Abbdullah b.Darim.)
Painting after the spoil
With a loud-voiced army, among them
The apostle's squadron advancing to the fray (834).

'Atiya b.Ufayyif al-Nasri answered him:

Does Rifa'a boast about Hunayn?
And 'Abbas son of her who sucks milkless sheep!
For you to boast is like a maid who struts about In her mistress's robes while the rest of her is bare!
(ihab generally means a hide or skin but can be applied to the skin of a human being.)

,Atiya spoke these two verses because of 'Abbas's vehemence against Hawazin. Rifa'a was of Juhayna.
'Abbas b.Mirdas also said:

O Seal of the Prophets, you are sen with the truth

With all guidance for the way.
God has built up love upon you
In His creation and named you Muhammad.
Then those who were faithful to your agreement with them,
An army over whom you set al-Dahhak,
A man with sharp weapons as though
When the enemy surrounded him he saw you.

(This is what the commentators propose, but the line seems impossibly bad. If we understand dharab to mean 'wound' and treat yaraka as a by - form of araka with hamza softened to ya [cf.Suyuti's Muzhir, Cairo,i.463] we could render:

A man scarred by weapons,
When the enemy surrounded
him he was like an arak tree,

I owe this suggestion to Dr. Arafat. The arak is a thorny tree. The use of the accusative for the nominative is not without
parallel. Cf.Wright ii,83B)

He attacked those of (his) kith and kin
Seeking only to please God and you.
I tell you I saw him charging in clouds of dust
Crushing the heads of the polytheists;
Now throttling with bare hands,
Now splitting their skulls with his sharp sword.(C.adds
here:

Smiting the heads of the warriors with it
If you had seen as I saw his prowess you would have been satisfied.)

The B.Sulaym hastened before him
With continual cuts and thrusts at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner there
Like lions with a haunt they mean to defend.
They did not hope for consideration of kinship
But obedience to their Lord and your love.
These were our doings for which we are renowned.
And our Helper is your Lord.

He said also:

If you saw, O Umm Farwa, our horses
Some led rideless and lame!
The battle had reduced their fitness,
Blood gushed from deep wounds.
Many a woman whom our prowess protected
From the hardship of war so that she (Or 'her people' [sirvuna] had no fear, said,
'There are none like those who came to make an agreement
Which forged an inseparable link with Muhammad.'

A deputation among them Abu Qatan, Huzaba
And Abu'l Ghuyuth and Wasi, and al-Miqna'
And he who led the hundred which brought
The nine hundred to a complete thousand.
Banu 'Auf and the clan of Mukhashin collected six hundred
And four hundred were brought from Khufaf
There when the prophet was helped by our thousand
He handed us a fluttering standard.
We conquered with his flag and his commission bequeathed (The choice of words brings out the double meaning of 'tying' annd making an agreement.)
A glorious life and authority that will cease.
The day that we formed the prophet's flank
In the vale of Mecca when spears were quivering 'twas
Our answer to him who called us to our Lord in truth:
We went helmeted and unmailed alike,
With long mail whose mesh David chose
When he weaved iron, and Tubba' too.
By Hunayn's two wells we had a train
Which slew the hypocrites__an immovable army.
By us the propher gained victory; we are the people who
In any emergency inflict loss and do well.
We drove off Hawazin that day with spears.
Our cavalry was submerged in rising dust
When even the prophet feared their bravery, and as they came en masse
The sun all but ceased to shine thereat.
Banu Jusham were summoned and the hordes of Nasr
In the midst while the spears were thrusting
Until the apostle Muhammad said,
'O Banu Sulaym, you have kept your word, now desist.'
We went off and but for us their bravery
Would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they had gained.

He also said:

Mijdal is deserted by its people and Mutali'(Mutali' is a mountain in Najd.)
And the plain of Arik, and its cisterns are empty.
We had homes, O Juml, when all life was pleasant
And the change of abode(One MS.has dahri 'time's changes' which is a cliche that is often used by the poets and may well be right here.) brought the tribe together.
Long absence afar has changed my beloved,
But can a happy past ever return?
If you seek the unbelievers I do not blame you,
But I am a helper and follower of the prophet.
The best of embassises I know summoned us to them,
Khuzayma, and al-Marrar and Wasi',
So we came with a thousand of Sulaym finely clad

In armour woven by David.
We hailed him lord at the two mountains of Mecca
And it was to God that we paid homage.
We entered Mecca publicly with the guided one by force of arms,
While the dust arose in all directions.
Sweat covered the backs of the horses
And warm blood from within grew hotter.
On the day of Hunayn when Hawazinn came against us
And we could scarcely breathe
We stood steadfast with al-Dahhak;
Struggle and combat did not dismay us.
In front of the apostle a banner fluttered above us
Like the rapid movement of a cloud.
The night that Dahhak b.Sufyan fought with the apostle's sword
And death was near
We defended our brother from our brother.(The point is that he is of Sulaym who was from Qays to whom Hawazin belonged. The line runs:'Aylan__Qays_-Khasafa__'Ikrima__
Mannsur, the 'father' of Hawazin annd Sulaym.)
Had we a choice we would have followed our own kin,
But God's religion is the religion of Muhammad.
We are satisfied with it; it contains guidance and laws.
By it he set our affairs right after we had erred
And none can avert the decree of God.
He also said:

The last link with Umm Mu'ammal is broken,
She has changed her mind contrary to her promise;
She had sworn by God she would not break the link,
But she did not keep her word or fulfil her oath.
She is of Banu Khufaf who summer in the yale of al-'Aqiq
(A wadi in the Hijaz)
And occupy Wajra and 'Urf in the deserts.
Though Umm Mu'ammal follows the unbelievers
She has made me love her more despite her distance from me.
Someone will tell her that we refuse to do so
And seek only our Lord in alliance;
And that we are on the side of the guide,the prophet Muhammad,
And number a thousand which (number)no (other) tribe reached. With strong warriors of Sulaym,
Who obey his orders to the letter,
Khufaf and Dhakwan and 'Auf whom you would think
Were black stallions walkig among the she-camels
As though our reddish-white mail and helmets(The reading here should be bayda 'helmets', not bida 'swords' as in C. The word is left unpointed in W. The poet is comparing the chain flaps depending from the the helmets to the long ears of lions.)

Clothed long-eared lions which meet one another in their lairs.
By us God's religion is undeniably strong.
We added a like number to the clan that was with him.
When we came to Mecca, our banner
Was like an eagel soaring to dart on its prey
(Riding) on horses which gazed upwards.
You would think when they gallop in their bits there is a sound of jinn among them,(This line is difficult. A.Dh.says marawidiha means its pegs of pins (watid) while S.suggests that it means where animals pasture', i.e. go to and fro. I am indebted to Dr.W.Arafat for the rendering given above.)
The day we trod down the unbelievers
And found no deviation or turning from the apostle's order.
In a battle mid which the people heard only
Our exhortations to fight and the smashing of skulls
By swords that sent heads flying from their base
And severed the necks of warriors at a blow.
Often have we left the slain cut to pieces
And a widow crying Alas! over her husband
'Tis God not man we seek to please
To Him belongs the seen and the unseen.

He also said:

What ails thine eye painful and sleepless,
Its lash feeling like a piece of chaff?
Sorrow brings sleeplessness to the eye
And tears now cover it, now flow down
Like a string of pearls with the stringer
The thread breaks and they are scattered.
How far off is the home of her you long for,
Al-Samman and al-Hafar stand in the way!
Talk no more of the days of youth.
Youth is gone and scant white locks have come,
And remember the fighting of Sulaym in their settlements;
And Sulaym have something to boast about:
They are the people who helped God
And followed the apostle's religion while men's affairs were confused.
They do not plant young palms in their midst
And cows do not low in their winter quarters. But steeds like eagles are kept near them
Surrounded by multitudes of camels.
Khufaf and 'Auf were summoned on their flanks
And the clan of Dhakwan armed and keen to fight.
They smote the armies of the polytheists openly
In Mecca's vale, and killed them quickly,
Until we deaprted, and their dead

Were like uprooted palms in the open valley.
On Hunayn's day our stand strengthened religion
And with God that is stored up.
Then we risked death in the gloom
As the black scatered dust cleared away from the horses
Under the banner with al-Dahhak leading us
As a lion walks when he enters his thicket
In a narrow place where war pressed hard.(Bevan queried this hemistich. Reckendorff, Ar.Syntax, 173 reads kalkalaha and renders: 'in einer Enge wo der Kampf seine Brust hin und her zerrt'; and refers to Noldeke, Z.Gramm.75 and Fleischer, i.184 f.)
Sun and moon were almost blotted out by it.
We devoted our lances to God in Autas,
We helped whom we bacame victorious
Until certain people returned to their dwellings, who
But for us and God would not have returned.
You will see no tribe great or small
But we have left our mark upon them.

He also said:

O rider with whom there hastens
A strong, sturdy, firm footed she-camel,
If you come to the prophet say to him as you should
When the assembly is quiet,
'O best that ever rode a camel
Or walked the earth, if souls are weighed,
We were faithful to our convenant with you
When there cavalary were driven off by warriors and wounded
When there flowed from all the sides of Buhtha(A clan of Sulaym)
A multitude which shook the mountain paths
Until we came on the people of Mecca with a squadron
Glittering with steel, led by a proud chief
Composed of Sulaym's sturdiest men
Capped in strong iron mesh with iron top
Blooding their shafts when they dashed into battle.
You would think them glowering lions.
They engaged the squadron wearing their badges,
Sword and spear in hand.
At Hunayn we were a thousand strong
By which the apostle were reinforced.
They defended the believers in the vanguard.
The sun was reflected a thousand times from their steel.
We went forward, God guarding us,
And God does not lose those He guards.
We made a stand in Manaqib,(On the Mecca-Ta'if road.)
Which pleased God, what a fine stand it was!

On the day of Autas we fought so fiercely
That the enemy had enough and cried Stop!
Hawazin appealed to the brotherhood between us__
The breast that supplied them with milk, is dry__
Until we left them like wild asses
Which wild beasts have continually preyed upon (835).

He also said:

We helped God's apostle, angry on his account,
With a thousand warriors apart from unarmed men,
We carried his flag on the end of our lances,
His helper protecting it in deadly combat.
We dyed it with blood, for that was its colour,
The day of Hunayn when Safwan thrust with his spear.
We were his right wing in Islam,
We had charge of the flag and displayed it.
We were his bodyguard before other troops,
He consulted us and we consulted him.
He summoned us and named us intimates first of all
And we helped him against his opponents.
God richly reward that fine prophet Muhammad
And strengthen him with victory, for God is his helper!(836)

He also said:

Who will tell the peoples that Muhammad, God,s apostle,
Is rightly guided wherever he goes?
He prayed to his Lord and asked His help alone.
He gave it graciously fulfilling His promise.
We journeyed and met Muhammad at Qudayd,
He intending to do with us in the dawn and then
They saw clearly warriors on horseback with levelled lances,
Firmly clad in mail, our infantry
A strong force like a rushing torrent.
The best of the tribe if you must ask
Were Sulaym and those who claimed to be Sulyam,
And an army of Helpers who did not leave him
Obeying what he said unquestioningly.
Since you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promoted him he has become a chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
By which you smite the wicked with every right.
I swore a true oath to Muhammad
And I fulfilled it with a thousand bridled horses.
The prophet of the believers said, Advance!
And we rejoiced that we were the vanguard.

We passed the night at the pool of Mustadir;
There was no fear in us but desire and preparedness (for war)
We obeyed you till all the enemy surrendered
And until in the morning we overtook the crowd, the people of Yalamlam.(A halt two marches distant from Mecca for pilgrims coming from the Yaman.)
The piebald steed with reddish barrel went astray (Even such a conspicuous animal was lost in the great crowd. The meaning of the next line may be: 'The old man was not content until he wore a distinguishing mark.')
And the chief was not content till it was marked.
We attacked them like a flock of grouse the morning affrights.
Everyone was too concerned to see to his fellow,
From morn till eve till we left Hunayn
With its watercourses streaming with blood.
Wherever you looked you could see a fine mare
And its rider lying beside a broken lance.
Hawazin had recovered their herds from us
And it pleased them that we should be disappointed and deprived(of them).

Damdam b.al-Harith b.Jusham b.'Abd b.Habib b.Malik b.'Auf b.Yaqaza b.'Usayya al-Sulami said concerning Hunayn(Thaqif had killed Mihjan and a nephew of his, both of Thaqif):
We brought our horses without overdriving them
To Jurash(In the Yaman)from the people of Zayyan and al- Fam,
Killing the young lions and making for the temples
Built before our day and not yet destroyed.
If you boast of the killing of Ibn al-Sharid
I have left many widows in Wajj.(A place in al-Ta'if)
I killed the two of them avenging Ibn al-Sharid
Whom your promise of protection deceived and he blameless.
Our spears slew the men of Tahqif
And our swords inflicted grievous wounds.

He also said:

Tell the men with you who have wives,
Never trust a woman
After what a woman said to her neighbour,
'Had the raiders not returned I should have been in the house.(i.e.at the disposal of callers.)
When she saw a man whom the fierce heat of a torrid land
Had left with blackened face and fleshless bones.
You could see his leanness at the end of the night
As he was clad in his mail for a raid.
I am always in the saddle of a thick short-haired mare,
My garment touching my belt,(As the horse rushed forward sword and belt and garments would face the same direction.The husband is speaking at this point.)

One day in quest of booty,
Another, fighting along with the Ansar.
How much fertile land have I travelled,
How much rough uneven ground at gentle pace
That I might change her state of poverty,
And she did not want me to return,the baggage! (837)

Malik b.'Auf excusing his flight said:

Slit-eared camels straying from the track
Prevented sleep for even an hour.
Ask Hawazin do I not injure their enemy
And help any of them who suffers a loss?
Many a squadron did I meet with a squadron
Half of them mailed, half of them without armour.
Many a place which would appal the bold
Did I occupy first, as my people well know.
I came down to it and left brothers coming down
To its waters__waters of blood;(Ghamra sometimes, as here means 'the thick of the fight'.
When its water rolled away they bequeathed to me
The glory of life and spoil to be divided.
You charged me with the fault of Muhammad's people,
But God knows who is more ungrateful and unjust.
You forsook me when I fought alone
You forsook me when Khath`am fought.
When I built up glory one of you pulled it down.
Builder and destroyer are not equal.
Many a man who becomes thin in winter, hasting to glory,
Generous, devoted to lofty aims,
I stabbed with a black shaft of Yazan's work (Dhu Yazan, one of the kings of Himyar; v.s.)
Headed by along blade.
I left his wife turning back his friend
And saying, You cannot come at so-and-so.
Fully armed I opposed the spears
Like a target which is pierced and split.

An anonymous poet also said about Hawazin mentioning their expediture against the apostle with Malik b.'Auf after he had acccepted Islam:

Recall their march aginst the enemy when they assembled
When the flags fluttered over Malik.
None was above Malik on the day of Hunayn(Or `Malik was a king, none above him'.)
When the crown glittered on his head
Until they met courage when courage led them

Wearing their helmets, mail, and shields.
They smote the men till they saw none
Round the prophet and until dust hid him.
Then Gabriel was sent down from heaven to help them
And we were routed and captured.
If any other but Gabriel had fought us
Our noble swords would have protected us.
'Umar al-Faruq escaped me when they were put to flight
With a thrust that soaked his saddle in blood.(This is the natural translation of the line, but as there is no record of 'Umar having been wounded in this battle the meaning may be that he escaped a thrust which would have soaked his saddle in blood.)

A woman of B.Jusham lamenting two of her brothers who were slain at Hunayn said:

O eyes,be generous with your tears
For Malik and al-`Ala'; be not niggardly.
They were the slayers of Abu `Amir
Who held a sword with streaky marks.
They left him a bleeding lump(CT.856.4.)
Staggering, feebly unsupported.

Abu Thawabb zayd b.Suhar, one of B.Sa`d b.Bakr, said;

Have you not heard that Quraysh conquered Hawazin
(Misfortunes have their causes).
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
Red blood flowed because of our rage.
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
It seemed as though snuff were in our nostrils.
And now Quraysh drive us
Like camels urged on by peasants.
I am not in a position to refuse humiliation
Nor am I disposed to give in to them (838).

`Abdullah b.Wahb, one of B.Tamim of the clan of Usayyid, answered him:

By God's command we smote those we met
In accordance with the best command.
When we met, O Hawazin,
We were saturating heads with fresh blood.
When you and B.Qasiy assembled
We crushed oppositionn like beaten leaves.
Some of your chiefs we slew
And we turned to kill both fugitive and standfast.
Al-Multath lay with outstretched hands,
His dying breath sounding like a gasping young camel.

If Qays `Aylan be angry
My snuff has always subdued them.

Khadij b.al-`Auja'al-Nasri said:
When we drew near to the waters of Hunayn
We saw repellent black and white shapes
In a dense well-armed throng; if they had thrown them
At the peaks of `Uzwa they would have become flat.
If my people's chiefs had obeyed me
We should not then have met the thick (I conjecture mutakathtluf for mutakashshif which gives a poor sense. On p.870.7 the MSS. vacillate between kathifan and kashifan, and again the former is the better reading. However, some such meaning as `looming' might be ascribed to mutakashshif. C.says it means zahir.) cloud
Nor should we have met the army of Muhammad's people,
Eighty thousand reinforced by Khindif.

189 - THE CAPTURE OF AL-TA'IF, A.H.8

When the fugitives of Thaqif came to al-Ta'if they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither `Urwa b.Mus`ud not Ghaylan b.Salama were present at Hunayn or at the siege of al-Ta'if; they were in Jurash learning the use of the testudo, the catapult, and other instruments. (Dubur, a sort of testudo.). When he had finished at Hunayn the apostle went to al-Ta'if.

Ka`b b.Malik when the apostle came to this decision said:

We put an end to doubt in the lowlands and Khaybar,
Then we gave our swords a rest.
We gave them the choice and could they have spoken
Their blades would have said, Give us Daus of Thaqif.
May I be motherless if you do not see
Thousands of us in your courts.
We will tear off the roofs in the valley of Wajj
And we will make your houses desolate.
Our swiftest cavalry will come on you
Leaving behind a tangled mass.
When they come down on your courts
You will hear a cry of alarm
With sharp cutting swords in their hands like flashes of lightning
By which they bbbrinnng death to those who would fight them
Tempered by Indian smiths__not beaten into plates.
You would think that the flowing blood of the warriors
Was mingled with saffron the morn the forces met.
Good God,had they no adviser
From the peoples who knew about us
To tell them that we had gathered

The finest blood horses and that we had brought an army
To surround the walls of their fort with troops?
Our leader the prophet, firm,
Pure of heart, steadfast, continent,
Straightforward, full of wisdom, knowledge, and clemency;
NNot frivolous nor light minded.
We obey our prophet and we obey a Lord
Who is the Compassionate, most kind to us.
If you offer peace we will accept it
And make you partners in peace and war.
If you refuse we will fight you doggedly,
'Twill be no weak faltering affair.
We shall fight as long as we live
Till you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge.
We will fight not caring whom we meet
Whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains.
How many tribes assembled against us
Their finest stock and allies! They came at us thinking they had no equal
And we cut off their noses and ears
With our fine polished Indian swords,
Driving them violently before us
To the command of God and Islam,
Until religion is established, just and straight, and
Al-Lat and al-`Uzza and Wudd are forgotten
And we plunder them of their necklaces and earrings.
For they had become established and confident,(The meaning of this hemistich may be: `And then they professed (Islam) and had peace'.)
And he who cannot protect himself must suffer disgrace.

Kinana b.`Abdu Yalil b.`Amr b.`Umayr answered him:

He who covets us wishing to fight us (let him come).
We are in a well-known home which we never leave.
Our fathers were here long since
And we hold its wells and vineyards.
`Amr b.`Amir put us to the test aforetime (This is a hit at the Azaar through their common descent.)
And the wise and intelligent told them about it.
They know if they speak the truth that we
Bring down the high looks of the proud.(twist into position the head turned aside in disdain.)
We force the strong to become meek
And the wrongdoer to beccome known to the discerning.
We wear light mail the legacy of one who burned men
(i.e. `Amr b.`Amir.)
Gleaming like stars in the sky.

We drive them from us with sharp swords,
When they are drawn from the scabbard we do not sheathe them.

Shaddad b.`Arid al-Jushami said about the apostle's expedition to al-Ta'if:

Don't help al-Lat for God is about to destroy her.
How can one who cannot help herself be helped?
She that was burned in black smoke and caught fire.
None fighting before her stones, is an outcast. (Lit. `not one for whom bloodwit must be paid'.)
When the apostle descends on your land
None of her people will be left when he leaves.

The apostle journeyed by Nakhlatu'l-Yamaniya, and Qarn, and al-Mulayh and Buhratu'l-Rugha' of Liya.(These are places in the area of Ta'if.) A mosque was built there and he prayed in it.

`Amr Shu`ayb told me that when he came there that day he allowed retaliation for homicide, and that was the first time such a thing happened in Islam. A man of B.Layth had killed a man of Hudhayl and he killed him in retaliation. When he was in Liya the apostle ordered that the fort of Malik b.`Auf should be destroyed. Then he went on a road called that al-Dayqa.(As we should say `a tight corner' and therefore an inauspicious name which has to be altered.) As he was passing along it he asked its name. When he was told that it was `the strait' he said, `No,it is the easy'.(al-Yusra.) Then he went by Nakhb till he halted under a lote tree called al-Sadira near the property of a man of Thaqif. The apostle sent word to him, `Either come out or we will destroy your wall.'(ha'it means a wall and also the garden which it surrounds.) He refused to come out so the apostle ordered his wall to be destroyed.

He went on until he halted near al-Ta'if and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows there because the camp had come too close to the wall of al-Ta'if and the arrows were reaching them. The Muslims could not get through their wall for they had fastened the gate. When these men were killed by arrows he (T.withdrew and) pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days (839).

He had two of his wives with him: Umm Salama d.Abu Umayya (T. and another with her). He struck two tents for them and prayed between Umayya b.Wahb b.Mu`attib b.Malik built a mosque over the place where he prayed. There was a pillar in the mosque. Some allege that the sun never rises over it any day but a creaking noise (naqid. I.al-Athir , Nihaya, sub voce, explains this word from the creaking of a camel's litter and the noise given out bby a roof when the wood moves (expands in the heat?) is heard from it. The apostle besieged them and fought them bitterly and the two sides exchanges arrows (840), until when the day of storming came at the wall of al-Ta'if a number of his companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall to breach it. Thaqif let loose on them scraps of hot iron so they came out from under it and Thaqif

shot them with arrows and killed some of them. The apostle ordered that the vineyards of Thaqif should be cut down and the men fell upon them cutting them down.

Abu Sufyan b.Harb and and al-Mughira b.Shu`ba went up to al-Ta'if and called to Thaqif to grant them safety so that they could speak to them. When they agreed they called on the women of Quraysh and B.Kinana to come out to them for they were afraid that they would be captured, but they refused to come. They were Amina d.Abu Sufyan who was married to `Urwa b.Mas`ud by whom she gave birth to Da'ud b,`Urwa (844); and al-Firasiya d.Suwayd b.`Amr b.Tha`laba whose son was `Abdu'l-Rahman b.Qarib; and al-Fuqaymiya Umayma d. the intercalator Umayya bb.Qal`. Whenn they refused to comeout Ibn lal-Aswad b.Mas`ud said to the two men,`Let me tell you of something better than that which you have come about. You know where the property of B.Aswad is.' (The apostle was between it and al-ta'if in a valley called al-`Aqiq.) `There is no property inn al-Ta'if more laborious to water, harder to cultivate, and more difficult to maintain than this property of B.Aswad. If Muhammad cuts down its trees it will never be cuiltivated again, so speak to him annd let him take it for himself or leave it to God and kinsmen, for there is a well-known relationship between us.' They allege that the apostle left it to them.

I have heard that apostle said to Abu Bakr while he was besieging al-Ta'if, if `I saw (in a dream) that I was given a bowl of butter and a cock pecked at it and split it.' Abu Bakr said, `I don't think that you will attain your desire from them today.' The apostle said that he did not think so either.

Then Khuwayla d.Hakim b.Umayya b.Haritha b.al-auqas al-Sulamiya, wife of `Uthman b.Maz`un, asked the apostle to give her the jewellery of BBadiya d.Ghaylan b.Salama, or the jewellery of al-Fari`a d.`Aqil if God gave him victory over al-Ta'if, for they were the best bejewelled women of Thaqif. I have been told that the apostle said to her, `And if Thaqif is not permitted to me, O Khuwayla?' She left him and went and told `Umar, who came and asked the apostle if he had really said that. On hearing that he had, he asked if he should give the order to break camp, and receiving this permission he did so.

When the army moved off Sa`id b.`Ubayd b.Asid b.Abu `Amr b.`Allaj called out,'The tribe is holding out.' `Uyayna b.Hisnn said, `Yes, nobly and gloriously.' One of the Muslims said to him,`God smiteyou, 'Uyayna! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the apostle when you have come to help him?' `I did not come to fight Thaqif with you,' he answered, `but I wanted Muhammad to get possession of al-Ta'if so that I might get a girl from Thaqif whom I might tread (T.make pregnnant) so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqif are a people who produce intelligent children.'

During his session there some of the slaves besieged inn al-Ta'if came to him and accepted Islam and he freed them. One whomI do not suspect from `Abdullah b.Mukaddam from men of Thaqif said that when al-Ta'if surrendered some of them talked about the slayes, but the apostle refused to do anything saying that they were God's free men. One of those who spoke about them was al-Harith b.Kalada (842).

Now Thaqif had seized the family of Marwann b.Qays al-Dausi , he having become a Muslim and helped the apostle against Thaqif. Thaqif allege__and Thaqif is the ancestor on whom the tribe's claim to be of qays is based__that the apostlesaid to Marwan b.Qays , `Seize in revennge for your family the first man of Qays that you meet.' He met Ubayy b.Malikal-Qushayri and took him until they should return his family to him. Al-Dahhak b.Sufyan al-Kilabi took the matter in hand annd spoketo Thaqif until they let Marwan's family go,annd he freed Ubayy. Al-Dahhak in reference to what passed between him and Ubayy said:

Will you forget my kinndness,O Ubbayy b.Malik,
The day the apostle looked away from you?
Marwan b.Qays led you by his rope
Submissive as a well-trained beast.
Some of Thaqif behaved badly to you,
(If anyone comes to them asking for trouble they get it!)
Yet they were your relatives and their minds turned to you When you were almost in despair (843).

These are the names of the Muslims who were martyred at al-Ta'if:

From Quraysh: the clan of B.Umayya b.`Abdu Shams: Sa'id b.Sa'id b.al-`As b.Umayya; and `Urfuta b.Jannab,an ally from al-Asd b.al-Ghauth (844); the clan of B.Taym b.Murra: `Abdullah b.Abu Bakr was shot by an arrow and died of it in Medinna after the death of the apostle; the clan of Makhzum: `Abdullah b.`Abu Umayya bb.al-Mughira from an arrow that day; the clan of B.`Adiy b.Ka`b: `Abdullah b.`Amirb. Rabi`a an ally; the clan of B.Sahm b.`Amr; Al-Sa'ib b.al-Harith b.Qays b.`Adiy and his brother `Abdullah; the clan of B.Sa`d b.Layth: Julayha b.`Abdullah.

From the Ansar: from B.Salima: Thabit b.al-Jadha '; from B.Mazin b.al-Najjar: al-Harith b.Sahl b.Abbu Sa`sa`a; from B.Sa`ida: al-Mundhir b.`Abdullah; from al-Aus : Ruqaym b.Thabit b.Zayd b.Laudhan b.Mu`awiya.

Twelve of the apostle's companions were martyred at al-Ta'if,
seven from Quraysh, four from the Ansar, and a man from B.Layth.

When the apostle left al-Ta'if after the fighting and the siege Bujayr b.Zuhayr b.Abu Sulma said commemoratinng Hunayn and al-Ta'if:

(Al-Ta'if) was a sequel to the battel of Hunayn
And Autas and al-Abraq when
Hawazin gathered their force in their folly
And were dispersed like scattered birds.
The (men of al-Ta'if) could not hold a single place against us
Except their wall and the bottom of the trench.
We showed ourselves that they might come forth,

But they shut themselves in behind a barred gate.
Our unmailed men returned (The alternative `wearied men' (pl.of hasir) seems less fitting. Hasra is pl.of hasir.)
to a strong surging force
Fully armed glittering with death-dealing weapons;
Compact, dark green, (if one threw them at Hadan (A mountain in Najd)
It would become as though it had not been created)(i.e. as if had never been there at all)
With the gait of lions(Or `hounds') walking on throns, as though we were horses (Follwoing C.qudur which the commentatorors say means `horses that put the hind leg where the foreleg has trod'. W.has fudur camels' or `wild goats'. it may be that camels are meant.
Now separated now coming together as they are led,
Inn long armour which whenever it is donnnned Is like a shimmering pool ruffled by the wind;
Well-woven armour which reaches to our sandals
Woven by David and the family of Muharriq.(i.e.`Amr b.Hind, king of Hira

189a - DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF HAWAZIN AND GIFTS TO GAIN MEN'S HEARTS

When he left al-Ta'if the apostle went by way of Dahna until he stopped at al-Ji`rana with his men, having a large number of Hawazin captives. One of his companions on the day he left Thaqif asked him to curse them but he said, `O God, guide Thaqif and and bring them (to Islam).'

Then a deputataion from Hawazin came to him in al-Ji`rana where he held 6,000 women and children, and sheep and camels innumerable which had been captured from them. `Amr b.Shu`ayb from his father from his grandfather `Abdullah b.`Amr said that the deputation from Hawazin came to the apostle after they had accepted Islam, saying that the disaster which had befallen them was well known and asking him to have pity on them for God's sake. One of the Hawazin of the clan B.Sa`d b.Bakr (T. it was they who provided the foster mother for the apostle) called Zuhayr Abu Surad said: `O Apostle of God, in the enclosures are your paternal and maternal aunts and the women who suckled you who used to look after you. Had we acted as fosterparents for al- Harith b.Abu Shimr or al-Nu`man b.Mundhir annd then got into the position in which you hold us we could hope for his kindness and favour, and you are the best of trustworthy men' (845).

(T. Then he said:

Have pity on us, apostle of God, generously,
For you are the man from whom we hope and expect pity.
Have pity on a people whom fate has frustrated,
Their well-being shattered by time's misfortunes.)

The apostle said, 'Which are dearest to you? Your sons and your wives or your cattle? They replied, 'Do you give us the choice between our cattle and our honour? Nay, give us back our wives and our sons, for that is what we most desire.' He said: 'So far as concerns what I and the .`Abdu'l-Muttalib have they are yours. When I have prayed the noon prayer with the men then get up and say, "We ask the apostle's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the apostle for our sons and our wives." I will then give them to you and make application on your behalf.' When the apostle had ended the noon prayers they did as he had ordered them, and he said what he had promised to say. Then the Muhajirs said that what was theirs was the apostle's, and the Ansar said the same. But al-Aqra `b.Habis said, `So far as I and B.Tamim are concerned, No.' `Uyayna b.Hisn said No on behalf of himself and B.Sulaym said, `Not so; what is ours is the apostle's.' `Abbas said to B.Sulaym, `You have put me to shame.' Then the apostle said, `He who holds to his right to these captives shall have six camels for every man from the first booty I (T.we) take.' Then the women and children were returned to their men.

Abu Wajza Yazid b.`Ubayd al-Sa`id told me that the apostle gave `Ali a girl called Rayta d.Hilal b.Hayyan b.`Umayra b.Hilal b.Nasira b.Qusayya b.Nasr b.Sa`d b.Bakr; and he gave 'Uthman a girl called Zaynab d.Hayyan; and he gave `Umar a girl whom `Umar gave to his son `Abdullah.

Nafi`, a client of `Abdullah b.`Umar from `Abudllah b.`Umar, told me: I sent her to my aunts of B.Jumah to prepare and get her ready for me until I had circumambulated the temple and could come to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished I came out of the mosque and lo the men were running about, and when I asked why they told me that the apostle had returned their wives and children to them, so I told them that their woman was with B.Jumah and they could go and take her, and they did so . `Uyayna b.Hisn took an old woman of Hawazin and said as he took her, `I see that she is a person of standing
in the tribe and her ransom may well be high.' When the apostle retunred the captives at a price of six camels each he refused to give her back. Zuhayr Abu Surad told him to let her go, for her mouth was cold and her breasts flat; she could not conceive and her husband would not care and her milk was notrich. So he let her go for the six camels when Zuhayr said this. They allege that when `Uyayna met al-Aqra'b.Habis he complained to him about the matter and he siad: By God, you didn't take her as a virgin in her prime nor even a plump middle age!'

The apostle asked the Hawazin deputation about Malik b. 'Auf and they said that he was in al-Ta if with Thaquif. The apostle told them to tell Malik that if he came to him as a Muslim he would return his family and property to him and give him a hundred camels. On hearing this Malik came out from al-Ta'if. He had been afraid that Thaqif would get to know what the apostle had said and imprison him, so he ordered that his camel should be got readyfor him and that a horse should be brought to him in al-Ta'if. He came out by night, mounted his horse , and rode hard until he got to the place where his camel ws tethered, and rode off to join the apostle, overtaking him in

al-Ji'rana or Mecca. He gave him back his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He became an excellent Muslim and at the time he said:

I have never seen or heard of a man
Like Muhammad in the whole world;
Faithful to his word and generous when asked for a gift,
And when you wish he will tell you of the future.
When the squadron shows its strength
With speras and swords that strike,
In the dust war he is like a lion
Guarding its cubs in its den.

The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam, and those tribes (T. round al-Ta'if) were Thumala Salima and Fahm. He began to fight Thaqif with them: none of their flocks could come out but he raided them until they were in sore straits Abu Mihijan b. Habib `Amr b. `Umayr al-Thaqafi said:

Enemies have always dreaded our neighbourhood.
And now the Banu Salima raid us!
Malik brought them on us
Breaking his covenant and solemn word.
They attacked us in our settlements
And we have always been men who take revenge.

When the apostle had returned the captives of Hunayn to their people he rode away and the men followed him saying,`O apostle, divide our spoil of camels and herds among us' until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was torn from him and he cried , `Give me back my mantle , men for by God if you had (T. I had) as many sheep as the trees of Tihama I would distribute them among you; have not found me niggardly or cowardly or false.' Then he went to his camel and took a hair from its hump and held it aloft in his fingers, saying,`Men I have nothing but a fifth of your booty even to this hair and the fifth I will return to you; so give back the ignominy to a man on the resurrection day.' One of the Ansar came with a ball of camel hair saying `O apostle, I took this ball to make a pad for a sore camel of mine.' He answered, `As for my share in that you can keep it!' `If it has come to that,' he saaid,`I do not want it,' and he threw it away (846).

The apostle gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over, notably the chiefs of the army to win them and through them their people. He gave to the following 100 camels: Abu Sufyan b. Harb; his son Mu`awiya; Hakim b. Hizam; al-Harith b. al- Harith b. Kalada brother of B. `Abdu'l-Dar (847); al-Harith b. Hisham; Suhayl b. `Amr Huwaytib b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza b. Abu Qaystal al-A;a'b. Jariya al-Thaqafi an ally of B. Zuhra; `Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr; al-Aqra `b. Habis al-Tamimi; Malik b. `Auf al-Nasari; and Safwan b. Umayya.

He gave less than 100 camels to the following men of Qurayysh: Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhri al-Zuhri; `Umayr b. Wahb Jal-umahi; Hisham b. `Amr brother of B. `Amir b.

Lu'ayy others. He gave 50 to Sa`id c. Yarbu`b. `Ankatha b. `Amir b. Makhzum and to al-Sahmi (848)

He gave `Abbas b. Mirds some camels and he was dissatisfied with them and blamed the apostle in the following verses:

It was spoil that I gained
When I charged on my horse in the plain
And kept the people awake lest they should sleep
And when they slept kept watch
My spoil and that of `Ubayd my horse
Is shared by Uyayna and al-Aqra`.
Though I protected my people in the battle,
Myself unprotected I was given nothing
But a few small camels
To the number of their four legs!
Yet neither Habis nor Hisn (They were the fathers of the two men mentioned in line 6).
Surpass my father in the assembly,
And I am not inferior to either of them.
And he whom you demean today will not be exalted (849).

The apostle said,`Get him away and cut off his tongue from me, `so they gave him (camels) until he was satisfied, this being what the apostle meant by his order (850) (I.H.'s note in which sura 36.69 is quoted rests on the absurd statrement of an anonymous traditionist that Muhammad was so ignorant of verse that he could not recognize rhyme when he heaard it a poor compliment to the greatest Arab of all time. Here for want of a better place I cite I.I from al-Zuhri via Yunus (sura 36.69):```We have not taught him verse. That does not befit him." The meaning is ```What we have taught him is not taught him is not fitting that he should bring verse from Us." The apostle only uttered verse which had been spoken by others before him'. Akhbaru'-l- Basriyin al-Sirafi al-Sirafi,ed F. Krenknow, Beyrut, (They were the fathers of the two men mentioned in line 6). 936,pp.72 f).

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that a companion said to the apostle: `You have given `Uyayna and al-Aqra`a hundred camels each and left out Ju`ayl b. Suraqa al-Damri!' He answered, `By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, Ju`ayl is better than the whole world full of men like those two; but I have treated them generously so that they may become Muslims and I have entrusted Ju`ayl to his islam.'

Abu bayda b. Muhammad b. `Ammar b. Yasir from Miqsam Abu'l Qasim, freed slave of `Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal, told me: I went in company with Talid b. Kilab al-Laythi to `Abdullah b. `Amr b. al-`As as he was going round the temple with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was with the apostle when the Tamimte spoke to him on the day of Hunayn, He said that he was and that a man of Tamim called Dhu'l-Khuwaaysira came and stood by the apostle as he was have done today.' `Well and what

do you think?' He answered. He said, `I don't think you have been just'. The prophet was angry and said,`If justice is not to be found with me than where will you find it?' `Umar asked to be allowed to kill him, but he said ,`Let him alone for he will have a following that will go so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; you look at the head and there is nothing on it; you look at the head and and there is nothing on it then at the notch and there is nothing on it. It went through before flesh and blood could adhere to it'.

Muhammad b. `Ali b. al-Husayn, Abu Jas`far told me a similar story and named the man Dhu'l Khuwaysira. `Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me the same from his father (851).

(T.`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of the apostle's companions who was at Hunayn with him said.`I was riding my camel by the side of the apostle, wearing a rough sandal, when my camel jostled his and the toe of my sandal hit the apostle's shank and hurt him. He hit my foot with his whip, saying , ``You hurt me. Get behind !" so I went behind him. The next morning the apostle was looking for me and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg so I came expecting (punishment); but he said,`You hurt my leg yesterday and I struk your foot with my whip Now I have summoned you to compensate you for it and he gave mne eighty she camels for the one blow he struck me'.(some MSS have here a gloss in which I.H. takes up the narrative of I.I which he broke off when he own our the passage from Tabari that contains what I.I wrote).

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada from Mahammad b. Labid from Abu Sa`id al-Khudri told me when the apostle had distributed these gifts among Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes and the Ansar got nothing this tribe of Ansar took the matter to heart and talked a great deal about it until one of them said,`By God the apostle has met his own people'. Sa`d b. `Ubada went to the apostle and told him what had happened. He asked where do you stand in this matter, Sa`d ? He said, `I stand with my people'. `Then gather your people in this enclosure,'he said. He did so and when some to them and aftewr praising and thanking God he addressed them thus: `O men of Ansar what is this I hear of you ? Do you think ill of me in your hearts ? Did I not come to you when you were erring and God guided you; poor and God made you rich enemues and God softened your hearts ? They answered; ``Yes indeed, God and His apostle are most kind and generous'. He continued: why don't you answer me, O Ansar ? They said `How shall we answer you? Kindness and generosity belong to God and His apostle'. He said `Had you so wished you could have said and generosity belong to God and His apostle'. He said ,`Had you so wished you could have said and you would have spoken the truth and have been believed you came to us discredited and we believed you; deserted and we helped you: a fugitive and we took you in poor and we comforted you. Are you disturbed in mind because of the good things of this life by which I win over a people that they may become Muslims while I entrust you to your Islam ? Are you not satisfied that men should take away flocks and herds while you take back with you the apostle of God? by him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad but for the migration (Had he not been joined by the muyhajitrs from Mecca who had remained faithful to him he would have severed his connexion with Quraysh altogether and jointed the community of Medina).I should be one of the Ansar muself. If

all men went one way and the Ansar another I should take the way of the Ansar. God have mercy on the Ansar their sons and their sons' sons.'(Similarly Musa b. `Uqba, no.10) The people wept until the tears ran down their beards as they saaid: `We are satisfied with the apostle of God as our lot and portion'. Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

190 - THE APOSTLE MAKES THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE FROM AL-JI`RANA

Then the apostle left al-Ji`rana to make the lesser pilgrimage. He gave orders that the rest of the spoil should be kept back in Majanna near Marru'l-Zahran. Having completed the pilgrimage he returned to Medina. He left `Attab b. Asid in charge of Mecca. He also left behind with him Mu`adh b. Jabal to instruct the followed by the rest of the spoil (852).

The aposlte's pilgrimage was in Dhu'l Qa`da and he arrived in Medina towards the end of that month or in Dhu'l-Hijja(853).

The people made the pilgrimage that year in the way the (pagan) Arabs used to do. `Attab made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that year, A.H.8. The people of al-Ta'if continued in their polytheism and obstinacy in their city from the time the apostle left in Dhu'l-Qa`das of the year 8 until Ramadan of the following year.

191 - THE AFFAIR OF KA`B B. ZUHAYR AFTER THE DEPARTURE FROM AL-TA'IF

When the apostle arrived (at Medina) after his departure from al-Ta'if Bujayr b. zuhayr b. Abu Sulma wrote to his brother Ka`b telling him that the apostle had killed some of the men Mecca who had satirized and insulted him and that the Quraysh poets who were left --Ibn al-Ziba`ra and Hubayra b. Abu Wahb --had fled in all directions. If you have any use for your life then come quickly to the apostle, for he does not kill anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not that then get to some safe place'. Ka`b had said:

Give Bujayr a message from me:
Do you accept what I said, confound you ?
Tell us plainly if you don't acccept what I say
For what reason other than that has he led you
To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
And you cannot find that your father followed ?
If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!
Al-Ma'mun has given you a full cup to drink
And added a second draught of the same (854).

Bujayr said to Ka`b:

Who will tell Ka`b that that for which you wrongly blame me
Is the better course?

To God alone not al-`Uzza and at -Lat
You will escape and be safe while escape is possible,
On a day when none will escape
Except a Muslim pure of heart.
Zuhayr's religion is a thing of naught
And the religion of Abu Sulma is forbidden to me.

Ka`b used the title al-Ma'mum (855)simply for the reason that Quraysh used to name the apostle thus.

When Ka`b received the missive he was deeply distressed and anxious for his life. His enemies in the neighbourhood spread alarming reports about him saying that he was as good as slain. Finding no way out he wrote his ode in which he praised the apostle and mentioned his fear and the slanderous reports of his enemies. Then he set out for Medina and stayed with a man of Juhayna whom he knew according to my information, He took him to the apostle when he was praying morning prayers, and he prayed with him. The man pointed out the apostle to him and told and placed his hand in his the apostle not knowing who he was. He said `O apostle Ka`b b. Zuhayr has come to ask security from you as a repentant apostle said that he would he confessed that he was Ka`b b. Zuhayr.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada told me that one of the Ansar leapt upon him asking to be allowed to behead the enemy of God but the apostle told him to let him alone because he had come repentant
breaking away from his past. Ka`b was angry at this tribe of the Ansar because of what this man had done and moreover the men of the Muhajirin spoke only well of him. In his ode which he recited when he came to the apostle he said:

Su`ad is gone and today my heart is love -sick, in thrall to her, unrequited bound with chains;

And Suad, when she came forth on the morn of departure, was but as a gazelle with bright black downcast eyes.

When she smiles she lays base a shining row of side-teeth that seems to have been bathed once and twice in (fragrant) wine--

Wine mixed with pure cold water from a pebbly hollow where the north-wind blows in a bend of the valley,

From which the winds drive away every speck of dust, and it brims over with white foamed torrents fed by showers gushing from a cloud of morn.

Oh, what a rare mistress were she if only she were true to her promise and would hearken to good advice!

But hers is a love in whose blood are mingled paining and lying and faithlessness and inconstancy.

She is not stable in her affection -even as ghouls change the hue of their garments-

And she does not hold to her plighted word otherwise than as sieves hold water.

The promise of `Urqub were a parable of her, and his promise were naught but vanity.

I hope and expect that women will ever be ready to keep their word but never methinks are they ready.

Let not the wishes she inspired and the promise she made beguile thee: lo, these wishes and dreams are a delusion.

In the evening Su'ad came to a land whither none is brought save by camels that are excellent and noble and fleet.

To bring him there he wants a stout she -camel which, though fatigued, loses not her wonted speed aand pace;

One that largely bedews the bone behind her ear when she sweats, one that sets himself to cross a trackless unknown wilderness;

Scanning the high grounds with eyes keen as those of a solitary white oryx when stony levels and sand - hills are kindled (by the sun) ;

Big in the neck, fleshy in the hock surpassing in her make the other daughters of the sire;

Thick-necked full cheeked robust male like her flanks wide her front (tall)as a milestone;

Whose tortoise -shell skin is not pierced at last even by a lean (hungry) tick on the outside of her back;

A hardy beast whose brother is her sire by a noble dam, and her sire's brother is her dam's brother; a long - necked one and nimble.

The qurad (A large species of tick) crawls over her then her smooth breast and flanks cause it to slip off.

Onager -like is she her side slabbed with firm flesh her elbow joint (i.e. the middle joint of the foreleg) far removed
from the ribs;

Her nose aquiline; in her generous ears are signs of breeding plain for the expert to see, and in her cheeks smoothness.

Her muzzle juts out from her eyes and throat as though it were a pick- axe.
She lets a tail like a leafless palm -branch with small tufts of hair hang down over a sharb - edged (unrounded) udder from which its tears do not take away (milk) little by little (I.E.she is a camel for riding not for milking).

Though she be not trying, she races along on light slender feet that skim the ground as they fall,

With tawny hock tendons feet that leave the gravel scattered and are not shod so that they should be kept safe from the blackness of the heaped stones,

The swift movement of her forelegs when she sweats and the mirage enfolds the hills.

On a day when the chameleon basks in some high spot until its exposed part is baked as in fire,

And the grey cicalas having begun to hop on the gravel the camel driver bids his companions take the siesta-

Resembles the beating of hand on hand by a bereaved grey haired woman who rises to lament and is answered by those who have lost many a child,

One wailing shrilly, her arms weak who had no understanding when news was brought of the death of her firstborn son:

She tears her breast with her hands while her tunic is rent in pieces from her collar bones.

The fools walk on both sides of my camel saying `verily O grandson of Abu Sulma thou art as good as slain (Referring to his journey to the prophet who had already given the order for his death).

And every friend of whom I was hopeful said `I will not help thee out I am too busy to mind thee.

I said `Let me go my way, may ye have no father! for whatever
the Merciful hath decreed shall be done.

Every son of woman, long though his safety be one day is borne upon a gibbous bier',

I was told that the Messenger of Allah threatened me (with death) but with the Messenger of Allah I have hope of finding pardon.

Gently ! mayst thou be guided by Him who gave thee the gift of the Koran wherein are warnings and a plain setting out (of the matter)

Do not punish me when I have not sinned on account of what is said by the informers even should the (false) saying about me be many.

Ay I stand in such a place that if an elephant stood there seeing (what I see) and hearing what I hear,

The sides of his neck would be shaken with terror if there be no forgiveness from the Messenger of Allah.

I did not cease to cross the desert plunging betimes into the darkness when the mantle of Night is fallen,

Till i laid my right hand not to withdraw it in the hand of the avenger whose word is the word of truth.

For indeed he is more feared by me when I speak to him and they told me I should be asked of my lineage

Than a lion of the jungle one whose lair is amidst dense thickets in the lowland of `Aththar;

He goes in the morning to feed two cubs whose victual is human flesh rolled in the dust and torn to pieces;

When he springs on his adversary tis against his law that he should leave the adversary ere he is broken;

From him the asses of the broad dale flee in affright and men do not walk in his wadi,

Albeit ever in his wadi is a trusty fere his armour and hardworn raiment smeared with blood ready to be devoured.

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought a drawn Indian sword one of the swords of Allah,
Amongst a band of Kuraish whose spokesman said when they professed Islam in the valley of Mecca,`Depart ye!

They departed but no weaklings were they or shieldless in battle or without weapons and courage;

They march like splendid camels and defend themselves with blows when the short black men take to flight (Probadly a hit at the people of Medina some of whom had urged Muhammad to show the poet no mercy.)

Warriors with noses high and straight clad for the fray in mail-coats of Davids weaving (David is descvridbed in the Quran (xii.80) as a maker of coats of mail).

Bright ample with pierced rings strung together like the rings of the qaf a (Name of a plant)

They are not exultant if their spears overtake an enemy or apt to despair if they be themselves overtaken .

The spear thrust falls not but on their throats for them there is no shrinking from the ponds of death (856) (i.e places where draughts of death are drunk. By the courtesy of the Cambridge University press I take this translation from Tranalations of Eastrern poetry and prose by my old friend R.A Nicholson.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada said when Ka`b said when the short black men take to flight he meant us the Ansar because of the way one of us had treated him. He singled out the Muhajirin among the apostle s companions for praise. This excited the Ansar's anger and mentioned their trials with the apostle and their position among the Yaman tribes:

He who loves a glorious life
Let him ever be with the horsemen of the righteous Ansar,
Who transmit glorious deeds from father to son
The best men are they, sons of the best men
Who launch with their arms spears
Like long Indian swords,
Who peer forward unweariedly
With eyes red as burning coals.
Who devote their lives to their prophet
On the day of hand-to-hand fighting and cavalry attacks.
They purify themselves with the blood of infidels;
They consider that an act of piety.
Their habit is that of thick necked lions
Accustomed to hunt in a valleyed thicket'
If you come to them for protection
You are as it were in the inaccessible haunts of mountain goats
They smote `Ali (S. ii.315 explains that Quraysh is meant by `Ali because B. `Ali= B.Kinana = Quraysh. on the authorship of thes4e verse see introdution xxviii)such a blow on the day of Badr
As brought the downfall of all Nizar.
If people knew all that I know about them]
Those that dispute with me would recognize the truth of what I say.
They are a people who richly feed the night-travellers
Who arrive in a time of dearth (857).

192 - THE RAID ON TABUK, A.H.9

The apostle stayed in Medina from Dhu'l HIjja to Rajab, and then gave orders to prepare to raid the Byzantines. The following account is based on what al-Zuhri and Yazid b. Ruman and `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and `Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada and other authorites told me some supplied information which others lacked.

The apostle ordered his companions to prepare to raid the Byzantines at a time when men were hard pressed the heat was oppressive and there was a drought fruit was ripe (T. and shade was eagerly sought) and the men wanted to stay in the shade with their fruit and disliked travelling at that season. Now the apostle nearly always referred allusively to the destination of a raid and announced that he was making for the place other than that which he actually intended. This was the sole exception for he said plainly that he was making for the Byzantines because the journey was long the season diffcult and the enemy in great strength so that the men could make suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was making for the Byzantinas. (T. So the men got ready in spite of their dislike for the journey in itself to say nothing of their respect for the reputation of the Byzantines.)

One day when he was making his arrangements the apostle said to Jadd b. Qays of B. Salima: `Would you like to fight the B, Asfar, (i.e.the sallow men A Dh says they are the descendats of Esau who is said to have been of a sallow countenance. He distinguishes between the Byzantines (Rum) and the old greeks (Yunan)Jadd? He replied,` Will you allow me to stay behind and not tempt me for everyone knows that i am strongly addicted to women and i am strongly addicted to women and i am afraid that if i see the byzantine women i shall not be able to control myself. The apostle gave him permission to remain behind away from him. It was about him that the verse came down,``There are some who say give me leave (to stay behind) and do not tempt me. Surely they have fallen into temptation already and hell encompassed the unbelievers (sura 9.49)i e it was not that he feared temptation from the Byzantine women the temptation he had fallen into was greater in that he hung back from the apostle and sought to please himself rather than the apostle. God said,`Verily hell is behind him (Sura 14.19).

The disaffected said one to another,`Don't go forth in the heat,`disliking strenuous waar doubting the truth and creating misgivings about the apostle. So God sent down concerning them ; And they said Go not forth in the heat. Say The fire of hell is hotter did they but understand. Let them laugh a little and let them weep much as a reward for what were earning (858) (Sura 0.82)

The apostle went forward energetically with his preparations and ordered providing money and mounts for God's work (T. and persuaded them) The wealthy men provided mounts and stored up a reward with God `Uthman b. `Affan spent a larger sum than any had ever done (859).

The seven Muslims known as The Weepers Ansar and others from B Amr Auf came to the apostle and asked him to provide them with mounts for they were without means. Their names were Salim b. `Umayr `Ulba b. Zayd brother of B. Haritha abu Layla `Abdu'l Rahman b. Ka`b brother of B., Salima ,`Abdullah b. al Mughaffal al Muzani (or

b. Amr) Haramiy b. `Abdullah brother of B. Waqif and Irbad b. Sariya al-Fazari. He said that he had no mount to give them and they turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense of the raid.

I have heard that Ibn Yamin b. Umayr Ka`b al-Nadri met Abu Layla and `Aldullah b. Mughaffal as they were weeping and when he asked what they crying for they told him that they had applied to the apostle for a mount but that he had none to give them and they had nothing. Thereupon he gave them a watering camel and they saddled it and he provided them with some dates and so they went off with the apostle.

Some Bedouin came to apologize for not going but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from B. Ghifar. (T. one of them was Khufaf b. Ima b. Rakha.)

When the apostle's road was clear he determined to set off. Now there was a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds so that they lagged behind without any doubt of misgivings. They were Ka`b b. Malik b. Abu Ka`b brother of B. Salima; Murara b. al-Rabi`brother of B. `Amr b. `Auf; Hilal Umayya, brother of B. Waqif; Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Salima b. `Auf; they were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion.

When the apostle had set out he pitched his camp by Thaniyatu'l Wada`(860) (A pass overlooking Medina)

`Abdullah b. Ubayy (T.b. Salul) pitched his separately below him in the direction of Dhubab (T. a mountain in al-Jabbana below Thaniyatu'l Wada`.) It is alleged that it was not the smaller camp. When the apostle went on `Abdullah b. Ubayy separated from him and stayed behind with the hypocrites and doubters. (T. `Abdullah was brother of B. Auf b. al-Khazraj and Abdullah b. Nabtal was brother of B. `Amr b. `Auf; and Rifa`a b . Zayd b. al-Tabut was brother of B. Qaynuqa`. These were the principal men among the God sent down: ``They sought rebellion aforetime and upset things for you'.) (Sura 9.48)

The apostle left `Ali behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the apostle and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this `Ali seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was halting in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: `They lie. I left you behind because of what I had left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, `Ali, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?' So `Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went on his way. Muhammad b. Talha b. Yazid b. Rukana from Ibrahim b. Sa`d b. Abu Waqqas from his father Sa`d told me that he heard the apostle saying these words to `Ali.

Then `Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went his way. Abu Khaythama (T. brother of B. Salim) returned to his family on a hot day some days after the apostle had set out. He found two wives of his in huts in his garden. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled it

with water and got ready food for him. When he arrived he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had done for him and said: `The apostle is out in the sun and the wind and the heat and Abu Khaythama is in a cool shade, food prepared for him, resting in his property with a fair woman. This is not just. By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but join the apostle; so get ready some food for me.' They did so and he went to his camel and saddled it and went out in search of the apostle until he overtook him in Tabuk. `Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumahi had overtaken Abu Khaythama on the road as he came to find the apostle, and they joined forces. When they approached Tabuk Abu Khaythama said to `Umayr, `I have done wrong. You can stay behind me if you like until I come to the apostle, and he did so. When he approached the apostle as he was stopping in Tabuk, the army called attention to a man riding on the way and the apostle said it would be Abu Khaythama, and so it was. Having dismounted he came and saluted the apostle, who said, `who said, `Woe to you, Abu Khaythama!' Then he told the apostle what had happened, and he spoke him well and blessed him (861).

When the apostle passed al-Hijr (Often called Mada'in Salih. Doughty's account of this place in Arabia Deserta, passim, is still the most interesting.) he stopped, and the men got water from it well. When they went the apostle said, `Do not drink any of its water nor use it for ablutions. If you have used any of it for dough, then feed it to the camels and eat none of it. Let none of you go at night alone but take a companion.' The men did as they were told except two of them of B. Sa`ida: one went out to relieve himself and the other to look for a camel of his. The first was half choked on his way (The lexicologists say that Khunaqiya is a disease which attacks men and horses (and sometimes birds) in the throat.) and the second was carried away by a wind which cast him on the two mountains of Tayyi'. The apostle was told of this and reminded the men that he had forbidden them to go out alone. Then he prayed for the man who was choked on the way and he recovered; the other man was brought to the apostle in Medina by a man of Tayyi'. This story comes from `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from Abbas b. Sahl b. Sa'd ab-Saidi Abdullah told me that `Abbas had told him who they were, but confidentially, so he refused to name them to me (862).

In the morning when the men had no water they complained to the apostle, so he prayed, and God sent a cloud, and so much rain fell that they were satisfied and carried away they needed.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatadah from Mahmud b. Labid from men of B. `Abdu'l-Ashhal told me that he said to Mahmud, `Do the men know the hypocrites among them?' He replied that a man would know that he said to Mahmud, `Do the men know the hypocrites among them? He replied that a man would know that hypocrisy existed in his brother, his father, his uncle, and his family, yet they would cover up each other. Then Mahmud said: Some of my tribesmen told me of a man whose hypocrisy was notorious. He used to go wherever the apostle went and when the affair at al-Hijr happened and the apostle prayed as he did and God sent a cloud which brought a heavy rain they said, `We went to him saying "Woe to you! Have you anything more to say after this?" He said, "It is a passing cloud!"

During the course of the journey the apostle's camel strayed and his companions went in search of it. The apostle had with him a man called `Umara b. Hazm who had been at al-`Aqaba and Badr, uncle of B. `Amr b. Hazm. He had in his company Zayd al- Lusayt al-Qaynuqa'i who was a hypocrite (863). Zayd said while he was in `Umara's camp and `Umara was with the apostle, `Does Muhammad allege that he is a prophet and can tell you news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?' The apostle said while `Umara was with him: `A man has said: Now Muhammad tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he tells you of heavenly things and yet doesn't know where his camel is. By God, I know only what God has told me and God has shown me where it is. It is in this wadi in such-and-such a glen. A tree has caught it by its halter; so go and bring it to me.' They went
and brought it. `Umara returned to his camp and said: `By God, the apostle has just told us a wonderful thing about something someone has said which God has told him of.' Then he repeated the words. One of his company who had not been present with the apostle exclaimed, `Why, Zayd said this before you came.' `Umara advanced on Zayd pricking him in the neck and saying, `To me, you servants of God! I had a misfortune in my company and knew nothing of it. Get out, you enemy of God, and do not associate with me.' Some people allege that Zayd subsequently repented; others say that he was suspected of evil until the day of his death.

Then the apostle continued his journey and men began to drop behind. When the apostle was told that So-and-so had dropped behind he said, `Let him be; for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abu Dharr had dropped behind and his camel had delayed him. The apostle said the same words. Abu Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly with him he took his gear and loaded it on his back and went off walking in the track of the apostle. The apostle stopped at one of his halting-places when a man called his attention to someone walking on the way alone. The apostle said that he hoped it was Abu Dharr, and when the people had looked carefully they said that it was he. The apostle said, `God have mercy on Abu Dharr. He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone.'

Burayda b. Sufyan al-Aslami from Muhammad b. Ka`b al-Qurazi from `Abdullah b. Masud told me that when `Uthman exiled Abu Dharr to al-Ravadha (A place near Medina) and his appointed time came there was none with him but his wife and his slave. He instructed them to wash him and wind him in his shroud and lay him appointed time came there was none with him but his wife and his slave. He instructed them to wash him and wind him in his shroud and lay him on the surface of the road and to tell the first caravan that passed who he was and ask them to help in burying him. When he died they did this. `Abdullah b. Mas`ud came up with a number of men from Iraq on pilgrimage when suddenly they saw the bier on the top of the road: the camels had almost trodden on it. The slave got up and said, `This is Abu Dharr the apostle's companion. Help us to bury him. Abdullah b. Mas`ud broke out into loud weeping saying, "The apostle was right. You walked alone, and you died alone, and you will be raised alone.' Then he and his companions alighted and buried him and he told them his story and what the apostle had said on the road to Tabuk.

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadi'a b. Thabit, brother of B. `Amr b. Auf and a man of Ashja an ally of B. Salima called Mukhashshin b. Humayyir (864) were pointing at (T. going with) the apostle as he was journeying to Tabuk saying one to another, `Do you think that fighting the Byzantines is like a war between Arabs: By God we (T. I) seem to see you bound with ropes tomorrow'so as to cause alarm and dismay to the believers Mukhashshin said, `I would rather that every one of us were sentenced to a hundred lashes than that a verse should come down about us concerning what you have said.'

The apostle-so I have heard-told `Ammar b. Yasir to join the men, for they had uttered lies, and ask them what they said. If they refused to answer, tell them that they said so-and-so. `Ammar did as he was ordered and they came to the apostle making excuses. Wadi'a said as the apostle had halted on his camel, and as he spoke he laid hold of its girth, `We were merely chatting and joking.' (Sura 9.66) Mukhashshin b. Humayyir said, `O apostle, my name and my father's name disgrace me.' (Mukhashshin implies harshness, and rudeness, and Humayyir means a little donkey.) The man sho was pardoned in this verse was Mukhashmartyr with none to know the place of his death. He was killed on the day of al-Yamama and no trace of him was found.

When the apostle reached Tabuk Yuhanna b. Ru'ba governor of Ayla came and made a treaty with him and paid him the poll tax. The people of Jarba and Adhruh also came and paid the poll tax. The apostle wrote for them a document which they still have. He wrote to Yuhanna b. Ru'ba thus: `In the name of God the Muhammad the prophet, the apostle of God, to Yuhanna b. Ru'ba and the people of Ayla, for their ships and their caravans by land and sea. They and all that are with them, men of Syria, and the Yaman, and seamen, all have the protection of God and the protection of Muhammad the prophet. Should any one of them break the treaty by introducing some new factor then his wealth shall not save him; it is the fair prize of him who takes it. It is not permitted that they shall be restrained from going down to their wells or using their roads by land or sea.'

Then the apostle summoned Khalid b. al-Walid and sent him to Ukaydir at Duma. Ukaydir b. `Abdu'l-Malik was a man of Kinda who was ruler of Duma; he was christian. The apostle told Khalid that he would find him hunting wild cows. Khalid went off until he came within sight of his fort. It was a summer night with a bright moon and Ukaydir was on the roof with his wife. The cows were rubbing their horns against the gate of the fort all the night. His wife asked him if he had ever known anything of the kind in the past, and urged him to go after them. He called for his horse, and when it was saddled he rode off with a number of his family, among them a brother called Hassan. As they were riding the apostle's cavalry fell in with them and seized him and killed his brother. Ukaydir was wearing a gown of brocade covered with gold. Khalid stripped him of this and sent it to the apostle before he brought him to him.

`Asim b. `Umar b. Qatada from Anas b. Malik said: I saw Ukaydir's gown when it was brought to the apostle. The Muslims were feeling it and admiring it, and the apostle said, `Do you admire this? By Him in whose hand is my life the napkins of Sa'd b. Mu`adh in Paradise are better than this.'

Then Khalid brought Ukaydir to the apostle who spared his life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll tax. Then he released him and he returned to his town. A man of Tayyi' called Bujayr b. Bujara remembering the words of the apostle to Khalid, `You will find him hearing wild cows,' said that what the cows did that night in bringing him out of his fort was to confirm what the apostle had said:

Bless is He who drove out the cows.
I see God guiding every leader.
Those who turn aside from yonder Tabuk, (let them)
For we have been ordered to fight.

The apostle stayed in Tabuk some ten nights, not more. Then he returned to Medina.

On the way there was water issuing from a rock-enough to water two or three riders. It was in a wadi called al-Mushaqqaq. The apostle ordered anyone who should get there before him not to take water from it until he came. A number of the disaffected got there first and drew water from it. When the apostle arrived he halted and saw no water there. He asked who had got there first and was told their names. He exclaimed, `Did I not forbid you to take water from it until I came?' Then he cursed them and called down God's vengeance on them. Then he alighted and placed his hand under the rock, and water began to flow into his hand as God willed. Then he sprinkled the rock with the water and rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. Then water burst forth, as one who heard it said, with a sound like thunder. The men drank and satisfied their need from it, and the apostle said, `If you live, or those of you who live, will hear of this wadi that it is more fertile than its neighbours.'

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that `Abdullah b. Mas`ud used to say: I got up in the middle of the night when I was with the apostle in the raid on Tabuk when I saw a light near the camp. I went after it to look at it and lo it was the apostle with Abu Bakr and `Umar; and `Abdullah Dhu'l Bijadayn had just died and they had dug a grave for him. The apostle was in the grave and Abu Bakr and `Umar were letting him down to him as he was saying, `Bring your brother near to me,' so they let him down and as he arranged him for his niche he said, `O God, I am pleased with him; be Thou pleased with him!' Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to say, `Would that I had been the man in the grave' (865).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri reported from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythi from Ibn Akhi Abi Ruhm al-Ghifari that he heard Abu Ruhm Kulthum b. al-Husayn, who was one of the companions who did homage to the apostle beneath the tree, say: When I made the raid on Tabuk with the apostle I journeyed the night with him. While we were at al-Akhdar near the apostle God cast a heavy sleep on us and I began to wake up when my camel had come near the apostle's camel. I was afraid that if it came too near his foot would be hurt in the stirrup. I began to move my camel away from him until sleep overcame me on the way. Then during the night my camel jostled against his while his foot was in the stirrup and I was wakened by his voice saying, `Look out,' I asked his pardon and he told me to carry on.

The apostle began to ask me about those who had dropped out from B. Ghifar and I told him. He asked me about the people with long straggling red beards and I told him that they had dropped out. Then he asked about the men with short curly hair and I confessed that I did not know that they were of us. `But yes,' he said, `they arre those who own camels in Shabakatu shadakh.' Then I remembered that they were among B. Ghifar, but I did not remember them until I recalled that they were a clan of Aslam who were allies of ours. When I told him this he said, `What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealous man in the way of God on one of his camels? The most painful thing to me is that muhajirun from Quraysh and the Ansar and Ghifar and Aslam should stay behind.'

193 - THE OPPOSITION MOSQUE

The apostle went on until he stopped in Dhu Awan a town an hour's daylight journey from Medina. The owners of the mosque of opposition had come to the apostle as he was preparing for Tabuk, saying, `We have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for nights of bad weather, and we should like you to come to us and pray for us there.' He said that he was on the point of travelling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he came back if God willed he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhu Awan news of the mosque came to him, and he summoned Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of B. Salim b. Auf, and Ma'n b. `Adiy (or his brother `Asim) brother of B. al-`Ajlan, and told them to go to the mosque of those evil men and destroy and burn it. They went quickly to B. Salim b. `Auf who were Malik's clan, and Malik said to Ma'n, `Wait for me until I can bring fire from my people.' So he went it and took a palm-branch and lighted it, and then the two of them ran into the mosque where its people were and burned and destroyed it and the people ran away from it. A portion of the Quran came down concerning them: "Those who chose a mosque in opposition and unbelief and to cause division among believers to the end of the passage (Sura 9. 108)

The twelve men who built it were: Khidham b. Khalid of B. Ubayd b. Zayd, one of B. `Amr b. `Auf; his house opened on to the schismatic mosque; Tha`laba b. Hatib of B. Umayya b. Zayd; Mu'attib b. Qushayr; Abu Habiba b. al-Az'ar, both of B. Dubay'a b. Zayd; Abbad b. Hunayf, brother of Sahl of B. `Ar b. Auf; Jarmiya b. Amir and his two sons Mujammi and Zayd; Nabtal b. al-Harith; Bahzaj; and Bijad b. `Uthman, all of B. Dubay'a; and Wadi`a b. Thabit of B. Umayya b. Zayd, the clan of Abu Lubaba b. `Abdu'l-Mundhir.

The apostle's mosques between Tabuk and Medina are well known named. They are the mosques in Tabuk; Thaniyatu Midran; Dhatu'i Zirab; al-Akhdar; Dhatu'l Khitmi; Ala; beside al-Batra at the end of Kawakib; (In Yaqut `al-Kawakib') Shiqq, Shiqq Tara; Dhu'l-Jifa; Sadr Hauda; al-Hijr; al-Sa`id; the wadi known today as Wadi known today as Wadi'l-Qura; al-Ruq'a of Shiqqa, the Shiqqa of B. `Udhra; Dhu'l-Marwa; Fayfa; and Dhu Khushub.

194 - THE THREE MEN WHO ABSTAINED FROM THE RAID ON TABUK

When the apostle came to Medina he found that some disaffected persons had stayed behind. Among them were three Muslims who had not held back through doubt or disaffection, namely Ka'b b. Malik, Murara b. al-Rabi', and Hilal b. Umayya. The apostle told his companions not to speak to these three. The disaffected who had stayed behind came and made excuses with oaths and he forgave them, but neither God nor His apostle accepted their excuse. The Muslims withdrew from these three and would not speak to them (T. until God sent down His word concerning them). (Sura 9. 118-20) Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik said that his father, whom he used to lead about when his sight failed, said: I heard my father Ka'b telling his story of how he held back from the apostle in his raid on Tabuk, and the story of his two companions:

I had never held back from any raid the apostle had undertaken except the battle of Badr, and that was an engagement which none was blamed either by God or His apostle for missing because the apostle had gone out only to find the Quraysh caravan when God brought him and his enemies together without previous intent. I was present with the apostle at al-`Aqaba when we pledged our faith in Islam, and I should not prefer to have been at Badr rather than there even if the battle of Badr is more famous. The fact was that when I stayed behind in the raid on Tabuk I had never been stronger and wealthier. Never before had I possessed two camels. Seldom did the apostle intend a raid but he pretended that he had another objective except on this occasion. He raided it in violent heat andd faced a long journey and a powerful enemy and told men what they had to do so that they might make adequate provision, and he told them the direction he intended to take. The Muslims who followed him were many and he did not enrol them in a book. (He meant by that a register; he did not enrol them in a written register). The few who wanted to absent themselves thought that they could conceal it from him as long as no revelation came down from God about it. The apostle made that raid when the fruits were ripe and shade was desirable so that men were averse from it. The apostle made his preparations and the Muslims likewise, and I would go to get ready with them and come not having done what was necessary, saying to myself, `I can do that when I want to,' and I continued procrastinating until the men had acted with energy and in the morning they and the apostle had gone while I had made no preparation. I thought that I could get ready a day or two later and then join them. Day after day passed and I had done nothing until the raiders had gone far ahead and still I thought of going and overtaking and I wish that I had done so but I did not. After the apostle had gone when I went about among the men it pained me to see only those who were accused of disaffection or a man whom God had excused because of his helpless women. The apostle did not remember me until he reached Tabuk when he asked, as he was sitting among the men, what had become of me. One of the B. Salima said that my fine clothes and conceit of my appearance kept me at home. Mu`adh b. Jabal said that was an evil thing to say and that they knew nothing but good of me. But the apostle was silent.

When I heard that the apostle was on his way back from Tabuk I was smitten with remorse and began to think of a lie I could tell to escape from his anger and get some of

my people to support me in it; but when I heard that he was near at hand falsehood left me and I knew that I could only escape by telling the truth, so I determined to do so. In the morning the apostle entered Medina and went into the mosque and after performing two rak'as he sat down to await the men. Those who had stayed behind came and began to make excuses with oaths-there were about eighty of them-and the apostle accepted their public declarations and oaths and asked the divine forgivenss for them, referring their secret thoughts to God. Last of all I came and saluted him and he smiled as one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back, and had I not bought my mount. I said, `O apostle of God, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back, and had I not bought my mount. I said, `O apostle of God, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count on escaping his anger by an excuse, for I am astute in argument. But I know that if I tell you a lie today you will accept it and that God will soon excite your anger against me; and yet if I tell you the truth which will make you angry with me, I have hopes that God will reward me for it in the end. Indeed, I have no excuse. I was never stronger and richer than when I stayed behind.' The apostle said, `So far as that goes you have told the truth, but get up until God decides about you.' So I got up and some of B. Salima rose in annoyance and followed me, saying, `We have never known you do wrong before, and you were unable to excuse yourself to the apostle as the others who stayed behind did. It would have sufficed if the apostle had asked pardon for your sin.' They kept at me until I wanted to go back to the apostle and give the lie to myself. Then I asked them if any others were in the same casee and they said that there were two men who had said what I had said, and they got the same answer. They were Murara b. al-Rabi' al-`Amri of B. `Amr b. `Auf, and Hilal b. Abu Umayya al-Waqifi, two honest men of exemplary character. When they mentioned them I was silent. The apostle forbade anyone to speak to us three out of those who had stayed behind, so men avoided us and showed an altered demeanour, until I hated myself and the whole world as never before. We endured this for fifty nights. As for my two companions in misfortune they were humiliated and stayed in their houses, but I was younger and hardier, so I used to go out and attend prayers, asking myself if his lips had moved in returning the salutation or not; then I would pray near him and steal a look at him. When I performed my prayer he looked at me, and when I turned towards him he turned away from me. When I had endured much from the harshness of the Muslims I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abu Qatada's orchard. He was my cousin and the dearest of men to me. I saluted him and by God he did not return my salam so I said, `O Abu Qatada, I adjure you by God, do you not know that I love God and His apostle?'; but he answered me not a word. Again I adjured him and he was silent; again and he said, God and His apostle know best.' At that my eyes swam with tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall.

In the morning I walked in the market and there was one of the Nabati traders from Syria who came to sell food in Medina asking for me. When he asked for me the people pointed me out to him, and he came and gave me a letter from th king of Ghassan which he had written on a piece of silk which read as follows: `We hear that your master has treated you badly. God has not put you in a house of humiliation and loss, so come to us and we will provide for you.' When I read it I thought that this too was part of the ordeal.

My situation was such that a polytheist hoped to win me over; so I took the letter to the oven and burned it.

Thus we went on until forty of the fifty nights had passed and then the apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the apostle ordered that I should separate myself from my wife. I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce her, but he said No, I was to separate myself and not approach her. My two companions received similar orders. I told my wife to rejoin her family until such time as God should give a decision in the matter. The wife of Hilal came to the apostle and told him that he was an old man, lost without a servant, was there any objection to her serving him? He said there was not provided that he did not approach her. She told the apostle that he never made a movement towards her and that his weeping was so prolonged that she feared that he would lose his sight. One of my family suggested that I should ask for similar permission from the apostle, but I declined to do so because I did not know what he would say in reply since I was a young man. Ten more nights passed until fifty nights since the apostle had forbidden men to speak to us were complete. I prayed the morning prayer on the top of one of our houses on the morn of the fiftieth night in the way that God had prescibed. The world, spacious as it is, closed in on us and my soul was deep distressed.(The language is borrowed from Sura 9.119 v.i.) I had set up a tent on the top of a crag and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of a crier coming over the top of the crag and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of a crier coming over the top of the crag shouting at the top of his voice 'Good news, Ka'b b. Malik! I feell down prostrate, knowing that relief had come at last.

The apostle announced God's forgiveness when he prayed the dawn prayer and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two fellows with the news and a man galloped off to me on a horse, and a runner from Aslam ran until he came over the mountain, and the voice was quicker than the horse. When the man whom I had heard shouting the good newws came, I tore off my clothes and gave them to him as a reward for good tidings, and by God at the time I had no others and had to borrow more and put them on. Then I set off towards the apostle and men met me and told me the good news and congratulated me on God's having forgiven me. I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrounded by men. Talha b. `Ubaydullah got up and greeted me and congratulated me on God's having forgiven me. I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrouded by men. Talha b. `Ubaydullah got up and greeted me and congratulated me, but no other muhajir did so. (Ka'b never forgot this action of Talha's).

When I saluted the apostle he said as his face shone with joy, "This is the best day of your life. Good news to you!' I said, `From you or from God?' From God of course,' he said. When he told good news his face used to be like the moon, and we used to recognize it. When I sat before him I told him that as an act of penitence I would give away my property as alms to God and His apostle. He told me to keep my share in Khaybar booty, and I said, `God has saved me through truthfulness, and part of my repentance towards God is that I will not speak anything but the truth so long as I live; and by God I do not know any man whom God has favoured (Cf 518.4 tested is a possible alternative.) in speaking the truth since I told the apostle that to the present day I

never even purposed a lie, and I hope that God will preserve me for the time that remains.'

God sent down: `God has forgiven the prophet and the emigrants and the helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved; then He forgave them. He is kind and merciful to them and to the three who were left behind' as far as the words And be with the truthful.'(Cf 518.4 tested is a possible alternative)

Ka'b said: `God never showed me a greater favour after He had guided me to Islam than when I told the apostle the truth that day so that I did not lie and perish like those who lied; for God said about those who lied to him when He sent down the revelation "They will swear to you by God when you return to them that you may turn from them. Do turn from them for they are unclean and their resting place is hell, in reward for what they have earned. They swear to you that you may be satisfied with them, and if you are satisfied with them God is not satisfied with an evil people." (Sura 9.96)

We three were kept back from the affair of those from whom the apostle accepted an apology when they swore an oath, to him and he asked forgiveness for them. And the apostle postponed our affair until God gave His judgement, and about that God said, `And to the three who were left behind. (Sura 9.119)

When God used the word khullifa it had nothing to do with our holding back from the raid, but to his holding us back and postponing our affair from those who swore to him and made excuses which he accepted.

195 - THE ENVOYS OF THAQIF ACCEPT ISLAM, A. H. 9

The apostle returned from Tabuk in Ramadan and in that month the deputation of Thaqif came to him.

When the apostle came away from them `Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi followed him until he caught up with him before he got to Medina, annd accepted Islam. He asked that he might go back to his people as a Muslim,but the apostle said so his people say They will kill you,' for the apostle knew thee proud spirit of opposition that was in them. Urwa said that he was dearer to them. `Urwa said that he was dearer to them than their fistborn (866).

He was a man who loved and obeyed and he went out calling his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he went up to an upper room and showed himself to them after he had invited them to Islam and shown his religion to them they shot arrows at him from all directions, and one hit him and killed him. The B. Malik allege that one of their men killed him; his name was Aus b. `Auf, brother of B. Salim b. Malik. The Ahlaf allege that one of their men from B. Attab b. Malik called Wahb b. Jabir killed him. It was said to Urwa, `What do you think about your death? He said, `It is a gift which God has honoured me with them.'

They did bury him with them and they allege that the apostle said about him , `Among his people he is like the hero of Ya Sin among his people. (Cf Sura 36.19)

Thaqif delayed some months after the killing of `Urwa. Then they took counsel among themselves and decided that they could not fight the Arabs all around them, who had paid homage and accepted Islam.

Ya`qub b. `Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that `Amr b. Umayya, brother of B. Ilaj, was not on speaking terms with Abdu Yalil b. `Amr and there was bad feeling between them. `Amr was a most crafty man and he walked to `Abdu Yalil and entered his dwelling and sent word to him to come out to him. `Abdu Yalil expressed great surprise that Amr who was so careful of his life should come to him, so he came out, and when he saw him he welcomed him. `Amr said to him: `We are in an impasse. You have seen how the affair of this man has progressed. All the Arabs have accepted Islam and you lack the power to fight them, so look to your case.' Thereupon Thaqif took counsel and said one to another, `Don't you see that your herds are not safe; none of you can go out without being cut off.' So after conferring together they decided to send a man to the apostle as they had sent Urwa. They spoke to Abdu Yalil, who was a contemporary of Urwa, and ladi the plan before him, but he refused to act, fearing that on his return he would be treated as `Urwa was. He said that he would not go unless they sent some men with him. They decided to send two men from al-Ahlaf and three from B. Malik, six in all. They sent with Abdu Yalil al-Hakam b. `Amr b. Wahb b. Mu attib andd Shurahbil b. Ghaylan b. Salima b. Mu`attib; and from B. Malik, Uthman b. Abu'l As b. Bishr b. Abdu Duhman, brother of B. Yasar, and Aus b. Auf, brother of al-Harith. Abdu Yalil went with them as leader in charge of the affair. He took them with him only out of fear of meeting the same fate as Urwa and in order that each man on his return could secure the attention of his clan.

When they approached Medina and halted at Qanat they met there al-Mughira b. Shu'ba whose turn it was to pasture the camels of the apostle's companions, for the companions took this duty in turn. When he saw them he left the camels with the Thaqafis and jumped up to run to give the apostle the good news of their coming. Abu Bakr met him before he could get to the apostle and he told him that riders of Thaqif had come to make their submission and accept Islam on the apostle's conditions provided that they could get a document guaranteeing their people and their land and animals. Abu Bakr implored al-Mughira to let him be the first to tell the apostle the news and he agreed, so Abu Bakr went in and told the apostle while al-Mughira rejoined his companions and brought the camels back. He taught them how to salute the apostle, for they were used to the salutation of paganism. When they came to the apostle he pitched a tent for them near his mosque, so they allege. Khalid b. Sa`id b. al-`As acted as intermediary between them and the apostle until they got their document; it was he who actually wrote it. They would not eat the food which came to them from the apostle until Khalid ate some and until they had accepted Islam and had got their document.

Among the things they asked the apostle was that they should be allowed to retain their idol Al-Lat undestroyed for three years. The apostle refused, and they continued to

ask him for a year or two, and he refused; finally they asked for a month after their return home; but he refused to agree to any set time. All that they wanted as they were trying to show was to be safe from their fanatics and women and children by leaving her and they did not want to frighten their people by destroying her until they had accepted Islam. The apostle refused this, but he sent Abu Sufyan b. Harb and al-Mughira b. Shu'ba to destroy her. They had also asked that he would excuse them from prayer and that they should not excuse you from breaking your idols with your own hands, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayers.' They said that they would perform them though it was demeaning.

When they had accepted Islam and the apostle had given them their document he appointed `Uthman b. Abdul-As over them although he was the youngest of them. This was because he was the most zealous in studying Islam and learning the Quran. Abu Bakr had told the apostle this.

`Isa b. Abdullah b. Atiya b. Sufyan b. Rabi a al-Thaqafi from one of the deputation told me: Bilal used to come to us when we had become Muslims and we fasted with the apostle for the rest of Ramadan, and bring our supper and our breakfast from the apostle. He would come to us in the morning twilight and we would say We see that the dawn has risen.' He would say, `I left the apostle eating at daybreak, so as to make the dawn meal later';(The last clause may be an explanatory gloss from I.I.) and he would bring our evening meal and we would say, `I did not come to you until the apostle had eaten.' Then he would put his hand in the dish and eat from it (867).

Sa'id b. Abu Hind from Mutarrif b. Abdullah b. al-Shakhkhir from Uthaman b. Abu'l As said: The last thing the apostle enjoined on me when he sent me to Thaqif was to be brief in prayer, to measure men by their weakest members; for there were old and young, sick and infirm among them.

When they had accomplished their task and had set out to return to their country the apostle sent with them Abu Sufyan and al-Mughira to destroy the idol. They travelled with the deputation and when they neared al-Ta'if, al-Mughira wanted to send on Abu Sufyan in advance. The latter refused and told him to go to his people while he stayed in his property in Dhu'l-Haram. (I.H. here bidhi l-hadam, but the true reading given above is in T 1692. I. There is no doubt about this because the rhyming word of the saj given in Yaq iv. 969 requires the letter r.) When al-Mughira entered he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people the B. Mu'attib stood in front of him fearing that he would be shot or killed as `Urwa had been. The women of Thaqif came out with their heads uncovered bewailing her and saying:

O weep for our protector
Poltroons would neglect her
Whose swords need a corrector (868)

Abu Sufyan, as al-Mughira smote her with the axe, said `Alas for you, alas!' When al-Mughira had destroyed her and taken what was on her and her jewels he sent for Abu Sufyan when her jewellery and gold and beads had been collected.

Now Abu Mulayh b. Urwa and Qarib b. al-Aswad had come to the apostle before the Thaqif deputation when `Urwa was killed, desiring to separate themselves from Thaqif and to have nothing to do with them. When they became Muslims the apostle said to them, `Take as friends whom you will,' and they said, `We choose God and His apostle.' The apostle said, `and your maternal uncle Abu Sufyan b. Harb,' and they said, `Even so.'

When the people of al-Ta'if had accepted Islam and the apostle had sent Abu Sufyan and al-Mughira to destroy the idol, Abu Mulayh b. Urwa asked the apostle to settle a debt his father had incurred from the property of the idol. The apostle agreed and Qarib b. al-Aswad asked for the same privilege for his father. Now `Urwa and al-Aswad were full brothers. The apostle said, `But al-Aswad died a polytheist.' He answered, `But you will be doing a favour to a Muslim a near relation,' meaning himself; `the debt is only incumbent on me and from me it is required.' The apostle ordered is only incumbent on me and from me it is required.' The apostle ordered Abu Sufyan to satisfy the debts of `Urwa and al-Aswad from the property of the idol, and when al-Mughira had collected its money he told Abu Sufyan that the apostle had ordered him to satisfy these debts thus, and he did so.

The text of the document the apostle wrote for them runs: In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. From Muhammad the prophet, the apostle of God, to the believers: The acacia trees of Wajj (A place in al-Ta'if) and its game are not to be injured. Anyone found doing this will be scourged and his garments confiscated. If he repeats the offence he will be seized and brought to the prophet Muhammad. This is the order of the prophet Muhammad, the apostle of God.' Khalid b. Sa`id has written by the order of the apostle Muhammadd b. Abdullah, so let none repeat the offence to his own injury in what the apostle of God Muhammad has ordered.

196 - ABU BAKR LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE, A.H. 9

The apostle remained there for the rest of the month of Ramadan and Shawwal and Dhu'l-Qa`da. Then he sent Abu Bakr in command of the hajj in the year 9 to enable the Muslims to perform their hajj while the polytheists were at their pilgrimage stations. Abu Bakr and the Muslims duly departed.

A discharge came dowwn permitting the breaking of the agreement between the apostle and the polytheists that none should be kept back from the temple when he came to it, and that none need fear during the sacred month. That was a general agreement to between him and the polutheists; meanwhile there were particular agreements between the apostle and the Arab tribes for specified terms. And there came down about it and about the disaffected who held back from him in the raid on Tabuk, and about what they said (revelations) in which God uncovered the secret thoughts of people who were dissembling. We know the names of some of them of others we do not.He said (A discharge from God and His apostle towards those polytheists with whom you made a treaty,' i.e. those polytheists with whom you made genreal agreement. So travel through the land for four months and know that you cannot escape God and that God will put the

unbelievers to shame. And a proclmation from God and His apostle to men on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His apostle are free from obligation to the polytheists,' i.e. after this pilgrimage. `So if you repent it will be better for you; and if you turn back know that you cannot escape God. Inform those who disbelieve, about a painful, punishment except those polyutheists with whom you have made a treaty,' i.e. the special treaty for a specified term `since they have not come short in anything in regard to you and have not helped anyone against you. So fulfil your treaty with them to their allotted time. God loves the pious. And when the sacred months are passed,' He means the four which he fixed as their time, `then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor tax, then in every ambush. But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor tax then let them go their way. God is forgiving, merciful. If one of the polytheists,' i.e. one of those whom I have ordered you to kill,' `asks your protection, give it him so that he may hear the word of God; then convey him to his place of safety. That is because they are a people who do not know.'

Then He said: How can there be for the polytheists with whom you had a general agreement that they should not put you in fear and that you would not put them in fear neither in the holy places nor in the holy months `a treaty with God and His apostle except for those with whom you made a treaty at the mosque? They were the tribes of B. Bakr who had entered into an agreement with Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya up to the time afreed between the apostle and Quraysh. It was only this clan of Quraysh who had broken it. They were al-Dil of B. Bakr b. Wa'il who had entered agreement of Quraysh. So he was ordered to fulfil the agreement with those of B. Bakr who had not broken it, up to their allotted time. `So long as they are true to you be true to them. God loves the pious.'

Then He said: `And how, if when they have the upper hand of you i.e. the polytheists who have no agreement up to a time under the general agreement with the polytheists they regard not pact or compact in regard to you' (869).

They satisfy you with their lips while their hearts refuse. Most of them are wrongdoers. They have sold the revelations of God for a low price and debarred (men) from His way. Evil is that which they are wont to do. They observe neither pact nor compact with a believer. Those are the transgressors,' i.e,. they have transgressed against you. `But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor tax, then they are your brothers in religion. We make clear the revelations for a people who have knowledge.'

Hakim b. Hakim b. `Abbad b. Hunayf from Abu Ja`far Muhammad b. `Ali told me that when the discharge came down to the apostle after he had sent Abu Bakr to superintend the hajj someone expressed the wish that he would send news of it to Abu Bakr. He said, `None shall transmit it from me but a man of my own house.' Then he summoned `Ali and said: Take this section from
the beginning of The Discharge" and proclaim it to the people on
the day of sacrifice when they assemble at Mina. No unbeliever shall enter paradise, and no polythest shall make pilgrimage after this year and no naked person shall circumambulate the temple. He who has an agreement with the apostle has it for his appointed time (only)`Ali went forth on the apostle's slit eared

camel and overtook Abu Bakr on the way. When Abu Bakr saw him he asked whether he had come to give orders ot to convey them. He said to convey them.' They went on together and Abu Bakr superintended the hajj the Arabs in that year doing as they had done in the heathen period. When the day of sacrifice came Ali arose and proclaimed what the apostle had ordered him to say and he gave the men a period of four months from the date of the proclamation to return to their place of safety or their country: afterwards there was to be no treaty or compact except
for one with whom the apostle had an agreement for a period and he could have it for that period. After that year no polytheist went on pilgrimage or circumambulated the temple naked. Then the two of them returned to the apostle. This was the Discharge in regard to the polytheists who had a general agreement, and those who had a respite for the specified time.

Then the apostle gaave orders to fight the polytheists who broken the special agreement as well as those who had a general agreement after the four months which had been given them as a fixed time, saver that if any one of them showed hostility he should be killed for it. And He said,' ` Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and thought to drive out the apostle and attacked you first ? Do you fear them when God is more worthy to be feared if you are believers ? Fight them! God will punish them by your hands and put them to shame and give you the victory over them and will heal the breasts of a believing people and he will remove the anger of their hearts and God will relent,' i.e. after that towards whom He will, for God is knowwing wise or do you think that you will be left (idle) when God does not yet know those of you who bestir yourselves and choose none for friend but God and His apostle and the believers? God is informed about what you do' (870).

Then He mentioned the words of Quraysh,`We are the people of the sanctuary the waterers of the pilgrims and the tenders of this temple and none is superior to us,' and He said: `He only shall tend God's sanctuaries who believes in God and the last day,' i.e. your tending was not thus. Only those who tend God's sanctuaries means tend them as they ought to be tended who believes in God and the last dasy and performs prayer and pays the poor tax and fears only God i.e. those are its tenders `perhaps those may be the rightly guided.' `Perhaps coming from God means a fact. Then he said: `Would you make the watering of the pilgrims and the tending of the sacred mosque equal to one who believes in God and the last day and fights in the way of God? They are not equal with God.'

Then comes the story of their enemy until he arrives at the mention of Hunayn and what happened there and their turning back from their enemy and how God sent down help after they had abandoned one another. Then He said (v. 28): `The polytheists are nothing but unclean, so let them not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs and if off from us, trade will be destroyed and we shall lose the good things we used to enjoy and God said, `If you fear poverty Gofd will rentich you from His bounty,' i.e. in some other way,`if He will. He is knowing wise. Fight those who do not believe in God and the last day and forbid not that which God and Hids apostle have forbidden and follow not the religion of truth from among those who have

been given the scripture until they pay the poll tax out of hand being humbled i.e. as a compensation for what you fear to lose by the closing of the markets. God gave them compensation for what He cut off from them in their former polytheism by what He gave them by way of poll tax from the people of scripture.

Then He mentioned the two peoples of scripture with their evil and their lines against Him until the words `Many of the rabbis and monks devour men's wealth wickedly and turn men from the way of God. Those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, announce to them a painful punishment.'

Then He mentioned the fixing of the sacred months and the innovations of the Arabs in the matter. Nasi means making profane months which God has declared holy and vice versa. `The number of the months with God is twelve in the book of God on the day He created heaven and earth. Four of them are sacred; that is the standing religion, so wrong not yourselves therein,' i.e. do not make the sacred profane or the profane sacred as the polytheists did. `Postponement (of a sacred month) which they used to practise is excess of infidelity whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred so that they allow that which God has forbidden the evil of their deeds seeming good to them. But God does not guide a disbelieving people.'

Then He mentioned Tabuk and how the Muslims were weighed down by it and exaggerated the diffculty of attacking the Byzantines when the apostle called them to fight them; and the disaffection of some; then how the apostle upbraided them for their behaviour in Islam. God said, `O you who believe, what was the matter with you that when it was said to you,Go forth in the way of God you were weighed down to the earth then as far as His words `He will punish you with a painful punishment and choose a people other then you to the words if you do not help him still God helped him when those who disbelieve drove him out the second of two when the twain were in the cave.'

Then He said to His prophet, mentioning the disaffected: `Had it been a near adventure and a short journey they would have followed you but the long distance weighed upon them. And they will swear by God, Had we been able we would have set forth with you. They destroy themselves, you., Why did you give them leave (to stay behind) before those who told the truth were plain to you and you knew the liars? as far as the words Had they gone forth with you they would have contributed naught but trouble and have hurried about among you seeking to cause sedition among you there being among you some who would have listened to them (871).

Among the men of high standing who asked his permission (to stay behind) according to my information were `Abdullah b. Ubayy b,. Salul and al-Jadd b. Qays. They were nobles among their people and God kept them back because He knew that if they went forth with him they would cause disorder in his army for in the army were men who loved them and would obey them in anything they asked because of their high standing among them. God said: `And among them are some who would have listened to them.and God knows about the evil doers. In the past they sought to cause

sedition,' i.e. before they asked your permission, ` and overturned your affairs i.e. to draw away your companions from you and to frustrate your affair until the truth came and gods command became manifest though they were averse.Of them is he who said, Give me permission (to stay behind) and me not. Have they not fallen into temptation already? The one who said that according to what the apostle called him to war with the Byzantines. Then the account goes on to the words `If they were to find a refuge or caverns or a place to enter they would have turned to it with all speed. And of them is he who defamed you in the matter of alms. If they are given some they are content; but if they are not given some they are enraged,' i.e. their whole aim their satisfaction and their anger are concerned with their worldly life.

Then He explained and specified to whom should be given: Alms are only for the poor and needy and the collectors of it and for those whose hearts are to be won and to free captives and debtors, and for the way of God and for the wayfarer as an ordinance from God and God is knowing wise.'

Then He mentioned their duplicity and their vexing the apostle and said; `And of them are those vex the prophet and say, He is an ear. Say: an ear of good for you who believers in God and is faithful to the believers and a mercy for those of you who believers. There is a painful punishment for those who vex God's apostle.' According to my information the man who said those words was Nabtal b. al-Harith brother of B. `Amrb. `Auf and this verse came down about him because he used to say `Muhammed is only an ear If anyone tells him a thing he believes it.

Then He said, `They swear by God to you to please you but God and His apostle have more right that they should please Him if they are believers (The syntax of this verse is forced and it is probable that some early scribe wrote warasu luhu mechanically). Then He said If you ask them they will say We were but talking and jesting. Say: Do you scoff at God and His signs and His apostle ? as far as the words if we pardon a party of you we will punish a party'. The one who said these words was Wadi`a b. Thabit brother of B. Umayya b. information was Mukhashshin b. Humayyir al-Ashij`i an ally of B. Salima, because he disapproved of what he heard them saying.

The description of them continues to the words, `O prophet fight the unbelievers and disaffected and deal roughly with them. Their abode is hell an evil resting place. They swear by God that they did not say it nut they did say the word of unbelief and disbelieved after their Islam and planned what they could not attain. They sought revenge only because God and His apostle had enriched them from His bounty to the words no friend and no helper; The one Who said these words was al-Julas b. Suwayd b, Samit and a man of his family called Umayr b, Sa`d reported them and he deneied that he had said them and swore an oath by God. But When the Quran came down concerning them he repented and changed his mind. His repentance and his state became excellent as I have heard.

Then He said,`And of them is he who made a covenant with God: If He gives us of His bounty we will give alms and become of the righteous'. The ones who made a

covenant with God were Tha`laba b. Hatib and Mu`attib b. Qushayr, both of B. `Amr b. `Auf.

Then He said Those who defame such of the believers as give freelu in alms and sucjh as can only give their efforts and scoff at them god will scoff at them and they will have a painful punishment.'The believers who freely gaave alms were `Abdu'l Rahman b. `Auf and `Asim b, `Adiy, brother of B. `Ajlan because the apostle incited and urged men to almsgiving. `Abdu'l Rahman arose and gave 4000 dirhams and `Asim arose and gave 100 loads of dates and they defamed them and said `This is nothing but ostentation,' The man who gave in alms all jhe could was Abu `Aqil brother of B. Unayf who brought a measure of daaut3es and cast it all into the alms. They laughed at him saying, `God can do without Abu `Aqil's paltry measure.'

Then He mentioned what they said one to another when the apostle ordered war and the expedition to Tabuk in great heat and sterile conditions. `They said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is much hotter did you but understand. But let them laygh a little and weep much as far as the works and let not their wealth and children astonish you

Al-Zuhri from `Ubaydullah b, `Abdullah b, `Utba from b. `Abbas said i heard umar saying when abdullah b, ubayy died the apostle was called to pray over him and when he went and stood by him about to pray i changed mu position so as to confront him and said ``Are you going to pray over gods enemy`Abdullah b. Ubayy, the man who said so-and-so on such said ``Get behind me, `Umar i have been given the choice and i have chosen.it was said to me ask pardon for them or ank it not. If you ask pardon for them seventy times god will not pardon them'. Did i know that if i added to the seventy he would be forgiven i would addthereto." Then he prayed over him and walked with him till he stood over his grave until he was disposed of. I was astonished at muself and my boldness when god and his apostle know best. It was not long before these two verses came down ``And never pray for any one of them who dies and died as evil doers." Afterwards the apostle never prayed over a disaffected person until the day of his death.'

Then he said: `And when a Sura is sent down Believe in Gods and strive along with his apostle men of wealth among them asked your permission (to stay behind) Ibn Ubayy was one of them and God upbraided him for it then He said; But the apostle and those who believe with him strive with their wealth and their lives; for them are the good things; they are the successful. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow wherein they shall abide for ever; that is the great triumph and the excuse offering Bedouin came to ask leave and those who disbelieved God and His apostle stayed at home to the end of the
account. the men with excuses so I have heard were a number of B.Ghifar among whom was Khufaf b. Ayma b. Rahada. He goes on with the story of these to the words nor to those who when they came
to you to mount them you said I cannot find a beast in which to mount you turned back their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they could not find the wherewithal to spend. ``Those were the weepers.

Then He said:``The way (of blame) is only against those who asked leave they being rich. They wanted to be with the women. God sealed their hearts and they do not know'. ``The Khawalif were the women. Then he mentioned their oath and their excuse to the Muslims and said ``Turn away from them to his words and if you are satisfied with them God will not be satisfied with an evil people.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin and the disaffected among them and how they waited for (the discomfiture of) the apostle and the believers `And of the Bedouin there is he who regards what is spent i.e. of the alms or expenses in the way of God `as a tax and awaits evil fortune for you. The evil fortune will be theirs and God is hearing knowing .'

Then He mentioned the sincere and faithful Bedouin among them and said: `And of the Bedouin there is he who believes in God and the last day and regards what he spends and the prayers of the apostle as acceptable offerings with God. It is an acceptable offering for them.'

Then He mentioned the first emigrants and helpers and their merit and the goodly reward which God promised them. Then he joined with them their later followers in goodness and He said God is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him .' Then He said: `And of the Bedouin round you there are the disaffected,' i.e. persist in it and refuse to be otherwise we shall punish them twice the punishment with which God theratened them twice according to my information is their grief over their position in Islam and their inward rage when they getting a (heavenly) reward; then their punishment in the grave when they get there; then the great punishment to which they will be brought the punishment of hell eternally. Then He said: `And there are others who acknowledged their will relent towaards them for He is f0orgiving merciful.'

Then he said ``Take alms from their wealth wherewith to purify and clense them to the end of the passage. Then he said `And there are others who are piostponed to Gods decree; either He will punish them or relent towards them.' They are the three who were left in abeyance and the apostle postponed their case until their forgivenes came from God. Then he said `And as for those who chose a mosque out of oopposition to the end of the passage. Then he said: `God has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth for the garden that will be theirs.' Then comes the narrative dealing with Tabuk to the end of the chapter.

In the time of the prophet and afterwards Bara 'a was called al-Muba-`thira (Cf. Sura 82.4 and 100.9) because it laid bare the secret thoughts og men. Tabuk was the last raid that the apostle made.

197 - THE POETRY OF HASSAN ENUMERATING THE BATTLES

Hassan b. Thabit enumerating the battles and campaigns in which the Ansar fought in company with the apostle, said:(872).

Am I not best of Ma`add in family and tribe (S. explains that Hassan who was not of Ma`add means men in general and says `Ma`add' because of their great number.
If all of them be reckoned and counted?
A people of whom witnessed Badr with the apostle
Neither falling short nor deserting.
They gave him their fealty, not one betrayed it,
And there was no deceit in their plighted word.
On the day when in the glen of Uhud
Well-aimed blows blazing like a hot fire met them
And the day of Dhu Qarad when dust rose above them as they rode
They did not flinch nor fear.
At Dhu'l `Ushayra they overrode them with the apostle
Armed with sword and spear.
At Waddan they drove out its people
Galloping along till hill and mountain stopped us.
And the night when they sought their enemy for God's sake
(And God will reward them for what they did)
And the raid on Najd where with the apostle '
They gained much spoil and booty
'And the night in Hunayn when they fought with him
He gave them a second taste of combat.
And the raid of al-Qa when we scattered the enemy
As camelks are scattered before their drinking place
They were the people who paid him homage'
To the point of war - they succoured him and left him not.
In the raid on Mecca they were on Guard his troops
Neither light-minded nor hasty.
At Khaybar they were in his squadron
Each man walking like a hero facing death'
With swords quivering in their right hands
Sometimes bent through striking, sometimes staraight.
The day the apostle went to Tabuk seeking God's reward
They were his first standard bearers.
They had the conduct of war if it seemed good to them
Until advance or retreat seemed the best.
Those are the people, the prophet's Ansar,
And they are my people-to them I belong when my descent is searched.
They died honourably, faith unbroken,
And when they were killed it was for God's sake (873).

Hassan also said:

We were kings of men before Muhammad'
And when Islam came we had the superiority
God the only God honoured us with
Bygone days that have no parallel

In our help to God and His apostle and His religion
And God has given us a name which has no equal.
Those people of mine are the best of all people
Whatever is counted good my people are worthy of it
And the way to their generosity is never barted.
When men come to their assemblies they do not behave unseemly,
Nor are they mean when asked for a gift.
They are inimitable in war and peace.
To fight them is death; to ,make peace ease.
Their sojourner's house is high and inaccessible.
If one of them assumes a debt he pays it.
Without staying with us he enjoys respect and hospitality. If one of them assumes a debt he pays it
Without defaulting or running into debt.
He who speaks speaks the truth,
Their clemency is constant their judgement just.
He whom the Muslims trusted while he lived (Sa`d b. Mu`adh according to A. Dh).
And he whom the angels (The word generally rendered apostles' The story of Hanzala has been given above, p.377).washed of his impurity were of us (874).

Hassan also said:

These are my people if you ask,
generous when a guest arrives
Large are the cooking pots for the gamesters
Wherein they cook the fat humped camel.
They give the sojourner a life of plenty'
And protect their friend when he is wronged
They were kings in their lands'
They call for the sword when injustice is flagrant (Another reading is they display anger)
They were kings over men-never by others
Have they been ruled even for a short time
Tell (Or,`They told',&c.) about `Ad and its peopls:
Of Thamud and the survivors of Iram
Of Yathrib where they had built forts among the palms
And cattle were housed there
Watering camels which the Jews trained
Saying, Off with you and Come !
They had what they wanted of wine and pleasure '
An easy life free of care.
We came to them with our equipment
On our white war loving camels;
Beside them we led war horses
Covered with thick leather '
When we halted on the sides of Sirar (A mountain at Medina)
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes

They were scared by the speed of the horses '
And the sudden attack from the rear.
They fled swiftly in terror
As we came on them like lions of the jungle
On our long,carefully tended mares
which were not out of condition from stabling
Dark bays spirited
Strong jointed like arrows,
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors
And ro smiting down brane foes;
Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land'Never retreating but always advancing
We came back with their leading men '
And their women and children also were divided among the victors.
We inherited their houses when they had gone '
And remained there as owners'
When the rightly guided when they had gone'
And light after darkness
We said,`You speak the truth, O God's apostle;
Come and dwell with us.
We bear witness that you are the slave of God
Sent in light woth an u[roght religion.
We and our children are a protection for you
And our wealth is at your disposal (Act as a judge in our (or property)
Such are we if others give you the lie'
So shrink not from proclaiming aloud Proclaim what you have hidden
Openly without concealing it,
The erring ones came with their swords
We attacked them with our swords
Fighting the miscreants of the peoples in his defence
With our brightly polished swords
Fine edged biting cutting
When they encountered hard bones
They did not recoil or become blunted
Such have our nobles bequeathed us'
In ancestral glory and proud fame
When one passes another takes his place '
And he leaves a scion when he dies.
There is none who is not indebted to us,
Though he may have been disloyal (875).

198 - THE YEAR OF THE DEPUTATIONS,A.H.9

When the apostle had gained possession of Mecca,and had finished with Tabuk, and surrendered and paid homage, deputations from the Arabs came to him all directions (876).

In deciding their attitude to Islam the Arabs were only waiting to see what happened to this clan of Quraysh and the apostle. For Quraysh were the leaders and guides of men the people of the sacred temple and the pure stock of Ishmael son of Abraham; and the leading Arabs did not contest this, It weas Qurayan who had declared war on the apostle and opposed him;and when Mecca was occupied and Quraysh became subject to him and when subdued it to islam, and the Arabs knew that they could not fight the apostle or display enmity towards him they entered into God's religion in batches' ,as God said coming to him from all directions. God said to His prophet: `When God's help came and the victory and you saw men entering into God's religion in batches then glorify God with praise and ask His pardon for He is most forgiving,;(Sura 110. For criticism of this translation (demanded by l.l.'s exegesis) and of l.l's explanation see Suhayli in loc) i.e. praise God for His having made your religion victorious, and ask His pardon, for He is most forgiving.

199 - THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF BANU TAMIM

Then deputation of Arabs came to the apostle. There came to him `utarid b. Hajib b. Zurara b. `Udus al-Tamimi among the nobles of B. Tamim including al-`Ahram `b. Habis and al-Zibriqan b. Badr one of B. Sa'd and `Amr b. al Ahtam and al-Habhab b. Zayd (877).

And in the deputation of B. Tamim were Nu`aym b. Yazid and Qays b. al-Harith and Qays ab. `Asim brother of B. Sa`d with a great deputation from B. Tamim 9878). With them was `Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazari.

Al-aqra `and `Uyayna had been with the apostle at the occupation of Mecca and Hunayn and al-Ta'if and when the deputation came they were among them. When the deputation entered the mosque they called out to the aqpostle who was behind in his private apartments,`Come out to us, Muhammad ! This loud call annoyed the apostle and he came out to them and they said `Muhammad we have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and orator.' The apostle did so and `utarid b. Hajib got up and said:

`Praise belongs to God for His favour to us and He is worthy to be praised who has made us kings and given wealth wherewith we are generous and has made us the strongest people of the east and the greatest in number, and the best equipped, so who among mankind is our equal ? Are we not the princes of men and their superiors ? He who would complete with us let him enumerate what we have enumerated. If we wished we could say more,but we are too modest to say much of what he has given us and are well known for that. I say this that you may bring forward the like and anything better', Then he sat down. The apostle said to Thabit b.Qays b. al-Shammas brother of B. al-Harith b, al-Khazraj,`Get yp and answer the man's speech'; so Thabit got up and said:

`Praise belongs to God who created heaven and earth and established His rule therein, and His knowledge includes His

throne; nothing exists but by His bounty.By His power He made us kings and chose the best of his creation as an apostle and honoured him with lineage made him truthful in speech, and favoured him with reputation and sent down to him his book and entrusted him with it above (all) that he had created. he was God's choice from the worlds. Then he summoned men to believe in him and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and his kinsmen believed in God's apostle; the most noble men in reputation the highest in dignity and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and respond to God when the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the assistants of His apostle and will fight men until they believe in God unceasingly and killing him will be a small matter to us. These are my words and I ask God's pardon for myself and the believers both men and women. Peace upon you.'

(T. Then they said,`Give permission to our poet to speak' and he did so) and al-Zibriqan got up and said:

We are the nobles no tribe can equal us.
From us kings are born and in our midst churches are built. How many tribes have we plundered,
For excellence in glory is to be sought after.
In time of dearth we feed our meat to the hungey
When no rain cloud can be seen.
You can see chiefs coming to us from every land
And we feed them lavishly.
We slaughter fat-humped young camels as a matter of course;
Guests when they come are satisfied with food
You will see whenever we challenge a tribe's superiority
They yield and abandon leadership (Lit.`become as a head that is cut off)
He who challenges us we know the result:
His people withdraw and the news is noised abroad.
We forbid others but none forbid us.
Thus we are justly exalted in pride (879).

Hassan wwas absent at the time and the apostle sent a messenger to tell him to come and answer the B. Tamim's poet. Hassan said,As I went to the apostle I was saying:

We protected God's apostle when he dwelt among us
Whether Ma`add liked it or not.
We protected him when he dwelt among our houses
With our swords against every evil wretch
In a unique house whose glory and wealth
Is in Jabiyatu'l Jaulan among the foreigners
Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?

When I came to the apostle and the tribal poet had said his say I made allusions to what he had said on the same pattern , When al-Zibriqan had finished the apostle said to Hassan,`Get up and answer the man.' and Hassan arose and said:

The leaders of Fihr and their brothers
Have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone whose heart is devout
And does all manner of good approves them
Such a people when they fight injure their enemies
Or gain the advantange of their adherents which they seek
Such is their nature -no recent habit
(The worst of characteristics is innovation).
If there are men who surpass those who come after them
Then they would be behind the last of them
Men do not repair what their hands have destroyed in fighting
Nor destroy what they have repaired
If they compete with others they take the lead
If weighed against men famous for liberality they send down the scale
Chaste men whose chastity is mentioned in revelation
Undefiled no impurity can injure them
Not mean with their wealth towards the sojourner
And no station of covetosness touches them
When we attack a tribe we do not go soflty to them
Like a calf running to the wild cow
We rise up when the claws of war reach us
When good for naughts are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast when they overcome their enemy,
And if they are beaten they are not weak nor despairing
In battle when death is at hand
They are like lions in Halya with crooked claws
Take what you can get if they are enraged
And seek not what they have forbidden
To fight them is to meet poison and bane So do not antagonize them
How noble the people who have God's apostle with them (Rasulu llahi shi atuhum)
When sects and parties differ !
My heart sings their praises
Aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all creatures
In matters grave and gay (880).

When Hassan had ended al-Aqra said `By nmy father this man had a ready helper. His orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are sweeter ( So c.(ahla) W. has a`la rise above ours) than ours,' In the end they accepted Islam and the apostle gave them valuable gifts.

They had left `Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their camels he being the youngest of them. Qays b. Asim who hated `Amr said `O apostle of God there is one of our men with the camels a mere youngster and he spoke disparagingly of him. But the apostle gave him same as he gave the others. When `Amr heard that Qays had said that he satirized him thus:

You exposed yourself to contempt when you defamed metothe apostle
You were a liar and spoke not the truth
(T,You may hata us for Roman is your origin
But Rome does not hold hatried for the Arabs).
We ruled you with a wide authority but your authority
Is that of one sitting on his behind and showing his teeth (i.e. a dog. In T 1717 the verse runs:
We ruled and our authority is ancient but your authority
Is behind at the root of the rump and the tail
If we may suppose that there is a play on the word aud which should be read as `ud and understood as a synonym of qadib (cf ibn Tufayl Hayy b, Yaqzam 85)it is easy to see why l.H. cut out one verse and bowdlerized the next) (881).

Concerning them the Quran came down: Those who call you from behind the private apartments most of them have no sense (T has ```Those of the Banu Tamim who call you from behind the private apartments have no sense" and that is the preterable reading'. Sura 49.

200 - THE STORY OF `AMIR B. AL-TUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS

Among the deputation from B. `Amir b. al-Tufayl and Arbad b. Qays b. Jaz b. Khalid b. Ja`far and Jabbar b. Salma b. Malik b Ja`far These three were the chiefs and leaders of the tribe.

`Amir the enemy of God (Cf Wellhausen,Muhammed in Medina,387
came to the apostle intending to kill him treacherously. His people had urged him to accept Islam because others had done so but he said: I have sworn that i will not stop until the Arabs follow me. Am I to follow in the steps of this fellow from Quraysh ? Then he said to Arbad: `When we got to the man I will distract his attention from you and when I do that smite him with your sword'. When they got to the apostle `Amir said `Muhammad, come apart with me ( A less likely meaning as the commentators point out is `make friends with me'.) He replied `No, I will not until you believe in God alone'.He repeated the request and went on talking to him expecting that Arbad would do as he had told him remained inactive. He again repeated his request and got the same answer " `O God rid me of `Amkir b. al - Tufayl'. On their way back `Amir said to Arbad,`Confound you Arbad why didno't you do what I ordered ? By God there is no man on the face of the earth whom I fear more than you, but by God I shall never fear you after today.' He answered `Don't be hasty with me. Whenveer I tried to get at him as you ordered, you got in the way so that I could see only. Was I so smite you with the sword?

(T. `Amir b. al-Tufayl said:

The apostle sent word about what you know and it was as though
We were making a planned raid on the squadrons
And our worn-out horses had brought us to Medina
And we had killed the Ansar in its midst.)

As they were on their way back God sent a bubonic plague in `Amir's neck, and God killed him in the house of a woman of B. Salul. He began to say, `O Banu Amir, A boil like the boil of a young camel in the house of a woman of Banu Salul!'(882) (These words are proverbial; see Freytag, Prov ii 172.)

When they had buried him his companions returned to the B. Amir country to winter and the people asked Arbad what had happened. `Nothing, by God,' he said; `he asked us to worship something. I wish he were here now and I would kill him with an arrow.' A day or two after saying this he went out with his camel behind him and God sent on him and his camel a thunderbolt which consumed them. Arbad was brother of Labid b. Rabi'a by the same mother (883).

Labid said, weeping Arbad:
The fates spare none,
Neither anxious father nor son
I feared a violent death for Arbad
But I did not fear the blow of Pisces and Leo.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
Since we and the women rise in sorrow?
If men blustered he took no notice,
If they were moderate in judgement he showed moderation.
Sweet, astute, withal in his sweetness bitter,
Gentle in bowels and liver.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
When the winter winds strip the leaves from the trees
And make pregnant camels milkless
Until the last few drops appear? (He was)
Bolder than a man-eating lion in his thicket,
Eager for fame and far seeing.
The eye could not see as far as it wished
The night the horses came weak from the battle.
Who sent the mourning-women among his mourners
Like young gazelles in a barren land.
The lightning and thunderbolts distressed me
For the brave knight on the day of misfortune.
Who spoiled the spoiler to repay the spoiled
Who came to him distressed and if he asked for more he gave it;
Liberal when times were bad
As the gentle spring rain that waters the grass.

All sons of a freewoman must become few
However many she bare.
Envied though they be, they must fall;
Though they hold authority one day they must perish and die (884).

Labid also said:

Gone is the guard and protector
Who saved her from shame on the day of battle.
I was sure we had parted (for ever) the day they said,
`Arbad's property is being divided by lot.'
The shares of the heirs fly off in double and single lots
And authority (Another explanation of za'ama is the best of the inheritance'.
Bid farewell to Abu Hurayz with a blessing.
Though farewell to Arbad brings little of that.
You were our leader and organizer,
For beads must be held together by a string;
And Arbad was a warlike knight
When the howdahs with their coverings were overthrown;
When in the morning the women were carried pillion
With faces unveiled and legs bare;
On that day men fled to him for safety
As a man at large flees to the sanctuary.
He who came to Arbad's cooking-pot praised it
And those who had much meat were not reproached.
If a woman were his guest
She had gifts and a share of the best meat;
If she stayed she was honoured and respected;
If she went forth `twas with a kind farewell.
Have you ever heard of two brothers who endured for ever
Save the two sons of Shamam? (Two mountains.)

Or the two stars of the polar region and the Great Bear
Everlasting, their destruction unthinkable. (In Brockelmann's edn. the poem (xviii) has 31 verses. The text in Chalidi, p.17 is in better sequence.)

Labid also said:

Announce to the noble the death of noble Arbad,
Announce the death of the chief, the kind-hearted,
Giving away his wealth that he might gain praise,
Camels like wild untamed cows,
Abundant in virtues if they were reckoned,
Who filled the platter again and again
Whenever a poor man came he ate at will.
As when a lion finds water in a dry land.

The more he is threatened the nearer he comes.
You have left us no paltry inheritence,
And wealth newly acquired and sons,
Youths like hawks, young men, and beardless boys.

Labid also said:

You will never exhaust the good deeds of Arbad, so weep for him continually.
Say, He was the protecting warrior when armour was donned.
He kept wrong-doers from us when we met insolent enemies.
The Lord of creation took him away since He saw there was no long stay on earth.
He died painlessly without hurt and he is sorely missed.

Labid also said:

Every bitter opponent whose way seemed harmful reminds me of
Arbad.
If they were fair, then he was nobly fair:if they were unfair so was he.
He guided the people carefully when their guide went astray in the desert (885).

Labid also said:

I went walking after (the death of) Salma b. Malik
And Abu Qays and `Urwa like a camel whose hump is cut off. (By its starving owners in their hunger.)
When it sees the shadow of a raven it shoos it away
Anxious for the rest of its spine and sinews (886).

201 - THE COMING OF DIMAM B. THA`LABA AS A DEPUTY FROM BANU SA`D B. BAKR

The B. Sa`d b. Bakr sent one of their men called Dimam b. Tha`laba to the apostle. Muhammad b. al-Walid b. Nuwayfi` from Kurayb client of `Abdullah b. `Abbas from Ibn `Abbas told me: When the B. Sa'd sent Dimam to the apostle he came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, and went into the mosque where the apostle was sitting with his companions. Now Dimam was a thickset hairy man with two forelocks. He came forward until he stood over the apostle and said, `Are you Muhammad?' he asked. When he said that he was he said, `O son of `Abdu'l Muttalib, I am going to ask what he liked and he would not take it amiss.' The apostle told him to ask what he liked and he would not take it amiss and he said, `I adjure you by God your God of those before you and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you to us as an apostle?' `Yes, by God He has,' he replied. He then adjured him to answer the questions. `Has He ordered you to order us to serve Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to discard those rival deities which our fathers used to worship

along with Him; and to pray these five prayers; then the ordinances of Islam one by one, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam?' At the end he said: `I testify that there is no God but Allah and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God, and I will carry out these ordinances, and I will avoid what you have forbidden me to do; I will neither add to, nor diminish from them.' Then he went back to his camel. The apostle said,`If this man with the two forelocks is sincere he will go to Paradise.'

The man went to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and went off to his people, and when they gathered to him the first thing he said was, `How evil are al-Lat and al-Uzza! (The expression may have a coarser meaning.) `Heavens above, Dimam,' they said, `beware of leprosy and elephantiasis and madness!' He said: `Woe to you, they can neither hurt nor heal. God has sent an apostle and sent down to him a book, so seek deliverance thereby from your present state; as for me, I bear witness that there is no God but the one God who is without associate, and that Muhammad is His slave and apostle. I have brought you what He has commanded you to do and what He has ordered you not to do.' And by God before the night was over there was not a man or woman in the tribe who had not become a Muslim. Abdullah b. Abbas said: We have never heard of a representative of a tribe finer than Dimam b. Tha'laba.

202 - THE COMING OF AL-JARUD IN THE DEPUTATION FROM `ABDU'L-QAYS

Al-Jarud b. Amr b. Hanash, brother of `Abdu'l-Qays, came to the apostle (887).

One of whom I have no suspicion told me from al-Hasan that when he came to the apostle he spoke to him, and the apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to enter it with kindly words. He replied: `Muhammad I owe a debt. If I leave my religion for yours will you guarantee my debt?' The apostle said, `Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that', so he and his companions accepted Islam. Then he asked the apostle for some mounts, but he told him that he had none available. Al-Jarud pointed out that there were some stray beasts lying between Medina and his country and could he not ride away on them? He replied, `No, beware of them, for that would lead to hell fire.'

Al-Jarud went off to his own tribe, a good Muslim, firm in his religion until his death, having lived to the time of the Apostasy. And when some of his people who had become Muslims returned to their former religion with al-Gharur (According to S. his name of `The Deceiver' because he misled (gharra) his people in the apostate rising.) b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu`man b. al-Mundhir, al-Jarud got up and spoke and confessed his faith and called them to Islam. He pronounced the shahada and declared that he would regard anyone who refused to do likewise as an infidel (888).

The apostle had sent al-`Ala' b. al-Hadrami to al-Mundhir b. Sawa al-`Abdi before the conquest of Mecca, and he became a good Muslim. He died after the apostle but before the apostasy of the people of al-Bahrayn. Al-`Ala' was with him as governor for the apostle over al-Bahrayn.

203 - THE DEPUTATION FROM BANU HANIFA WITH WHOM WAS MUSAYLIMA

The deputation of B. Hanifa came to the apostle bringing with them Musaylima b. Habib al-Hanafi, the arch liar (889). They lodged in the house of d. al-Harith, a woman of the Ansar of B. al-Najjar. One of the scholars of Medina told me that B. Hanifa brought him to the apostle hiding him in garments. The apostle was sitting among his companions having a palm-branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he came to the apostle as they were covering him with garments he spoke to him and asked him (for a gift). The apostle answered: `If you were to ask me for this palm branch (T. which I hold) I would not give it to you.'

A shaykh of B. Hanifa from the people of al-Yamama told me that the incident happened otherwise. He alleged that the deputation came to the apostle having left Musaylima behind with the camels and the baggage. When they had accepted Islam they remembered where he was, and told the apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff. The apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff. The apostle ordered that he should be given the same as the rest, saying, `His position is no worse than yours,' i.e. in minding the property of his companions. That is what the apostle meant.

Then they left the apostle and brought him what he had given him. When they reached al-Yamama the enemy of God apostatized, gave himself out as a prophet, and played the liar. He said,`I am a partner with him in the affair,' and then he said to the deputation who had been with him, `Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him "His position is no worse than yours"? What can that mean but that he knows that I am a partner with him in the affair?' Then he began to utter rythmes in saj and speak in imitation of the style of the Quran: `God has been gracious to the pregnant woman; He has brought forth from her a living being that can move; from her very midst.' He permitted them to drink wine and fornicate, and let them dispense with prayer, yet he was acknowledging the apostle as a prophet, and Hanifa agreed with him on that. But God knows what the truth was.

204 - ZAYDU'L-KHAYL COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION FROM TAYYI'

The deputation of Tayyi' containing Zaydu'l-khayl who was their chief came to the apostle, and after some conversation he explained Islam to them and they became good Muslims. A man of Tayyi' whom I have no reason to suspect told me that the apostle said, `No Arab has ever been spoken of in the highest terms but when I have met him I have found that he falls below what was said of him except Zaydu'l-khayl, and he exceeds all that has been said about him.' Then the apostle named him Zaydu'l-Khayr and alloted to him Fayd and some lands with it and gave him a deed accordingly.

As Zayd went back to hhis tribe th e apostle said that he hoped he would escape the Medina fever. The apostle did not call it Humma or Umm Maldam; my informant could

not say what. When he reached oone of the watering-places of Najd called Farda the fever overcame him and he died. When he felt his end coming he said:

Are my people to travel eastwards tomorrow
While I'm to be felt in a house in Farda in Najd?
How often if I were sick would women visit me
If not worn out by the journey at least tired.

When he was dead his wife got the deeds which the apostle had given him and burnt them in the fire.

205 - `ADIY B. HATIM

I have been told that `Adiy b. Hatim used to say, `No Arab disliked the apostle when he first heard of him more than I. Now I was a chief of noble birth a chirstian, and I used to travel about among my people to collect a quarter of their stock. I was my own master in religious matters and was a king among my people and treated as such. When I heard of the apostle I disliked him and said to an Arab servant of mine who was looking after my camels, "Prepare some of my well-trained, well-fed camels, and keep them near me, and when you hear of Muhammad's army coming into this country bring me word." One morning he came to me and said, "Whatever you are going to do when Muhammad's cavalry comes upon you, do it now, for I have seen flags and I learn that they are the troops of Muhammad." I ordered him to bring my camels and I put my family and children on them and decided to join my fellow christians in Syria. I went as far as al-Jaushiya (890) and I left one of Hatim's daughters in the settlement. When I reached Syria I stopped there.

In my absence the apostle's cavalry came and among the captives they took was Hatim's daughter, and she was brought to the apostle among the captives of Tayyi'. The apostle had heard of my flight to Syria. Hatim's daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque in which the captives were imprisoned and the apostle passed by her. She got up to meet him, for she was a courteous woman, and said, `O apostle of God, my father is dead and the man who should act for me (I doubt if wafid means visitor as A.Dh. followed by C., asserts, or `clan'as Qamus, s.v., Uyym ii, 239, quoted in T. 1708 reports that some scholars find the word meaningless and its explanation far-fetched. See Tab. Gloss) has gone. If you spare me God will spare you.' He asked her who her man was and when she told him it was `Adiy b. Hatim he exclaimed, `The man who runs away from God and His apostle.' Then he went on and left her. Exactly the same thing happened the next day, and on the following day she was in despair. Then a man behind him motioned to her to get up and speak to him. She said the same words as before and he replied, "I have done so, but do do not hurry away until you find one of your people whom you can trust who can take you to you country, then let me know." I asked the name of the man who had beckoned to me to speak and was told that it was `Ali. I stayed until some riders came from Bali or Quda'a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the apostle and told him that some trustworthy man of reputation from

my people had come for me. The apostle gave me clothing and put me on a camel and gave me money and I went away with them until I came to Syria.

`Adiy said: `I was sitting among my people when I saw a howdah making for us and I said "It is Hatim's daughter" and so it was, and when she got to me she reviled me, saying, `You evil rascal, you carried awaay your family and children and abondoned your father's daughter.' I said, "Do not say anything that is bad, little sister, for by God I have no excuse. I did do what you say." Then she alighted and stayed with me; and as she was a discreet woman I asked her what she thought of this man and she said, "I think that you should join him quickly, for if the man is a prophet then those who get to him first will be preferred; and if he is a king you will not be shamed in the glory of al-Yaman, you being the man you are." I said that this was a sound judgement so I went to the apostle when he was in his mosque in Medina and saluted him and told him my name and he got up to take me to his house. As we were making for it there met him an old feeble woman who asked him to stop and he stopped for a long time while she told him of her needs. I said to myself "This is no king." Then he took me into his house and took hold of a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to me saying, "Sit on that." I said, "No you sit on it," and he said "No You!" So I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to my self, "This is not the way a king behaves." Then he said, "Now Adiy, are you not half a Christian?" (Rakusi is defined as a man midway between a Christian and a Sabi' which latter, as we have seen, means a man who changes his religion. Thus Adiy would seem to be, like so many of the Arabs at this time, a convert but not a practising Christian in the full sense.) When I said that I was he said, "Don't you go among your people collecting a quarter of their stock?" When I admitted that he said: "But that is not permitted to you in your religion." "Quite true," I said, and I knew that he was a prophet sent by God knowing what is not generally known. Then he said, "It may well be that the poverty you see prevents you from joining this religion but, by God, wealth will soon flow so copiously among them that there will not be the people to take it. But perhaps it is that you see how many are their enemies and how few they are? But, by God, you will hear of a woman coming on her camel from Qadisiya to visit this temple (The words imply the Ka'ba at Mecca and the next paragraaph makes this certain. As the conversation is said to have taken place in Medina the authenticity of the tradition is suspect, unless hadha means no more than yon'.)unafraid. But perhaps it is that you see that others have the power and sovereignty, but by God will soon hear that the white castles of Babylon have been opened to them." The I became a Muslim.'

`Adiy used to say that the two things happened and the third remained to be fulfilled. I saw the white castles of Babylon laid open and I saw women coming from Qadisiya on camels unafraid to make the pilgrimage to this temple; and, by God, the third will come to pass: wealth will flow until there will not be the people to take it.

206 - THE COMING OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURADI

Farwa b. Musayk al-Muradi came to the apostle, separating himself from thee kings of Kinda. Shortly before Islam there had been a battle between Murad and Hamdan in

which the former suffered a severe defeat, losing many men in the engagement called al-Radm (T. al-Razm). The leader of Hamdan was al-Ajda b. Malik (891).

Farwa said about the battle:

They passed by Lufat (In Murad territory)with sunken eyes
Tugging at the reins as they turned to one side.
If we conquer we were conquerors of old
And if we are conquered we were not often conquered.
Cowardice is not our habit,
But our fate and the fortune of others (caused our defeat).
Thus fate's wheel turns
Now for and now against a man.
While we are happy and rejoice in it,
Though we have enjoyed its favour for years,
Suddently fate's wheel is turned
And you find those who were envied ground to pieces.
Those whom men envy for fate's favours
Will find time's changes deceitful.
If kings were immortal we should be so;
And if the noble persisted so should we;
But the chiefs of my people are swept away
Like the generations before them (892)

When Farwa set out to go to the apostle, leaving the kings of Kinda, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kinda had failed to go right,
Like a man whose leg sinew lets him down,
I brought up my camel to go Muhammad
Hoping for its welfare and good ground (893).

When he reached the apostle he asked him, so I have been told, `Are you upset at what befell your people on the day of al-Radm?' He answered that such a tribal defeat as that would distress any man, and the apostle said that if that were so Islam could bring them only good. The prophet appointed him governor over Murad and Zubayd and Madhhij and sent with him Khalid b Sa`id b. al-`As in charge of the poor tax; he remained with him in his land until the death of the apostle.

207 - THE COMING OF MA`DIKARIB FROM THE BANU ZUBAYD

Amr b. Ma'dikarib came to the apostle with some men of B. Zubayd and accepted Islam. He had said to Qays b. Makshuh al-Muradi when news of the apostle reached them, `You are the chief of your tribe, Qays. We have heard that a man of Quraysh called Muhammad has appeared in the Hijaz claiming to be a prophet, so come with us so that we may find out the facts. If he is a prophet as he says, it will be apparent to you and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is not a prophet we shall know.' But Qays

refused and declared his advice to be folly. Thereupon `Amr rode off to the apostle and accepted Islam. When Qays heard of this he was enraged and threatened `Amr, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his advice. `Amr said concerning that:

I gave you an order on the day of Dhu San`a',
An order that was plainly right.
I ordered you to fear God and to practise goodness.
You went off after pleasure like a young ass
Whose lust beguiled him.
He wished to meet me on a horse on which I sat as a lion
Wearing a loose coat of mail glittering like a pool
On hard ground which makes the water clear.
Mail that turns back the lances with bent points
With broken shafts flying apart.
Had you met me you would have met a lion with flowing mane.
You would meet a ravening beast
With mighty paws and lofty shoulders
Matching his adversary whom he overthrows if he makes for him:
Seizes him, picks him up, throws him down and kills him; Dashes out his brains and shatters him;
Tears him in pieces and devours him,
Admitting none a share in the prey his teeth and claws hold fast (894).

`Amr stayed with his people the B. Zubayd while Farwa B. Musayk was over them. When the apostle died` Amr revolted, and said:

We have found Farwa's rule the worst of rules,
An ass sniffing at a female ass.
If you were to took at Abu `Umayr
You would think he was a caul with its filthy discharge (895).

208 - AL-ASH`ATH B. QAYS COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION OF KINDA

Al-Ash`ath B. Qays came to the apostle with the deputation of Kinda. Al-Zuhri told me that he came with eighty riders from Kinda and they went in to the apostle in the mosque. They had combed their locks and blackened their eyes with Kohl,and they wore striped tobes bordered with silk. The apsotle asked them if they had accepted Islam and when they said that they had he asked why this silk was round their necks. So they tore it off and threw it away.

Then al-Ash`ash said, `We are the sons of the eater of bitter herbs and so are you.' The apostle smiled and said that to al-`Abbas b. `Abdu'l Muttalib and Rabi`a b. al-Harith that ancestry was attributed. These two men were merchants and when they went about among the Arabs and were asked who they were they would say that they were sons of the eater of bitter herbs, talking pride in that because Kinda were kings. Then he said to them,`Nay,we are the sons of al-Nadr b. Kinana: we do not follow our mother's line and

disown our father (This throws light on Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Arabia). Al-Ash ath said `Have you finished (T. Do you know) O men of Kinda? By God if I hear a man saying that (T. after today) I will give him eighty strokes'(896).

209 - THE COMING OF SURAD B. `ABDULLAH AL-AZDI

Surad came to the apostle and became a good Muslim with the deputation from al-Azd. The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam and ordered him to fight the neighbouring polytheists from the tribes of the Yaman with them. Surad went away to carry out the apostle's orders and stopped at Jurash, Which at that time was a closed town containing some of the tribes of the Yamanb. Khath`am had taken refuge with them and entered it when they heard of the approach of the Musliks. The latter besieged them for about a month, but they could not force an entry. Surad withdrew as far as one of their mountains (now) called shakar and the inhabirtants of Jurash, thinking that he had fled from,went they overtook him he tured on them and killed a large number of them.

Now the people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the apostle in Medina to look about them and see (what was happening), and while they were with the apostle after the afternoon prayer he asked where Shakar was. The two men got up and told him that there was a mountain in their country called Kashar by the people of Jurash to which he replied that it was not Kashar but Shakar. `Then what is the news of it? they asked.`Victims offered to God are being killed there now,' he said. The two men went and set with Abu Bakr or it may have been `Uthman and he said, `Woe to you ! the apostle has just announced to you the death of your people so get up and ask him to pray to God to spare your people.' They did so, and he did so pray. They
left the apostle and returned to their people and found that they had been smitten on the day that Surad attacked them on the very day and at the very hour in which the apostle said these words.

The deputation of Jurash came to the apostle and accepted Islam and he gave them a special reserve (The old word hima meaning a sacred area, has lost its force here) round their town with definite marks for horses,riding camels, and ploughing oxem. The cattle of any (other) man who pastured it could be seized with impunity. One of the Azd in refernce to that raid said: (Khath`am used to assail Azd in pagan times and attack them in the secred month):

What a successful raid we had! Mules, and horses and asses.
Until we came to Himyar with its forts
Where Khath`am had been given full warning.
If I could satisfy the rancour I feel
I should not care whether they were Muslims or heathen.

210 - THE DEPUTATION OF THE KINGS OF HIMYAR

On his return from Tabuk a messenger brought a letter from the kings of Himyar with their acceptance of Islam: al-Harith b. `Abdu Kulal, and Nu`aym b. `Abdu Kulal, and al Nu`man prince of Dhu Ru`aynb and Ma`afir and Hamdan. Zur`a Dhu Yazan sent Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi with their submission to Islam and abandonment of polytheism and its adherents. Then the apostle wrote to then: `In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful from Muhammad the apostle of God the prophet to al Harith b. Abdu Kulal and to Nu`aym b. `Abdu Kulal (Bal. 71 adds and to Sharh b. `Abdu Kulal and omits all words after `Hamdan as far is `polytheists') and to al Nu`man prince of Dhu Ru`ayn and Ma`afir and Hamdan. I praise God the only God unto you. Your messenger reached me on my return from the land of the Byzantines and he met us is Medina and conveyed your message and your news and informed us of your Islam and of your killing the polytheists. God has guided you with His guidance If you do well and obey God and His apostle and perform prayer and pay alms, and God's fifth of booty and the apostle's share and selected part (i.e.the part he choose as his before the property is divided) and the poor tax which is incumbent on believers from land, namely a tithe of that watered by fountains and rain; of that watered by the bucket a twentieth; for every forty camels a sheep; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten bucket a twentieth for every forty camels a milch camel; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten camels two sheep for every forty cows one cow for every thirty cows a bull calf or a cow calf for every forty sheep at pasture one sheep. This is what God has laid upon the believers. Anyone who does more it is to his merit. He who fulfils this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the believers against the polytheists he is a believer with a believer's rights and and obligations and he has the guarantee of God and His apostle. If a Jew or a Christian becomes a Muslim he is a believer with his rights and obligations. He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned (T. seduced) from it. He must pay the poll tax-for every adult, male or female free or slave one full dinar calculated on the valuation of Ma`afir (T. or its value) or its equivalent in clothes. He who pays that to God's aposytle has the guarantee of God and His apostle, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God His apostle.

`The apostle of God,Mushammad the prophet, has sent to Zura Dhu Yazan: When my messenger Mu`adh b. Jabal and `Abdullah b. Zayd and Malik b. `Uqba b. Nimr and Malik b., Murra and their companions come to you I commed them to your good offices. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your provinces and hand them over to my messengers. Their leader is Mu`adh b. Jabal and let not return unless satisfied. Muhammad witnesses that there is no God but Allah and that he is His servant and apostle.

Malik b. Murra al-Rahawi has told me that you were first of Himyar to accept Islam and have killed the polytheists and i congratulate you and order you to treat Himyar well and not to be false and treacherous for the apostle of God is the friend both of your poor and your rich. The alms tax is not lawful to Muhammad or his household it is alms to be given to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Malik has brought the news and kept secret what is confidential and I order you to treat him well I have sent to you some of the best of my people religious and learned men and i order you to treat them well for they must

be respected (A difficult expression Perhaps they are people of importance or even they will be watched', i.e. to see how they fare). Peace upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'

211 - THE APOSTLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MU`ADH WHEN HE SENT HIM TO THE YAMAN

`Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that when the apostle sent Mu`adh he gave him instrctions and orders and then said: Deal gently and not harshly; announce good news and do not repel people. You are going to one of the people with scripture who will ask you about the key of heaven. Say to them it is the witness that there is no God but Allah who has no partner, Mu`adh went off to the Yaman and did as he was ordered and a woman came to him and said, `O companion of God's apostle, what rights has a husband over his wife? He said `Woe to you a woman can never fulfil her husband's rights so do your utmost to fulfil his claims as best you can.' She said, `By God, if you are the companion of God's apostle you must know what rights a husband has over his wife! He said ,`if you were to go back and find him with his nostrils running with pus and blood and sucked until you got rid of them you would not you fulfilled your obligation (Suhayli offers no comment)

212 - FARWA B. `AMR AL-JUDHAMI BECOMES A MUSLIM

Farwa b. `Amr b. al-Nafiora al-Judhami of the clan Nufatha sent to the apostle that he had accepted Islam and gave him a white mule. Farwa was governor for the Byzantions of the Arabs lying near the Byzanrine border based on Ma`an and the surrounding land of Syria. When the news reached the Byzantines they went after him, caught him and imprisoned him. In his imprisonment he said:

Sulayama came to my companions by night
When the Romans were between the door and the water troughs.
The spectre shrank away sad at what it saw
And I thought to sleep but it had made me weep
Paint not thine eye with Kohl Salma after I am dead
And do not approach for intercourse
You know Abu Kubaysha that among the great ones
My tongue is not silet.
If I perish you will miss your brother
And if I live will recognize my rank
For I possess the noblest qualities a man can have:
Generosity, bravery, and eloquence.

When the Byzantines determinted to crucify him be a pool in Palestine called `Afra he said:

He Salma heard that her husband

Is by the water of `Afra raised on a riding camel (The following line makes the point clear)
A camel whose mother no stallion e'er mounted,
Its branches shorn with sickles?

Al-Zuhri alleged that when they brought him to crucify him he said:

Tell the chiefs of the Muslims that I
Surrender to my Lord my body and my bones.

Then they beheaded him and hung him up by that water. May God have mercy on him!

213 - THE BANU'L-HARITH ACCEPT ISLAM

Then they apostle sent Khalid b. al-Walid in the month of Rabi`ul -Akhir or Jumadal-Ula in the year 10 to the B. al-Harith b. Ka`b in Najran and ordered him invite them to Islam three days before he attacked them. If they accepted then he was to accept it form them; (After these words T has `And stay with them and teach them the book of God and the sunna of the prophet and the institutions of Islam.' It looks as if these words had fallen out of I.H.'s recension (unless he deliberately excised them and that he wrote in the clause beginning for that which T omits. Clearly one of them is redundant and the passage in T. rewards more smoothly. The words to stay with them in Khalid's letter are given by C.. not by W) and if they declined he was to fight them. So Khalid set out and came to them and sent out riders in all directions inviting the people to Islam saying,` `If you accept Islam you will be safe,' so the men accepted Islam as they were invited. Khalid stayed with them teaching them Islam and the book of God and the sunna of His prophet, for that was what the apostle of God had ordered him to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight (After these words T has `And stay with them and teach them the book of God and the sunna of the prophet and the institutions of Islam.' It looks as if these words had fallen out of I.H.'s recension (unless he deliberately excised them and that he wrote in the clause beginning for that which T omits. Clearly one of them is redundant and the passage in T. reads more smoothy. The words to stay with them in Khalid's letter are given by C.. not by W).

Then Khalid wrote to the apostle: In the name of God the compassion ate, the merciful. To Muhammed the prophet the apostle of God. From Khalid b. al-Walid. Peace be upon you. O apostle of God and God's mercy and blessings. I praise God the only God unto you. You sent me to the B. al-Harith b. Ka`b and ordered me when I came to them not to fight them for three days and to invite them to Islam: and if they accepted it to stay with them and to accept it from them and teach the institutions of Islam, the book of God, and the sunna of His prophet.

And if they did not surrender I was to fight them. I duly came to them and invited them to Islam three days as the apostle ordered me, and I sent riders among them with your message. They have surrendered and have not fought and I am staying among them instructing them in the apostle's positive and negative commands and teaching them the

institutions of Islam and the prophet's sunna until the apostle writes to me. Peace upon you &c.

The apostle wrote to him with the same preamble as before saying; `I have received your letter which came with your messenger telling me that the B. al-Harith surrendered before you fought them and responded to your invitation to Islam and pronounced the shahada and that God had guided them with His guidance. So promise them good and warn them and come. And let their deputation come with you. Peace upon you &c.

So Khalid came to the apostle with the deputation of B. al-Harith among whom were Qays b. al-Husayn Dhu'l Ghussa, and Yazid b. `Abdu'l -Madan and Yazid b. al-Muhajjal and `Abdullah b, Qurad al-Ziyadi and Shaddad b. `Abdullah al-Qanani and Amr b. `Abdullah al-Dibabi.

When they came to the apostle he asked who these people who looked like Indians were and was told that they were the B. al-Harith b. Ka`b. When they came to the apostle they said, `We testify that you are the apostle of God and the there is no God but Allah.' But he said,' `And I testify that there is no God but Allah and that i am the apostle of Allah (They had placed man before God) Then he said You are the people who when they were driven away pushed forward', and they remained silent and none of them answered him. He repeated the words three times without getting an answer and the fourth time Yazid b. Abdu'l -Madan said `Yes we are,' and said it four times. The apostle said If Khalid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not fought I would throw your heads beneath your feet. Yazid answered `We do not praise you and we do not praise Khalid,' Then whom do you praise? he asked he said we praise God who guided us by you are right,' he said and asked them how they used to conquer those they fought in the pagan period. They said that they never conquered anyone. Nay but you did conquer those who fought you,' he said. They replied, `We used to conquer those we fought because we were united and had no dissentients and never began an injustice.'He said,`You are right,' and he appointed Qays b. al-Husayn as their leader.

The depution returned to their people towards the end of Shawwal or at the beginning of Dhu'l -Qa`das and some four months after their return the apostle died.

Now the apostle had sent to them after deputation had returned `Amr b. Hazm to iustitutions of Islam and to collect their alms; and he wrote him a letter in which he gave him his orders and injunctions as follows; in the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. This is a clear announcement from God and His apostle. O you who believe be faithful to your agreements (Sura 5.1) The instruction of Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God to `Amr b. Hazam when he sent him to the Yaman. He orders him to observe piety to God in all his doings for God is with those who arew pious and who do well (Sura 16.128) and he commanded him to behave with truth as God commanded him; and that he should give people the good news and command them to follow it and to teach men the Quran and instruct them in it and to forbid men to do wrong so that none but the pure should touch the Quran and should instruct men in their pri vileges and obligations and be lenient to them when they behave aright and severe on injustice for

God hates injustice and has forbidden it. The curse of God is on the evildoers (Sura 5.1) Give men the good news of paradise and the way to men so that they may ne instructed in religion and teach men the rites of the hajj its customs and its obligation and what God has ordered about it: the greater hajj is the greater hajj and the lesser hajj is the `umra; and prohibit men from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends are double over their shoulders and forbid men from squatting in one garment which exposes their person to the air and forbid then to twist the hair of the head (T. if it is long) on the back of the neck (i.e;. to wear a pigtail) and if there is a quarrel between men forbid them to appeal to tribes and families and let their appeal to be God they who do not appeal to God but to tribes and familes let them be smitten with the sword until their appeal is made to God and command men to perform the ablutions their faces and their hands to the elbows and their feet to the ankles and let them wipe their heads as God has ordered and command prayer at the proper time with bowing prostration and humble reverence prayer at daybreak, at noon when the sun declines in the afternoon when the sun is descending at even when the night approaches not delaying it until the stars appeart in the sky later at the beginning of the night order them to run to the mosques when they are summoned and to wash when they go to them and order them to take from the booty God's fifth and what alms are enjoined on the Muslims from land -a tithe of what the fountains water (T. the ba`al waters) (Here undountedly T. and Bal 70 retain the original text. For the original sense of Baal's land see W Robertson Smith Religion of the Semiters pp 98 f. Probably it means land watered by underground streams) and the sky waters and a twentieth of what the bucket waters; and for every ten camels two sheep and for every twenty camels four sheep
for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull or cow calf; for every forty sheep at grass one sheep this is what God has enjoined on the believers in the matter of alms. He who adds thereto it is a merit to him. A Jew or a Christan who becomes a sincere Muslim of his own accord and obeys the religion of Islam is a believer with the same rights and the same obligations. If one of them holds fast to his religion he is not to be turned (T. seduced) from it. Every adult male or female, bond or free, must pay a golden diner or its equivalent in clothes. He who performs this has the guarantee of God and His apostle ; he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostel and all believers.

214 - THE COMING OF RIFA`A B. ZAYD AL-JUDHAMI

Rafa`a Zayd al-Juhami of the clan of al Dubayd came to the apostle during the armistice of al Hudaybiya before Khaybar, ,He gave the apostle a slave and he became a good Muslim. The apostle gave him a letter to his people in which he wrote (I have omiitted the introductory formula).

To Rifa a ab, Zayd whom I have sent to his people and those who have joined them to invite them toi God and His apostle. Whosoever comes forward is of the party of God His apostle and whosoever turns back has two months grace.

215 - THE LIARS MUSAYLIMA AL-HANAFI AND AL-ASWAD AL-`ANSI

Now the two arch-liars Musaylima b. Habinb abd al-Aswad b, Ka`b al `Absi had spoken during the apostle's lifetime, the first in al Yamama among the B. Hanifa and the second in San'a. Yazid b. `Abdullah b. Qusayt told me from ate b yasar or his brother sulayman from anu said al khudri saying I heard the apostle as he was addressing the people from his pulpit say ``I saw the night of al qadr and then I was made to forget it; and I saw on my arms two bracelets of gold which I disliked so I blew on them and they flew away. I interpreted it to mean these two liars the man of al Yamam and the man of al Yamam."

One whom I do not suspect on the authority of Abu Hurayra said; `I heard the apostle say: The hour will not come until thirty antichrists come forth, each of them claiming to be a prophet.'

216 - THE SENDING OUT OF COLLECTORS OF THE POOR-TAX

The apostle sent out his officials and representatives to every district subject to Islam to collect the poor tax. He sent al Muhajir b. Abu Umayya b. al Mughira to sana and al-`Ansi came out against him while he was there. Ziyad b. Labid, brother of B. Bayada al-Ansari he sent to Hadramaut. `Adiy b. Hatim he sent to Taayyi and B. Asad; Malik b. Nuwayra (898), to B. Hanzala. The poor-tax of B. Sa'd divided between two men: Zibriqan b. Badr and Qays b. `Asim each to be ub charge of a section al `Ala b. al Hadrami to al Bahraym and `Ali b. `Abu Talib to the people of Najiran to collect the poor tax and to superintend the collection of the poll-tax.

217 - MUSAYLIMA'S LETTER AND THE APOSTLE'S ANSWER THERETO

Musaylima had written to the apostle: `From Musaylima the apostle of God Muhammad the apostle of God. Peace upon you. I have been made partner with you in authority. To us belongs half the land and to Quraysh half, but Quraysh are a hostile people.' Two messengers brought this letter.

A shaykh of Ashja `told me on the authority of salma b. Nu`aym b. Mas`ud al-Asja`i from his father Nu`aym: I heard the apostle saying to them when he read his letter `What do you say about it? They said that they said the same as Musaylima. He replied, `By God were it not that hearlds are not to be killed i would behead the pair of you ! Then he wrote to Musaylima; `From Muhammad the apostle of God to Musaylima the liar. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance (Cf.Sura 20.49). The earth is God's. He lets whom He will of His creatures inherit it and the result is to the pious. (Cf Sura 7.125) This was at the end of the year 10.

218 - THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

In the beginning of Dhu'l -Qa`daa the apostle prepared to make the pilgrimage and ordered the men to get ready.

`Abdu'l -Rahman b. al`-Qasim from his father al-Qasim b. Muhammad from `A'isha the prophet's wife told me that the went on pilgrimage on the 25th Dhu'l Qa`da (899).

Neither he nor the men spoke of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was in Sarif and had brought the victims with him as also some dignitaries had done he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments except those who brought victims. That day my menses were upon me and he came in to me as I was weeping and asked me what ailed me guessing correctly what was the matter. I told him he was right and said I wised to God
that I had not come out with him on the journey this year. He said (T. Don't do that) `Don't say that for you can do all that the pilgrims who had no sacrificial victim and his wives took off the pilgrim garment. When the day of sacrifice came I was sent a lot of beef and it was put in my house. When I asked what it was they said that the apostle had sacrificed cows on behalf of his wives. When the night that the pebbles were thrown duly came the apostle sent me along with my brother `Abdu'l Rahman and let me perform the `umra from al-Tan`im in place of the `urma which I had missed.

Nafi`, client of `Abdullah b. `Umar from `Abdullah, from Hafsa d. `Umar said that when the apostle ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments they asked him what prevented him from doing the same and he said; `I have sent on my victims and have matted (labbadtu is explained in the Nithaya of Ibnu'l Athir as a sort of gum that is put on the hair to prevent it becoming dishevelled and lousy) my hair, but I shall not be free of the ihram until I slaughter my victims'.

`Abdullah b. Abu Najih tols me that the apostle had sent `Ali to Najiran and met him in Mecca when he was still in a state of ihram. He went in to Fatima the apostle's daughter and found her dressed in her ordinary clothes. When he asked why, she told him that the apostle had ordered his wives so to do. Then he went to the apostle and reported the reported the result of his journey and he told him to go and circumambulate the temple and remove the pilgrim garb as the others had done. He said that he wanted to slaughter a victim as the apostle did. The apostle again told him to remove the pilgrim garb. He replied: `I said when I put on the pilgrim garb.``O God I will invoke thy name over a victim as your prophet and your slave and your apostle Muhammad does." When he asked him if he had a victim he said that he had not and the apostle gave him a share in his, So he retained the pilgrim garb with the apostle until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the apostle slaughtered the victim on behalf of them both.

Yahya b. `Abdullah b. `Abdu'l Rahman b. Abu `Amra from Yazid b. Tallha b. Yazid b. Rukana told me that when `Ali came from the Yaman to meet the apostle in Meeca he hurried to him left in charge of his army one of his companions who went and covered every man in the force with clothes from the linen `Ali had, When the army approached he went out to meet them and found them dressed in the clothes. When he asked when on earth had happened the man said that he had dressed the men so that they might off the clothes before they mingled with the people. He told him to take off the clothes before they came to the apostle and they did so and put them back among the spoil. The army showed resentment at their treatment.

`Abdullah b. `Abdu'l Rahman b. Ma`mar b. Hazm from Sulayman b. Muhammad b. Ka`b b. `Ujra from his aunt Zaynab d, Ka`b who was married to Abu Sa'id al-Khudri on the authority of the latter told me that when the men complained of `Ali the apostle arose to address them and he heard him say: `Do not blame `Ali for he is too scrupulous in the things of God, or in the way of God, to be blamed.'

Then the apostle continued his pilgrimage and showed the men the rites and taught them the customs of their hajj (Cf Musa b. `Uqba,NO.17) He made a speech in which he made things clear. He praised and glorified God then he said: `O men listen to my words. I do not know whether I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year, Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works. I have told you. He who has a pledge let him return it to him who extrusted him with it all usury is abolished but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of `Abbas b,. `Abdu'l Muttalib is abolished all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of b. Rabia al Harith b,. Abdul Muttalib (who was fastered among the B. Layth and whom Hudhayl killed) It is the first blood shed in the pagan period which I deal with. Satan despairs of ever being worshipped in your land but if he can be obeyed in anything short of worship he will be pleased in matters you may be disposed to think of little account so beware of him in your religion whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has allowed. so that they permit what God has forbidden and forbid what God has allwoed"'(Sura 9.37) Time has completed its cycle and is as it was on the day that God has created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with God is twelve; four of them are sacred three consecutive and the Rajab of Mudar (A Dh explains that it was so caalled because Mudar used to treat it as sacred while other Arabs did not. (I suspect that in Bronnle's editten P.449, takhdumuhu is a mistake for tuharrimuhu) which is between Jumada and Sha`ban.

You have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. You have the right that they should not defile your bed and that they shloud not behave with open unseemliness. If they do, God allows you to put them in separate rooms and to beat them but not with severity. If they refrain from these things they have the right to their and clothing with kindness. Lay injunctions on women kindly for they are prisoners withyou having no control of their persons. You have taken them only as a trust from God (bi amanati llah. This is a difficult phrase. It is probably to be understood in the sense of Sura 8.27 and particularly 33.72 where the Quranic commentators differ widely. See lane, 102a). and you have the enjoyment of their persons by the words of God so understand (T. and listen to) my words, O men for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error-a plain indication the book of God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say.

Know that every Muslim is a Muslim's brother and that the Muslims are brethren. It is only Lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. O God, have I not told you ?

I was told the men `O God, `yes,' and the apostle said `O God bear witness.'

Yahya b.`Abbad b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that the man who used to act as crier for the apostle when he was on `Arafa was Rabi`a b. Umayya b. Khalaf. The apostle said to him,Say; O men, the apostle of God says Do you know what month this is ? and they would say the holy month. Then he said,`Say to them God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this month. Do you know what country this is ? And they said The holy land and he said the same as before. Do you know what day this is? and they said the day of the greaat hajj, and he said the same again.

Layth b. Abu Sulaym from Shahr b,.Haushab al-Ash `ari from `Amr b. Kharija told me; `Attab b. Usayd sent me to the apostle on a matter while the apostle was standing on `Arafa. I came to him and stood beneath his camel and its foam was falling on my head. I heard him say:`God has assigned to everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not lawful. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father or a client a master who is not his master on him rests the curse of God the angels,and men everywhere. God will not receive from him compersatory atonement, however great.'

`Abdullah b. Abu Majih told me that when the apostle stood on `Arafa he said, `This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all `Arafa is a station.' When he stood on Quzah on the morning of al Muzadalifa he Said,`This is the station.and al-Muzdalifa is a station."Then when he had slasughtered in the slaughtering lace in Mina he said This is the slaughtering place and all Mina is a alaughtering place.' The apostle complected the hajj and showed men the rites and taught them what God had precribed as to their hajj the station the throwing of stones the circumambulation of the temple and what he had permitted and forbidden it was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of farewell because the apostle did not go on pilgrimage after that.

219 - THE SENDING OF USAMA B. ZAYD TO PALESTINE

Then the apostle returned and stopped in Medina for the rest of Dha'l Hijja, Muharram, and Safar. He ordered the people to make an expedition to Syria and put over them Usama b. Zayd b: Harith his freed slave He ordered him to lead his cavalry into the territory of the Balqa and al-Darum in the land of Palestine. The men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usams (900).

220 - MESSENGERS SENT TO THE VARIOUS KINGDOMS

(T.As to I I according to what I Hamid alleged and told

us saying that Salama had it from him, he said: The apostle had out some of his compaions in different directions to the kings of the Arabs and the non Arabs inviting them to Islam in the period between al-Hudaybiya and his death).

Yazid b. Abu Habib al-Misri told me that he found a document in which was a memorandum (T. the names) of those the apostle sent to the countries and kings of the Arabs and non Arabs and what he said to his companions when he sent them. I sent it to Muhammad b. Shihab al-Zuhri (T.with a trusty countryman of his) and he recognized it. It contained the statement that the apostle went out to his companions and said; `God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so take a message from me God have mercy on you. Do not hung back from me ( Or perhaps,`differ in your response to me').as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.' They asked how they had hung back and he said, `He called them to a task similar to that to which I have called you. Those who had to go a short journey were pleased and accepted; those who had a long journey before them were displeased and refused to go, and Jesus complained of them to God. (T. From that very night) every one of them was able to speak the language of the people to whom he was sent.' (T.Jesus said `This is a thing which God has determined that you should do so go)

Those whom Jesus son of Mary sent both disciples and those who came after them in the land were: Peter the disciple and Paul with him (Paul belonged to the followers and was not a disciple) to Rome; Andrew and Matthew to the land of the cannibals; Thomas to the land of Babel which is in the land of the east Philip to Carthage which is Africa; John to Ephesus the city of the young men of the cave; James to Jerusalem which is Aelia the city of the sanctuary; Bartholomew to Arabia which is the land of the HIjaz; Simon to the land of the Berbers; Judah who is the one of the disciples was put in the place of Judas. (The forms of the names shows that the source waas Greek. It is probably came to I I through Syriac)

(T. Then the apostle divided his companions and sent Salit b. `Amr b. `Abdu Shams b. `Abdu Wudd, brother of B. `Amir b. Lu'ayy to Haudha b. `Ali ruler of al-Yamama al `Ala b. al-Hadrami to al-Mundhir b. Sawa brother of B. `Abdu'l Qays ruler of al- Bahrayn; `Amr b. al-As to Jayfar b. Julanda and `Abbad his brother the Asdis rulers of Uman; Hatib b. Abu Balta to the Muqauqis ruler of Alexandria. He handed over to him the apostle's letter and the Muqauqis gave to the apostle four slavce girls one of whom was Mary mother of Ibrahim the apostle's son; Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi al-Khazraji he sent to sent to Caesar who was Heraclius king of Rome. When he came to him with the apostle's letter he looked at it and then put it between his things and his ribs)(From this point to the summary of the prophet's raids T's extracts,pp 1560f.from the lost work of I.I are given. Doubtless I.H. omitted them for the reasons given in his Introduction)

(T. Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from `Ubaaydullah b. `Abdullah b. `Utba b. Mas `ud from `Abdullah b, Abbas from Sufyan b. Harb told me, saying, `We were a merchant people and the war between us and the apostle had shut us in until our goods were stale. When there was armistice betweeen us we felt sure that we should be safe. So I went out with a

number of Quraysh merchants so Syria making for Gaza. We got there when Heraclius had conquered the Persians who were in his territory and driven them out and recaptured from them his great cross which they had plundered. When he had thus got the better of them and heard that his cross had been recovered he came out from Hims which was his headquarters walking on foot in thanks to God for what he had restored to him so that he could pray in the holy city (The cross was recovered from the Persians by Heraclius in A.D. 628) Carpets were spread for him and aromatic herbs were thrown on them. When he came to Aelia and had finished praying there with his patricians and the Roman nobles he become sorrowful turning his eyes to heaven and his patricians said,``You have become very sorrowful this morning,O king"He said ``Yes in a vision of the night I saw kingdom of a circumcised man victorous." They said that they did not know a people who circumcised themselves except the Jews and they were under his sovereignty. They recommended him to send orders to everyone of authority in his dominions to behead every Jew and thus rid himself of his anxiety. And by God as they were trying to induce him to do this lo the messenger of the governor of Busra came in leading a man while the princes were exchanging news and said ``This man `O king is from the Arabs people of sheep and camels. He speaks of something wonderful that has happened in his country, so ask him about it" Accordingly the king asked his interpreter to inquire what had happened and the man said,"A man appeared among us alleging that he was a prophet. Some followed and believed him; others opposed him Fights between them occureed in Many places and I left them thus." When he had given his news the king told them to strip him they did so and lo he had given circumcised. Heraclius said, ``This by God is the vision I saw; not what you say. Give him his clothes. Be off with you," Then he summoned his chief of police and told him to turn Syria upside down until he broght him a man of the people of that man meaning the prophet. We were in Gaza when the chief of police came down upon us asking if we were of the people of this man in the Hijaz; and learning that we were he told us to come to the king and when we came to him he asked if we were of the clan of this man and which was the nearest of kin to him. I said that I was and by God I have never seen a man whom I consider more shrewd than that uncircumcised man, meaning Heraclius, He told me to approach and sat me in front of him with my companions behind me. Then he said,`I will interrogate him and if he lies confute him," But, by God if I were to lie they could not confute me. But I am a man of high birth too houourable to lie and I knew that it was only too easy for them, if I lied to him, to remember it against me and to repeat it in my name, so I did not lie to him. He said, ``Tell me about this man who has appeared among you making these claims." I began to belittle him and to speak; disparagingly of his affair and to say, ``Don't let him cause you anxiety; his importance is less than you have heard," but he took no heed. Then he said, ``Tell me what I ask you about him." I told him to ask what he liked and he asked about his lineage among us. I told him it was pure; our best lineage.Then he asked if any of his house had made the same claims which he was copying. When I said,` No heasked if he possessed any sovereignty among us which we had robbed him of and had he made this claim so that we might return it to him? Again I said No. Then he asked about the character of his followers. I told him that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and young women; not one of the elders and nobles of his people followed him loved him.Then he asked whether those who followed him loved him and struck to him or despied him and left him, and I told that none of his followers had left him. Then he

asked about the war between us and him. I said that its fortunes varied. Then he asked if he was treacherous. This was the only question of his which I found fault with. I said No, and that while we had an armistice with him we did not fear treachery; but he paid no attention to what I said. Then he summed up and said: " I asked you about his lineage and you alleged that it was pure and of your best and God chooses only a man of the noblest lineage as a prophet. Then I asked if he had been robbed of dominion and made this claim to recover it, and you said No. Then I asked you about his followers and you said that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and women, and such have been the followers of the prophets in all ages. Then I asked if his followers left him and you said None. Thus is the sweetness of faith: it does not enter the heart and depart. Then I asked if he was treacherous and you said No; and truly if you have told me the truth about him he will conquer me on the ground that is beneath my feet, and I wish that I were with him that I might wash his feet. Go about your business.' So I got up rubbing my hands together and saying that the affair of Ibn Abu Kabsha had become great in that the kings of the Greeks dreaded him in their sovereignty in Syria. The apostle's letter with Dihya b. Khalifa la-Kalbi came to him saying, "If you accept Islam you will be safe; if you accept Islam God will give you a double reward; if you turn back the sin of the husbandmen (This appears to be an allusion to Matt xxi. 33 f.) will be upon you," i.e. the burden of it.'

From al-Zuhri from `Ubaydullah from `Abdullah b. `Utba from Ibn `Abbas, who said: Abu Sufyan b. Harb told me practically the same story. Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he met a Christian bishop in the time of `Abdul'l-Malik b. Marwan who told him that he knew about the affair of the apostle and Heraclius and understood it. When the apostle's letter by Dihya came to him he took it and put it between his thighs and his ribs. Then he wrote to a man in Rome (i.e. Constantinople.) who used to read in Hebrew what they read telling him about his affair and describing his circumstances and telling him about what had come from him. The man in Rome replied that he is the prophet whom we expect: there is no doubt about it, so follow him and believe in him. So Heraclius ordered the Roman generals to assemble in a room and commanded that the doors should be fastened. Then he looked down on them from an upper chamber (for he was afraid of them) and said: `O Romans, I have brought you together for a good purpose. This man has written me a letter summoning me to his religion. By God, he is truly the prophet whom we expect and find in our books, so come and let us follow him and believe in him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.' As one man they uttered cries of disgust and ran to the doors to get out, but found them bolted. He ordered that they should be brought back to him, fearing for his life, and said: `I spoke these words that I spoke these words that I might see the firmness of your religion in face of what has happened, and I am delighted with what I have seen of your behaviour.' They fell down in obeisance and he ordered that the doors should be opened and they went off.

A traditionist said that Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalifa when he brought the apostle's letter: `Alas, I know that your master is a prophet sent (by God) and that it is whom we expect and find in our book, but I go in fear of my life from the Romans; but for that I would follow him. Go to Daghatir the bishop and tell him about your master, for he is greater among the Romans than I, and his word counts for more than mine. See

what he says to you.' So Dihya went and told him about what he had brought from the apostle and of his invitation to Heraclius. Daghatir said: `Your master is a prophet who has been sent; we know him by his description, and we find him mentioned by name in our scriptures.' Then he went and discarded his black clothes and put on white garments and took his staff and went out to the Romans who were in church and said: `O Romans, a letter has come to us from Ahmad in which he calls us to God and I bear witness that there is no God Allah and that Ahmad is his slave and apostle.' They leapt upon him with one accord and beat him until he was dead. When Dihya returned to Heraclius and told him the news he said: `I told you that we feared death at their hands and Daghatir was greater among them and his word counted for more than mine.'

From Khalid b. Yasar from one of the first people of Syria: When Heraclius wanted to go from Syria to Constantinople when he heard about the apostle he gathered the Romans together and said: 'I am laying before you some matters which I want to carry out. You know that this man is a prophet who has been sent; we find him in our book; wee know him by his description, so come and let us follow him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.' They said, `Are we to be under the hands of the Arabs when we are a people with a greater kingdom, a larger population, and a finer country!' He said, `Come and I will pay him the poll-tax every year and avert his onslaught and get rest from war by the money I pay him.' They replied, `Are we to pay the low and insignificant Arabs a tax when we are more numerous, with greater sovereignty and a stronger country? By God, we will never do it.' He said, `Then come and let me make peace with him on condition that I give him the land of Syria while he leaves me the land of Sha'm.' Syria with them meant Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Hims, and what is below the Pass of the land of Syria, (These are precisely the boundaries of Sha'm in the early days of the Arab conquest. Yazid I added the jund of Qinnisrin. The Pass (darb) may mean that over Amanus or the Taurus or the Cilician Gates.) while what was beyond the Pass meant Sha'm. They said, `Are we to give him the land of Syria, when you know that it is the navel of Sha'm? By God, wee will never do it.' At this refusal he said, `You will see that you will be conquered when you protect yourselves against him in your province.' Then he got on his mule and rode off until he looked down on the Pass facing Sha'm and said, `Farewell for the last time, O land of Syria.' Then he rode off rapidly to Constantinople.

The apostle sent Shuja` b. Wahb, brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma, to al-Mundhir b. al-Harith b. Abu Shimr al-Ghassani, lord of Damascus.

(T. vvia Salama: The apostle sent `Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus about Ja'far b. Abu Talib and his companions and sent a letter with him...`From Muhammad the apostle of God to the Negus al-Asham king of Abyssinia, Peace. I praise Allah unto you the King, the Holy, the Peace, the Faithful, the Watcher, (An extract from Sura 59.23) and I bear witness that Jesus son of Mary is the spirit of God and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God created him from His spirit of God and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God created him from His spirit of God and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God

created him from His spirit and His breathing as He created Adam by His hand and His breathing. I call you to God the Unique without partner and to His obedience, and to follow me and to believe in that which came to me, for I am the apostle of God. I have sent to you my nephew Ja'far with a number of Muslims, and when they come to you entertain them without haughtiness, for I invite you and your armies to God. I have accomplished (my work) and my admonitions, so receive my advice. Peace upon all those that follow true guidance.'

The Negus replied: ... `From the Negus al-Asham b. Abjar, Peace upon you, O prophet of Allah, and mercy and blessing from Allah beside Whom there is no God, who has guided me to Islam. I have received your letter in which you mention the matter of Jesus and by the Lord of heaven and earth he is not one scrap more than what you say. We know that with which you were sent to us and we have entertained your nephew and his companions. I testify that you are fealty to you and to your nephew and I have surrendered myself through him to the Lord of the worlds. I have sent to you my son Arha. I have control only over myself and if you wish me to come to you, O apostle of God, I will do so. I bear witness that what you say is true'.

I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Abyssinians by boat, and when they were in the middle of the sea the boat foundered and they all perished.) (It will be seen that there is no isnad for this tradition. I.H. has dealt with it in his summary to this section. I have omitted T. 1574. 4-1575.5 because it is unintelligible without the preceding story from Yazid b. Abu Habib which evidently ran parallel with what I.I had said.)

(T. via Salama. From `Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from al-Zuhri from Abu Salama from `Abdu'l-Rahman b. `Auf. `Abdullah b. Hudhafa brought the apostle's letter to Chosroes and when he had read it he tore it up. When the apostle heard that he had torn his letter up he said, `His kingdom will be torn in pieces.')

(T. via yazid b. Abu Habib. Then Chosroes wrote to Badhan, who was governor of the Yaman, `Send two stout fellows to this man in the Hijaz and tell them to bring him to me.' So Badhan sent his steward Babawayh who was a skilled scribe with a Persian called Kharkhasrah to carry a letter to the apostle ordering him to go with them to Chosroes. He told Babawayh to go to this man's country and speak to him and then found some men of Quraysh in (wadi) Nakhb and inquired about him. They told them that he was in Medina. They rejoiced at meeting these men, saying, `This is good news, for Chosroes king of kings is moved against the man and you will be rid of him.'

The two men came to the apostle and Babawayh told him that Shahanshah king of kings Chosroes had written to the governor (malik) Badhan ordering him to send men to bring him to him and that they had been sent to take him away. If he obeyed, Badhan would write to the king of kings on his behalf and keep him from him; but if he refused to come he knew what sort of man he was: he would destroy his people and lay waste his country. They had come in to the apostle's presence with shaven beards and long

moustaches, so that he could not bear to look at them. He advanced on them and said, `Who ordered you to do this?' To which they replied, `Our Lord' meaning Chosroes. The apostle answered, `But my Lord has ordered me to let my beard grow long and to cut my moustache.' Then he told them to come back in the morning.

News came from heaven to the apostle to the effect that God had given Shirawayh power over his father Chosroes and he had killed him on a certain night of certain month at a certain hour.
Thereupon he summoned them and told them. They said: `Do you know you are saying? We can take revenge on you. What is easier? Shall we write this as from you and tell the king of it? He said, `Yes, tell him that from me and tell him that my religion and my sovereignty will reach limits which the kingdom of Chosroes never attained. Say to him, "If you submit I will give you what you already hold and appoint you king over your people in the Yaman."' Then he gave Kharkhasrah a girdle containing gold and silver which one of the kings had given him.

They left him and came to Badhan and reported. He exclaimed, `This is not the speech of a king. In my opinion he is a prophet as he says. We will see what happens. If what he said is true then he is a prophet who has been sent by God; if it is not, we must consider the matter further.' Hardly had he finished speaking when there came a letter from Shirawaayh saying that he had killed Chosroes because he had angered the Persians by killing their nobles and keeping them on the frontiers. He must see that his men pledged their obedience to the new king. He must see the man about whom Chosroes had written, but not provoke him to war until further instructions came.

When Badhan received this letter he said, `Without doubt this man is an apostle,' and he became a Muslim as did the Persians with him in the Yaman.

The men of Himyar used to call Kharkhasrah `Dhu'l-Mi`jaza because of the girdle which the apostle gave him, because `girdle' in the Himyari tongue is mi`jaza. To this day his sons keep the nickname. Babawayh said to Badhan, `I never spoke to a man for whom I felt more respectful awe.' Badhan inquired, `Did he have any police with him?' He answered No.

221 - A SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S FIGHTS

The apostle took part personally in twenty-seven (T. six) (I.I. has counted the pilgrimage as a raid.) raids:
Waddan which was the raid of al-Abwa'.
Buwat in the direction of Radwa.
`Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu'.
The first fight at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jabir
The great battle of Badr in which God slew the chiefs of Quraysh (T. and their nobles and captured many).
Banu Sulaym until he reached al-Kudr.
Al-Sawiq in pursuit of Abu Sufyan b. Harb (T.until he reached Qarqara al-Kudr)

Ghatafan (T. towards Najd), which is the raid of Dhu Amarr.
Bahran, a mine in the Hijaz (T. above al-Furu').
Uhud.
Hamra'ul-Asad
Banu Nadir.
Dhatu'l-Riqa of Nakhl
The last battle of Badr.
Dumatu'l-Jandal.
Al-Khandaq.
Banu Qurayza.
Banu Lihyan of Hudhayl.
Dhu Qarad
Banu'l Mustaliq of Khuza`a.
Al-Hudaybiya not intending to fight where the polytheists opposed his passage.
Khaybar.
Then he went on the accomplished pilgrimage.
The occupation of Mecca.
Hunayn.
Al-Ta'if.
Tabuk.

He actually fought in nine engagements: Badr; uhud; al-Khandaq; Qurayza; al-Mustaliq; Khaybar; the occupation; Hunayn; and al-Ta'if.

222 - A SUMMARY OF THE EXPEDITIONS AND RAIDING PARTIES

These were thirty-eight (T. thirty-five) in number (T. between the time of his coming to Medina and his death). `Ubayda b. al-Harith was sent to the lower part (T. to the tribes) of Thaniyatu'l-Mara (T. which is a well in the Hijaz); Hamza b. Abdu'l- Muttalib to the coast in the direction of al-Is. (Some people date Hamza's raid before that of Ubayda); Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas to al-Kharrar (T. in the Hijaz); `Abdullah b. Jash to Nakhla; Zayd b. Haritha to al-Qarda (T. a well in Najd); Muhammad al-Ghanawi to al-Raji; al-Mundhir b. `Amr to Bi'r Ma`una; Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah to Dhu'l Qassa on the Iraq road; `Umar b. al-Khattab to Turba in the B. `Amir country; `Ali b. Abu Talib to the Yaman; Ghalib b. `Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kadid where he smote B. al-Mulawwah.

223 - GHALIB'S RAID ON THE B. AL-MULAWWAH

Ya'qub b. `Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas from Muslim b. `Abdullah b. Khubayb al-Juhani from al-Mundhir from Jundab b. Makith al-Juhani told me that the latter said: The apostle sent Ghalib b. Abdullah al-Kalbi, Kalb of B. `Auf b. Layth, on a night raid in which I took part. He ordered him to make a cavalry raid on B. al-Mulawwah who were in al-Kadid. We went out and when we reached Qudayd we fell in with al-Harith b. Malik b. al-Barsa' al-Laythi and seized him. He said that he had come to be a Muslim and was going to the apostle. We told him that if he was a Muslim it would not hurt him to be tied up for a night, and if he were not we should make sure of him; so we bound

him tightly and left him in chargee of a young negro and told him to cut off his head if he tried to attack him.

We went on until we came to (T. the valley of) al-Kadid at sunset. We were in the wadi and my companions sent me on to scout for them. So I left them and went on until I came to a hill overlooking the enemy's camp. I went up to the top and looked down at the camp; and by God as I was lying on the hill out came a man from his tent and said to his wife, `I see something black on the hill which I didn't see at the beginning of the day. Look and see if any of your gear is missing; perhaps the dogs have dragged off something.' She went to look and told him that nothing was missing. He then told her to fetch him his bow and a couple of arrows and he shot me in the side. I pulled out the arrow and laid it aside and kept my place (T. did not move). Then he shot me again in my shoulder. Again I pulled it out and kept my place. He said to his wife, `If this had been a scout of some party he would have moved, for both my arrows hit him in the morning go and get them. Don't let the dogs gnaw them.' Then he went inside his tent.

We gave them time until they quietened down and went to sleep (T. until their cattle returned in the evening and they milked them and lay down queitly, and a third of the night passed) and towards dawn we attacked them and killed some and drove off the cattle. They cried out to one another for aid, and a multitude that we could not resist came at us (T. omits and has `and we went on quickly until we passed by al-Harith') and we went on with the cattle and passed Ibn al-Barsa' and his companion and carried them along with us. The enemy were hard on our heels and only the Wadi Qudayd wa between us, when God sent a flood in the wadi from whence He pleased, for there no clouds that we could see and no rain. It brought such water that none could resist it and none could pass over. And there they stood looking at us as we drove off their cattle. Not one of them could cross to us as we hurried off with them until we got away; they could not pursue us, and we brought them to the apostle. A man of Aslam on the authority of another of them told me that the war-cry of the apostle's companions that night was Slay! Slay! A rajiz of the Muslims who was driving the cattle rhymed:

Abu'l-Qasim refused to let you graze
On luscious herbs which you amaze
With yellow tops the colour of maize (901).

I will now continue the summary of the night raids aand raiding parties: (From C. The whole passage in T. 1598 f. differs in phraseology though not in content from I.H. who has apparently edited the text freely.)

Ali to B. `Abdullah b. Sa`d of Fadak; Abu'l-`Auja' al-Sulami to B. Sulaym country where he and all his companions were killed; `Ukkasha b. Mishan to al-Ghamra; Abu Salama b. `Abdu'l-Asad to Qatan, a well of B. Asad in the direction of Najd. Mas'ud b. `Urwa was killed there; Muhammad b. Maslaama, brother of b. Haritha, to al-Qurata of Hawazin; Bashir b. Sa'd to B. Murra in Fadak; Bashir b. Sa'd in the direction of Khaybar; Zayd b. Haritha to al-Jamum in B. Sulaym country; Zayd also to Judham in Khushayn country.

So says Ibn Hisham, but al-Shafi' from `Amr b. Habib from Ibn Ishaq say in Hisma country'.

224 - THE RAID OF ZAYD B. HARITHA AGAINST JUDHAM

One whom I can trust told me from some men of Judham who knew about the affair that Rifa'a b. Zayd al-Judhami when he came to his people with the apostle's letter inviting them to Islam and they accepted it, was soon followed by Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi who came from Caesar, king of the Greeks, whom the apostle had sent having with him some merchandise of his. When he reached one of their wadis called Shanar, al-Hunayd b. Us and his son `Us of Dulay` a clan of Judham attacked Dihya and seized everything he had with him. News of this reached some of al-Dubayb of the kin of Rifa'a b. Zayd who had become Muslims and they went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Nu`man b. Abu Ji`al of B. al-Dubayb was among them. They fell in with them and a skirmish took place. On that day Qurra b. Ashqar al-Difari of the clan al-Dulay' proclaimed his origin and said, `I am the son of Lubna,' and shot al-Nu`man b. Abu Ji`al with an arrow, hitting him in the knee, saying, `Take that! I am the son of Lubna.' Lubna was his mother. Now Hassan b. Milla al-Dubaybi had been a friend of Dihya, and Dihya went off and told the apostle what happened and asked him to let him kill al-Hunayd and his son. The apostle sent Zayd b. Haritha against htem and that was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Judham. He sent a forcee with him. Ghatafan of Judham and Wa'il and they of Salaman and Sa'd b. Hudhaym set off when Rifa'a b. Zayd came to them with the apostle's letter and halted in the lava belt of al-Rajila', while Rifa`a was in Kura` Rabba, knowing nothing, with some of the B. al-Dubayb and the cattle and men they found and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men of B. al-Ahnaf (903), and one of B. al-Khasib. When B. al-Dubayb and the force in Fayfa'u Madan heard of this some of them went off, among those who rode with them being Hassan b. Milla on a horse belonging to Suwayd b. Zayd called al-`Ajaja, and Unayf b. Milla on a horse of Milla's called Righal, and Abu Zayd b. `Amr on a horse called Shamir. They went on until they came near the army when Abu Zayd and Hassan said to Unayf b. Milla, `Leave us and go, for we are afraid of your tongue.' (T. So he withdrew) and stopped near them. Hardly had they left him when his horse began to paw the ground and rear and he said (to it), `I am more interrested in the two men than you in the two horses.' He let her go until he overtook them and they said to him, `Seeing that you have behaved thus, spare us your tongue and don't bring us bad luck today.' They agreed among themselves that only Hassan should speak. Now they had a word which they used in the pagan period which they learned one from another: if one wanted to smite with his sword he said Buri or Thuri. When they came near the army the men came running to them and Hassan said to them, `We are Muslims.' The fist man to meet them was on a black horse (T. with lance ouutstretched, the man who displayed it had as it were fixed it on the withers of his horse as he cried, `Forward, outstrip them!') and he advanced driving them. Unayf said `Buri, but Hassan said `Gently'. When they stopped by Zayd b. Haritha Hassan said, `Then recite the first sura.' When he did so Zayd ordered that it should be proclaimed through the army that God had declaredd their land sacrosanct except as regards those who had broken their covenant.

Hassan's sister, the wife of Abu Wabr b. Adiy b. Umayya b. al-Dubayb, was among the prisoners and Zayd told him to take her and she clasped him by the waist. Ummu'l-Fizr of Dulay' said, `Are you taking your daughters and leaving your mothers?' One of B. al-Khasib said, `She is (of) B. al-Dubayb and their tongue utters spells all the day long.' Some of the army heard this and told Zayd and he gave orders that the hands of Hassan's sister should be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God should decide what should be done with them. So they went back. He forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come and they passed the night with their people. They sought their night draught of milk from a herd belonging to Suwayd b. Zayd and when they had drunk it they rode off to Rifa'a b. Zayd. Among those who went were Abu Zayd; Ba'ja and Bardha and Thalaba sons of Zayd; Mukharriba b. Adiy Unafy b. Milla; and Hassan b. Milla until in the morning they came up with Rifa'a in Kura Rabba behind (Or on the top of')the harra; they journeyed for three nights to Medina and when they entered it and came to the mosque a man looked at them and told them not to make their camels kneel lest their legs should be cut off. So they dismounted, leaving them standing. When they entered the mosque and the apostle saw them he beckoned to them to advance; and as Rifa'a began to speak a man said, ` Apostle, these men are sorecerers,' and repeated the accusation twice. Rifa'a said, `God be gracious to him who treats us well today.' Then he handed the apostle the letter which he had written to him, saying, `Take it, O apostle; it was written long since but its violation is recent.' The apostle told a young man to read it openly and when he had done so he asked what had happened, and they told him. Three times he said, `What am I to do about the slain? Rifa'a answered, `You know best, O apostle. We do not regard as wrong what you think is right or the converse. Abu Zayd b. Amir said, `Give us back those who are alive and those who are dead I disregard. The apostle said that Abu Zayd was right and told Ali to ride with them. Ali objected that Zayd would not obey him. Ali then said that he had no beast to ride, so they (T. the apostle) mounted him on a beast belonging to Tha'laba b. Amr called al-Mikhal and they went off, when lo a messenger from Zayd b. Haritha came on a camel of Abu Wabr called al-Shamir. They made him dismount and he asked `Ali how he stood. He said that they knew their property and they took it. They went on and fell in with the army in Fayfa'ul Fahlatayn and took their property which they held even to the smallest pad from a woman's saddle. When they had finished their task Abu Ji'al said:

There's many a woman who scolds unkindly
Who but for us would be feeding her captor's fire
Pushed about with her two daughters among the captives
With no hope of an easy release.
Had she seen our camels in Misr
She would have dreaded a repetition of the journey.
We came to the waters of Yathrib in anger
(After four nights, search for water is painful)
With every hardened warrior like a wolf
Dour on the saddle of his swift camel.

May every force (A Dh. in Bronnle's text has jibs with the explanation 'rascal') in Yathrib be ransom

For Abu Sulayman when they meet breast to breast
The day you see the experienced warrior humbled,
His head turning as he flees away (904)

Zayd b. Haritha also raided al-Taraf in the region of Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

225 - ZAYD B. HARITHA'S RAID ON B. FAZARA AND THE DEATH OF UMM QIRFA

Zayd also raided Wadi'l Qura, where he met B. Fazara and some of his companions were killed; he himself was carried wounded from the field. Ward b. Amr b. Madash, one of B. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, was killed by one of B. Badr (Whose name was Sa'd b. Hudhaym - T and I.H) when Zayd came he swore tht he would use no ablution (i.e. abstain from sexual intercourse. The semites, like other ancient peoples, tabboed intercourse during war. Cf. Sam. 21.5 6 and Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 454 et passim.)until he raided B. Fazara; and when he recovered from his wounds the apostle sent him against them with a force. He fought (T. he met) them in Wadi'l-Qura and killed some of them. Qays b. al-Musahhar al-Ya'muri killed Mas'ada b. Hakama b. Malik b. Hudhayfa b. Badr, and Umm Qirfa Fatima d. Rabi'a b. Badr was taken prisoner. She was a very old woman, wife of Malik. Her daughter and `Abdullah b. Masada were also taken. Zayd ordered Qays b. al-Musahhar to kill Umm Qirfa and he killed her cruelly (T. by putting a rope to her two). Then they brought Umm Qirfa's daughter and Mas'ada's son to the apostle. The daughter of Umm Qirfa belonged to Salama b. `Amr b. al-Akwa` who had taken her. She held a position of honour among her people, and the Arabs used to say, `Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfa you could have done no more.' Salama asked the apsotel to let him have her and he gave her to him and he presenteed her to his uncle Hazn b. Abu Wahb and she bare him `Abdu'l Rahman b. Hazn.

Qays b. al- Mushahhar said about the killing of Mas'ada:

I tried as his mother's son would to gert revenge for Ward.
As long as I live I will avenge Ward.
When I saw him I attacked him on my steed,]
That doughty warrior of the family of Badr.
I impaled him on my lance of Qa'dabi make
Which seemed to flash like a fire in an open space.

226 - `ABDULLAH B. RAWAHA'S RAID TO KILL AL-YUSAYR B. RIZAM

`Abdullah b. Rawaha raided Khaybar twice; on one occasion he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizam (905). Now al-Yusayr (T. the Jew) was in Khaybar collecting Ghatafan to attack the apostle. The latter sent `Abdullah b. Rawaha with a number of his companions,among whom were `Abdullah b. Unays, an ally of B. Salima. When they came to him they spoke to him (T. and made him promises) and treated him well, saying thatif he would come to the apostle he would give him an appointment and honour him.

They kept on at him until he went with them with a number of Jews. `Abdullah b. Unays mounted him on his beast (T. and he rode behind him) until he was in al-Qarqara, about six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr changed his mind about going to the apostle. `Abdullah perceived his intention as he was preparing to draw his sword, so he rushed at him and struck him with his sword cutting off his leg. Al-Yusayr hit him with a stick of shauhat wood which he had in his hand and wounded his head (T. and God killed Yusayr). All the apostle's companions fell upon their Jewish companions and killed them except one man who escaped on his feet (T. his beast). When `Abdullah b. Unays came to the apostle he spat on his wound and it did not suppurate or cause him pain.

On the second occasion `Abdullah b. `Artik raided Khaybar and killed Rafi'b. Abu'l Huqayq.

227 - `ABDULLAH B. UNAYS'S RAID TO KILL KHALID B SUFYAN B. NUBAYH

The apostle sent him against Khalild, who was in Nakhla or `Urana collecting men to attack the apostle, and he killed him.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that `Abdullah b. Unays said: The apostle called me and siad that he had heard that Ibn Sufyan b. Nubayh al-Hudhali was collecting a force to attack him, and that he was in Nakhla or `Urana and that I was to go and kill him. I asked him to describe him so that I might know him, and he said. I asked him to describe him so that I might know him, and he said, `If you see him he will remind you of Satan. A sure sign is that when you see him you will feel a shudder.' I went out firdingon my sword until I came on him with a number of women in a howdah seeking a halting place for them. It was the time for afternoon prayer, and when I saw him I felt a shuddering as the apostle had said. I advanced towards him fearing that something would prevent my praying, so I prayed as I walked towards him bowing my head. When I came to him he asked who I was and I answered, `An Arab who has heard of you and your gathering a force against this fellow and has come to you.' He said, `Yes I am doing so.' I walked a short distance with him and when my chance came I struck him with my sword and killed him, and went off leaving his women bending over him. When I came to the apostle he saw me and said, "The aim is accomplished.' I said, 'I have killed him, O Apostle,' and he said, You are right.'

Then he took me into his house and gave me a stick telling me to keep it by me. When I went out with it the people asked me what I was doing with a stick. I told them that the apostle had given it to me and told me to keep it, and they said, Why don't you go back to the apostle and ask him why? So I did so, and he said, 'It is a sign between you and me on the resurrection day. There are few men who will be carrying sticks them.' So `Abdullah b. Unays fastened it to his sword and it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be put in his winding sheet and it was buried with him (906)

To return to the expeditions: The raid of Zayd b. Haritha and Ja'far b. Abu Talib and `Abdullah b. Rawaha to Mu'ta in Syria in which all were killed; and the raid of Ka'b b.

`Umayr al-Ghifari to Dhatu Atlah in Syria in which he and all his companions were killed; and the raid of `Uyayna b. Hisn on B. al-Anbar of B. Tamim.

228 - THE RAID OF `UYAYNA B. HISN ON B AL-ANBAR OF B. TAMIM

The apostle sent him to raid them, and he killed some and captured others. Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that `A'isha said to the apostle that she must free a slave of the sons of Isma'il, and he said, `The captives of B. al-Anbar are coming now. We will give you one whom you can set free.' When they were brought to the apostle a deputation from B. Tamim rode with them until they reached the apostle. Among them were Rabi'a b. Rufay; Sabara b. Amr; al-Aqra b. Habis; and Firas b. Habis. They spoke to the apostle on their behalf and he liberated some and accepted ransom for others.

Among the B. al-`Anbar who were killed that day were `Abdullah and two brothers of his, sons of Wahb; Shaddad b. Firas; and Hanzala b. Darim. Among the women who were captured were Asma d. Malik; Ka's d. Ariy; Najwa d. Nahd; Jumay'a d. Qays; and `Amra d. Matar.

Salkma d. `Attab said about that day:

Adiy b. Jundab had a serious fall
From which it was hard to rise.
Enemies surrounded them on every side
And their glory and prosperity disappeared (907)

229 - GHALIB B. ABDULLAH'S RAID ON THE LAND OF B. MURRA

The raid of Ghalib b. `Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalb of Layth, was on the country of B. Murra in which he slew Mirdas b. Nahik, an ally of theirs from al-Hurqa of Juhayna. Usama b. Zayd and a man of the Ansar killed him (908). Usama b. Zayd said: `When I and a man of the Ansar overtook him and attacked him with our weapons he pronounced the shahada, but we did not stay or hands and killed him. When we came to the apostle we told him what had happened and he said, "Who will absolve you, Usama, from ignoring the confession of faith?" I told him that the man had pronounced the words merely to escape death; but he repeated his question and continued to do so until I wished that I had not been a Muslim heretofore and had only become one that day and that I had not killed the man. I aksed him to forgive me and promised that I would never killed man who pronounced the shahada. He said, "You will say it after me (i.e after the prophet's death.) Usama?" and I said that I would.'

230 - `AMR B. AL-`AS RAIDS DHATUL – SALASIL

The raid of `Amr on Dhatu'l-Salasil in the country of (T. Bali and the raid on) B. `Udhara. The apostle sent him to convoke the Arabs to war on Syria. The mother of al-As b Wa'il was a woman of Bali, so the apostle sent him to them to claim their help. When Amr came to water in the country of Judham called al-Salsal (T. Salasil(, from

which the raid took its name, he took alarm and sent to the apostle for reinforcements. The apostle sent him Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah with the first Muhajirs among whom were Abu Bakr and Umar. He told Abu Ubayda when he sent him not to quarrel. Now when he reached `Amr the latter said, `You have come only to reinforce me.' `No,' said Abu `Ubayda, `but I have my sphere of command and you have yours'; for he was a man of easy gentle disposition on whom the affairs of this world sat lightly. So when Amr insisted that he had come to reinforce him he said, "the apsotle told us not to quarrel, and thought you disobey me I will obey you,' to which he replied, I am your superior officer and you are here only to reinforce me.' `Have it your own way,' said he, and Amr took the lead in the prayers.

An informant who had it from Rafi' b. Abu Rafi al-Taiy who was Rafi b. Umayra told me that the latter said: I was a Christian called Sarjis, the surest and best guide in the sandy desert. During the pagan period I used to bury water which I had put in ostrich shells in various places in the desert and then raid men's camels. When I had got htem into the sand I was safely in possession of them and none darefollow me thither. Then I would go to the places where I had concealed the water and drink it. When I became a Muslim I went on the raid on which the apostle sent Amr b. al-As to Dhatu l Salasil, and I made up my minnd to choose a companion, and selected Abu Bakr with whom I rode. He wore a Fadak cloak and whenever we halted he spread it out, and put it on when we rode. Then he fastened it on him with a packing-needle. That was the reason why the people of Najd when they apsotatized said, `Are we to accept as ruler the man with the cloak?' When we approached Medina on oour return I told Abu Bakr that I had joined him so that God might profit me by him, and I asked for his advice and instruction. He told me that he would have given this even if I had not asked, and told me to proclaim the unity of God and not ot associate anything with Him; to perform prayer; to pay the poor-tax; to fast in Ramaddan; to go on pilgrimage; to wash after impurity; and never to assume authority over two Muslims. I told him that I hoped that I should never associate anyone with God; that I would never abandon prayer if God so willed; that if I had the means I would always pay the poor-tax; that I would never neglect Ramadan; that I would go on pilgrrimage if I were able; and would wash after impurity; but as to leadership I observed that only those who exercised it were held in honour with the apostle and the people, so why should he exclude me from it? He answered, `You asked me for the best advice that I could give you, and I will tell you. God sent Muhammad with this religion and he strove for it until men accepted it voluntarily or by force. Once they had entered it they were God's proteges and neighbours under His protection. Beware that you do not betray God's trust in regard to His neighburs so that He pursue you relentlessly on behalf of His protege. For if one of you were wronged in this way his muscles would swell with anger if the sheep or camels of his protection.' Thereupon we parted.

When the apostle died and Abu Bakr was set over men I went to him and reminded him that he had forbidden me to do so, and when I asked him what had induced him to assume authority over every one he said that he had no alternative; he was afraid that Muhammad's community would split up.

Yazid b Abu Habib told me that he was informed on the authority of Aufb. Malik al-Ashja that he said: I was in the raid on which the apostle sent Amr b. al-As to Dhatu'l Salasil, in company with Abu Bakr and Umarr. I passed By some people who were butchering a camel they had slaughtered. They could not dismember it, while I was skilled butcher; so I asked them if they would give me a share if I divided it between them, and when they agreed I took a couple of knives and cut it up on the spot. I took my share and carried it to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abu Bakr and Umar asked me where I giving it to them to eat, and they got up and forced themselves to exgurgitate what they had swallowed. When the army returned from that expedition I was the first to come to the apostle as he was at prayer in his house. When I saluted him he asked if I were Auf b. Malik the butcher of the camel and he would say nothing more.

231 - THE RAID OF IBN ABU HADRAD ON THE VALLEY OF IDAM AND THE KILLING OF AMIR B. AL-ADBAT AL-ASHJA'I

Yazid b. Abdullah b. Qusayt from al-Qa`qa`b. `Abdullah b. Abu Hadrad from his father said: The apostle sent us to Idam with a number of Muslims among whom were Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Rib`iy; and Muhallim b. Jaththama b. Qays. We set forth until when we were in the valley of Idam (T. this was before the conquest of Mecca) `Amir b. al-Adbat al-Ashja'i passed by us on a camel of his with a meagre supply of provisions and a skin of laban. As he passed us he saluted us as a Muslim and we held off from him. But Muhallim b. Jaththama attacked and killed him on account of a quarrel they had had, and took his camel and provisions. When we came to the apostle and told him the news there came down concerning us: O you who believe, when you go forth in the way of God act circumspectly and do not say to one who salutes you, "you are no believer," coveting the gain of this world, & c. (909). (Sura 4.96).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that he heard Ziyad b. Dumayra b. Sa'd al-Sulami relating form `Urwa b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandfather who were both present at Hunayn with the apostle: The apostle prayed the noon prayer with us, then he sought the shelter of a tree and sat beneath it in Hunayn. Al-Aqra' b. Habis and Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr went up to him quarrellig about Amir b. al-Adbat al-Ashja'i, `Uyayna, who was at that time chief of Ghatafan, demanding vengeance for the blood of Amir and al-Aqra protecting Muhallim b. Jaththama because of his position among Khindif. The quarrel went on along time in the apostle's I wont let him off until I make his women taste the burning grief he made my women taste'; while the apostle said, 'No but you will accept fifty camels as blood money on this journey and fifty on our return.' He went on refusing the offer when up got a man of B. layth called Mukaythir, a short copact fellow (910), and said, O apostle, the only thing to which I can compare this man who has been slain in the beginning of Islam is sheep who come with their leaders shot and the ones behind run away. Let the law of blood stand today and accept bloodwit later.' The apostle lifted up his hand and said, `No, you must take fifty camels as blood money on this expedition and fifty more when we return,' and they accepted them. Then they said, Where is this fellow of yours that the apostle may ask God's pardon for him? Thereupon a tall thin man wearing a garment which he had taken to fight (Or perhaps, die in) in got up and and sat in front of the apostle. He admitted that he was Muhallim b.

Jaththama and the apostle said three times, `O God, pardon not Muhallim b. Jaththama.' He got up wiping away his tears with the end of his garment. As for us, we still hoped that the apostle asked for the divine forgiveness for him, but what we saw him do was what has just been said.

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from al-Hasan al-Basri that the apostle said when he sat before him, `You gave him security in God and then you killed him!' Then he said the words which have been quoted, and by God Muhallim died within a week, and the earth I swear rejected him. They buried him again, but the earth rejected him, and yet a third time the same thing happened. Worn out, his people made for two heights (forminng a narrow gap) and laid him out between them and then rolled rocks on him until they had covered him. When the apostle heard about this he said, `The earth has covered worse than he, but God wants to give you a warning of what you must not do by what He has shown you.'

Salim Abu'l Nadr told us that he was informed that `Uyayna b. Hisn and Qays were addressed privately by al-Aqra thus: You men of Qays, you have opposed the apostle about a man slain when he wanted to make peace between people. Are you sure that the apostle will not curse you so God will curse you with his curse, or that he will not be angry with you so that God will also be angry with you? I swear that unless you submit him to the apostle and let him do with as he pleases I will bring fifty men of the B. Tamim who will all call God to witness that your friend who was slain was an unbeliever who never prayed at all and thus cause his blood to be disregarded.'(i.e not to be wiped out by the blood of his slayer or tribesmen or to be paid for.) When they heard that they agreed to take the bloodwit (911).

232 - THE RAID OF IBN ABU HADRAD AL-ASLAMI ON AL-GHABA TO KILL RIFFA'A QAYS AL-JUSHAMI

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ibn Hadrad as follows: I had married a woman of my tribe and promised her two hundred dirhams as a dowry. I came to the apostle and asked him to help me in the matter and when I told him the amount that I had promised he said, could not have offered more! I haven't the money to help you.' I waited for some days when a man of B.Jusham b. Mu`awiya called Rifa'a b. Qays or Qays b. Rifa'a came with a numerous clan of B. Jusham and encamped with them in al- Ghaba intending to gether Qays to fight the apostle, he being a man of high reputation among Jusham. The apostle summoned me and two other Muslims and told us to go to this man (T. and bring him to him or) bring news of him, and sent us an old thin she camel. One of us mounted her, but she was so weak that she could not get up until men pushed her up from behind, and even then she hardly managed to do so. Then he said, `Make the best of her and ride her in turn.'

We set forth taking our narrows and swords until we arrived near the settlement in the evening as the sun was setting. I did at one end and ordered my companions to hide at the other end of the camp and told them that when they heard me cry Allah akbar' as I ran to the camp they were to do the same and run with me. There we were waiting to take

the enemy by surprise or to get something from them until much of the night had passed. Now they had a shepherd who had gone out with the animals and was so late in returning that they became alarmed on his behalf. Their chief this Rifa'a Qays got up and took his sword and hung it round his neck, saying that he would go on the track of the shepherd, for some harm must have befallen him; whereupon some of his company begged him not to go alone for they would protect him, but he insisted on going alone. As he went he passed by me, and when he came in range I shot him in the heart with an arrow, and he died without uttering a word. I leapt upon him and cut off his head and ran in the direction of the camp shouting `Allah akbar' and my two companions did likewwise, and by God, shouting out to another they all fled at once with their wives and children and such of their property as they could lay hands on easily. We drove off a large number of camels and sheep and brought them to the apostle and I took Rifa'a's head to the apostle, who gave me thirteen of the camels to help me with the woman's dowry, and I consummated my marriage.

233 - `ABDU'L-RAHMAN B. `AUF'S RAID ON DUMATU'L-JANDAL

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ata'b. Abu Ribah that he said that he heard a man of Basra ask Abdullah b. Umar b. al-Khattab about wearing the turban flying loosely behind one. He said that he would give them information on the point. I was, he said, `the tenth of ten of the apostle's companions in his mosque, namely Abu Bakr, Umar, `Uthman, ali Abdu'l- Rahman b. Auf Ibn Mas'ud Mu'adh b. Jabal Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri,and myself. Suddently one of the Ansar came and saluted the apostle and sat down and asked the apostle who was the most excellent of the believers. "The best in character," he replied. "And who is the wisest?" "The one who most often remembers death and makes the best preparation for it before it comes to him. Such men are the wise." The man remained silent, and the apostle said to us, "O Muhajirs, there are five things which may befall you and I pray God that you never known; they do not use light weights and measures but they are smitten by famine and the injustice of rulers; they do not hold back the poor-tax from their herds but rain is withheld, for but for the beasts there would be no rain sent; they do not break the covenant with God and His apostle but an enemy is given power over them and takes much of their possessions; and their imams do not give judgement about God's book and behave arrogantly (W. watahayyani become perplexed) in regard to what God has sent down but God brings upon them the calamity they have engendered."

"Then he ordered `Abdu'l-Rahman b. Auf to make his preparations for the expedition. In the morning he wore a black turban of cotton. The apostle told him to approach and unwound it and then rewound it leaving four fingers or so loose behind him, saying "Turban yourself thus, Ibn Auf, for thus it is better and neater." (a raj perhaps means more in keeping with accepted practice'.) Then he ordered Bilal to give him the standard and he did so. Then he gave praise to God and prayed for himself. He then said, "take it, Ibn `Auf;fight everyone in the way of God and kill those who disbelieve in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil; do not be treacherous, nor mutilate, nor kill children. This is God's ordinance and the practice (sira) of his prophet amongy0ou." Thereupon Abdu'l-Rahman took the standard (912).

234 - ABU `UBAYDA B. AL-JARRAH'S RAID TO THE COAST

`Ubada b. al-Walid b. 'Ubada b. al-Saamit from his father from his grandfather `Ubada b. al-Samit told me: The apostle sent a force to the coast commanded by Abu Ubayda and furnished them with a supply of dates. He began to ration them until the day came when he had to count them, and finally he could give each man but one date a day. One day he divided them among us and a man lacked even a date and we felt the loss of them that day. When we were exhausted by hunger God brought us a whale from the sea, and we fell upon its flesh and fat and stayed by it for twenty nights until we grew fat and recovered our strength. Our leader took one of its ribs and set it in the way; then he sent for our largest camel and mounted our largest man uponit; he sat on it and came out form under it without loweringhsi head. When we came to the apostle we gaave him the news and asked him what he thought about our having eaten the whale. He said, It was food which God provided for you' (913).

(Ibn Hamid told us from Salama b. al-Fadl from Muhammad b. Ishaq from Jafar b. al-Fadl b. al-Hasan b. Amr b. Umayya that the last-named said: After the killing of Khubayb and his companions the apostle sent an Ansari with me telling us to go and kill Abu Sufyan, so we set out. My companion had no camel and his leg was injured, so I carried him on my beast as far as the valley of Ya'jaj where we tethered our beast in the corner of a pass and rested there. I suggested to my companion that we should go to Abu Sufyan's house and I would try to kill him while he kept watch. If there wa commotionor he feared danger he should take me because I knew the country well and was fleet-footed. When we entered Mecca I had a small dagger like an eagle's feather which I held in readiness: if anyone laid hold of me I could kill him with it. My companion asked that we might begin by going round the Ka'ba seven times and pray a couple of rak'as. I told him that I knew more about the Meccans than he: in the evening their courts are sprinkled with water and they sit there, and I am more easily recognizable than a piebald horse. However, he kept on at me until we did as he wanted, and as we came out of the Ka'ba we passed by one of their groups and a man recognized me and called out at the top of his voice, `This is `Amr b. Umayya!' Thereupon the Meccans rushed at us, saying, `By God,`Amr has come for no good. He has never brought anything but evil,' for Amr wa a violent unruly fellow in heathen days.

They got up to pursue us and I told my companion to escape, for the very thing I feared had happened, and as to Abu Sufyan there was no means of getting at him. So we made off with all speed and climbed the mountain and went into a cave where we spent the night, having successfully eluded them so that they returned to Mecca. When we entered the cave I put some rocks at the entrance as a screen and told my companion to keep quiet until the pursuit should die down, for they would search for us that night and the following day until the evening. While we were in the cave up came `Uthmaan b. Malik b. `Ubaydullah al-Taymi cutting grass for a horse of his. He kept coming nearer until he was at the very entrance of the cave. I told my friend who he was and that he would give us away to the Meccans, and I went out and stabbed him under the breast with the dagger. He shrieked so loud that the Meccans heard him and came towards him. I went back to the cave and told my friend to stay where he was. The Meccans hastened in

the direction of the sound and found him at the last gasp. They asked him who had stabbed him and he told them that it was I, and died. They did not get to know where we were and said, By God, we knew Amr was up to no good.' They were so occupied with the dead man whom they carried off that they could not look for us, and we stayed a couple of days in the cave until the pursuit died down. Then we went to al-Tanim, and lo, Khubayb's cross. (See W. 641 supra) My friend asked if we should take him down from the cross, for there he was. I told him to leave the matter to me and to get away from me for guards were posted round it. If he was afraid of anything he must go to his camel and tell the apostle what had happened. I ran up to Khubayb's cross, freed him from it, and carried him on my back. Harldy had I taken forty steps when they became aware of me and I threw him down and I cannot forget the thud when he dropped. They ran after me and I took the way to al-Saafra' and when they wearied of the pursuit they went back and my friend rode to the prophet and told him our news. I continued on foot until I looked down on the valley of Dajnan. I went into a cave there taking my bow and arrows, and while I was there in came a one-eyed man of B. al-Dil driving a sheep of his. When he asked who I was I told him that I was one of B. Bakr. He said that he was also, adding of B. al-Dil clan. Then he lay down beside me and lifting up his voice began to sing:

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live,
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said (to myself), `You will soon know!' and as soon as the badu was asleep and snoring I got up and killed him in a more horrible way than any man has been killed. I put the end of my bow in his sound eye, then I bore down on it until I forced it out at the back of his neck. Then I came out like a beast of prey and took the highroad like an eagle hastening until I came out at a village which, (said the narrator), he described; then to Rakuba and al-Naqi where suddenly there appeared two Meccans whom Quraysh had sent to spy on the apostle. I recognized them and called on them to surrendered. I bound him and took him to the apostle.

Ibn Ishaq from Sulayman b. Wardan from his father `Amr b. Umayya: When I got to Medina I passed some shaykhs of the Ansar and when they exclaimed at me some young men heard my name and ran to tell the apostle. Now I had bound my prisoner's thumbs with my bow string, and when the apostle looked at him he laughed so that one could see his back teeth. He asked my news and when I told him what had happened he blessed me') (914). (I.H.'s account will be found in the screen devoted to his additions.)

235 - SALIM B. UMAYR"S EXPEDITION TO KILL ABU AFAK

Abu Afak was one of B. `Amr b. `Auf of the B. `Ubayda clan. He showed his disaffection when the apostle killed al-Harith b. Suwayd b. Samit and said:

Long have I lived but never have I seen
An assembly or collection of people
More faithful to their undertaking

And their allies when called upon
Than the sons of Qayla (Qayla was the putative ancestress of Aus and Khazraj)
Men who overthrew mountains and never submitted.
A rider who came to them split them in two (saying)
'Permitted', `Forbidden' (A gibe at the language of the Quran)
Had you believed in glory or kingship
You would have followed Tubba.` (You resisted Tubba who, after all, was a king in fact and a man of great reputation, so why believe in Muhammad's claim?

The apostle said, `Who will deal with this rascal for me? whereupon Salim b. Umayr brother of B. Amr b Auf one of the weepers', went forth and killed him. Umama b. Muzayriya said concerning that:

You gave the lie to God's religion and thee man Ahmad!
By him who was your father, evil is the son he produced!
A hanif gave you a thrust in the night saying
Take that Abu Afak in spite of your age!'
Though I knew whether it was man or jinn
Who slew you in the dead of night (I would say naught). (Wellhausen p.91, proposed an emendation of the text which hardly seems necessary. This line is not in W.)

236 - `UMAYR B. `ADIY'S JOURNEY TO KILL `ASMA' D MARWAN

She was of B. Umayya b. Zayd. When Abu `Afak had been killed she displayed disaffection. `Abdullah b. al-Harith b. al-Fudayl from his father said that she was married to a man of B. Khatma called Yazid b. Zayd. Blaming Islam and its followers she said:

I despise B. Malik and al-Nabit
And `Auf and B. al-Khazraj.
You obey a stranger who is none of yours,
One not of Murad or Madhhij (Two tribes of Yamani origin)
Do you expect good from him after the killing of your chiefs
Like a hungry man waiting for a cook's broth?
Is there no man of pride who would attack him by surprise
And cut off the hopes of those who expect aught from him?

Hassaan b. Thabit answered her:

Banu Wa'il and B. Waqif and Khatma
Are inferior to B. al-Khazraj
When she called for folly woe to her in her weeping.
For death is coming.
She stirred up a man of glorious origin,

Noble in his going out and his coming in.
Before midnight he dyed her in her blood
And incurred no guilt thereby.

When the apostle heard what she had said he said, `who will rid me of Marwaan's daughter?" Umayr b. Adiy al-Khatmi who was with him heard him and that very night he went to her house and killed her. In the morning he came to the apostle and told him what he had done and he said, You have helped God and His apostle, O `Umayr! When he asked if he would have helped God and HIs apostle, O 'Umayr! When he asked if he would have to bear any evil consequences the apostle said, `Two goats won't butt their heads about her,' so Umayr went back to his people.

Now there was a great commotion among B. Khatma that day about the affair of Bint Marwan. She had five sons, and hwen Umayr went to them from the apostle he said, `I have killed Bint Marwan, (Cf Sura 11. 58) Tha was the first day that Islam became powerful among B. Khatma; before that those who were Muslims concealed the fact. The first of them to accept Islam was Umayr b. Adiy who ws called the Reader', and Abdullah b. Aus and Khuzayma b. Thabit. The day after Bint Marwan was killed the men of B. Khatma became Muslims because they saw the power of Islam.

237 - THE CAPTURE OF THUMAMA B. ATHAL AL-HANAFI

I heard on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Maqburi from Abu Hurayra that the latter said: The apostle's cavalry went out and captured a man of B. Hanifa not knowing who he was until they brought him to the apostle who told them that he was Thumama b. Athal al-Hanafi and that they must treat him honourably in his captivity. The apostle went back to his house and told them to send what food they had to him, and ordered that his milch-camel should be taken to him night and morning; but this failed to satisfy Thumama. The apostle went to him and urged him to accept Islam. `Enough, Muhammad;if you kill me you kill one whose blood must be paid for; if you want a ransom, ask what you like.'Matters remained thus so long as God willed and then the apostle said that Thumama was to be released. When they let him go he went as far as al-Baqi, where he purified himself and then returned and paid homage to the prophet in Islam. When evening came they brought him food as usual, but he would take only a little of it and only a small quantity of the camel's milk. The Muslims were astonished at this; but when the apostle heard of it he said,`Why are you astonished? At a man who at the beginning of the day ate with an unbelievers stomach and at the end of the day with a Muslim's? An unbeliever eats with seven stomachs: the believer with one only'(915).

238 - THE EXPEDITION OF ALQAMA B. MUJAZZIZ

When Waqqas b. Mujazziz al-Mudliji was killed on the day of Dhu Qarad, `Alqama b. Mujazziz asked the apostle to send him on the track of the people so that he might take vengeance on them. Abdul-Aziz b. Muhammad from Muhammad b. Zmr b. Alqama from Umar b.al-Hakam b. Thauban from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri said: The apostle sent Alqama b. Mujazziz, I being with the force, and when we were on the way he summoned a part of

the force and appointed Abdullah b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi their leader. He was one of the apostle's companions-a fecetious fellow, and when they were on the way he kindled a fire and said to the men; Have I not claim on your obedience so that if I order you to do something you must do it? and when they agreed he said, `They by virtue of my claim on your obedience I order you to leap into this fire.' Some of them began to gird up their loins so that he thought that they would leap into the fire, and then he said, `Sit down, I was only laughing at you!' When the apostle was told of this after they had returned he said, If anyone orders you to do something which you ought not to do, do not obey him.'

Muhammad b. Talha said that `Alqama and his companions returned without fighting.

239 - KURZ B. JABIR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL THE BAJILIS WHO HAD KILLED YASAR

A traditionist told me from one who had told him from Muhammad b. Talha from Uthman b. Abdul-Rahman that in the raid of Muharib and B. Thalaba the apostle had captured a slave called Yasar, and he put him in charge of his milch-camels to shepherd them in the neighbourhood of al-Jamma. Some men of Qays of Kubba of Bajila came to the apostle suffering from an epidemic and enlarged spleens, and the apostle told them that if they went to the milch-camels and drank their milk and urine they would recover, so off they went. When they recovered their health and their bellies contracted to their normal size they fell upon the apostle's shepherd Yasar and killed him and stuck thorns in his eyes and drove away his camels. The apostle sent Kurz b. Jabir in pursuit and he overtook them and brought them to the apostle as he returned from the raid of Dhu Qarad. He cut off their hands and feet and gouged out their eyes.

240 - ALI'S RAID ON THE YAMAN

Ali raided the Yaman twice (916).

241 - USAMA B. ZAYD'S MISSION TO PALESTINE

The apostle sent Usama to Syria and commanded him to take the cavalry into the borders of the Balqa and al-Darum in the land of Palestine. So the men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usama.(917).

242 - THE BEGINNING OF THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS

While matter were thus the apostle began to suffer from the illness by which God took him to what honour and compassion. He intended for him shortly before the end of Safar or in the beginning of Rabiul-awwal. It began, So I have been told, when he went to Baqiul-Gharqad in the middle of the night and prayed for the dead. Then he returned to his family and in the morning his sufferings began.

Abdullah b. Umar from Ubayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Hakam b. Abdul-As, from Abduallah b. Amr b. al-As from Abu Muwayhiba, a freedman of the apostle, said: In the middle of the night the apostle sent for me and told me that he was ordered to pray for the

dead in this cementery and that I was to go with him. I went; and when he stood among them he said,` Peace upon you, O people of the graves! Happy are you that you are so much better off than men here. Dissensions have come like waves of darkness one after the other, the last being worse than the first.' Then he turned to me and said,` I have been given the choice between the keys of the treasuries of this world and long life here followed by Paradise, and meeting my Lord and Paradise (at once).' I urged him to choose the former, but he said that he had chosen the latter. Then he prayed for the dead there and went away. Then it was that the illness through which God took him began.

Yaqub b. Utba from Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba b. Masud from Aisha, the prophet's wife, said: The apostle returned from the cementery to find me suffering from a severe headache and I was saying, `O my head!' He said, ` Nay, Aisha, O my head!' Then he said, `Would it distress you if you were to die before me so that I might wrap you in your shroud and pray over you and bury you?' I said, `Methinks I see you if you had done that returning to my house and spending a bridal night therein with one of your wives.' The apostle smiled and then his pain overcame him as he was going the round of his wives, until he was overpowered in the house of Maymuna. He called his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my house, and they agreed (918).

243 - THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS IN THE HOUSE OF AISHA

The apostle went out walking between two men of his family one of whom was al-Fadl b. al-Abbas. His head was bound in a cloth and his feet were dragging as he came to my house. Ubaydullah told this tradition to Abdullah b. al-Abbas who told him that the other man was Ali (T. but that Aisha could not bring herself to speak well of him though she was able to do so).

Then the apostle's illness worsened and he suffered much pain. He said, `Pour seven skins of water from different wells over me so that I may go out to the men and instruct them.' We made him sit down in a tub belonging to Hafasa d. Umar and we poured water over him until he cried, `Enough, enough!'

Al-Zuhri said that Ayyub b.Bashir told him that the apostle went out with his head bound up and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he uttered was a prayer over the men of Uhud asking God's forgiveness for them and praying for them a long time; then he said, `God has given one of his servants the choice between this world and that he meant himself and he wept, saying, `Nay, we and our children will be your ransom.' He replied, `Gently, Abu Bakr,' adding, `See to these doors that open on the mosque and shut them except one from Abu Bakr's house, for I know no one who is a better friend to me than he' (919).

`Abdu'l-Rahman b.`Abdullah tole me from one of the family of Sa`id b.al-Mu`alla that the apostle said in his speech that day, `If I were able to choose a friend on earth I would choose Abu Bakr, but comradeship and brotherhood in the faith remazin until God unites us in His presence.'

Muhammad b.Ja`far b.al-Zubayr told me from `Urwa b.al-Zubayr and other learned men that the apostle found the people tardy in joining the expedition of Usama, saying, `He has put a young man in command of the best of the emigrants and the helpers.' After praising God as is His due he said, `O men, dispatch Usama force, for though you criticize his leadership as you criticized the leadership of his father before him, he is just as worthy of the command as his father was.' Then he came down and the people hurried on with their preparations. The apostle's pain became severe and Usama and his army went out as far as al-Jurf, about a stage from Medina, and encamped there and men gathered to him. When the apostle became seriously ill Usama and his men stayed there to see what God would decide about the apostle.

Zuhri said that `Abdullah b.Ka`b b.Malik told him that the apostle said on the day that he asked God's forgiveness for the men of Uhud, `O Muhajirs, behave kindly to the Ansar, for other men increase but they in the nature of things cannot grow more numerous. They were my constant comfort and support. So treat their good men well and forgive those of them who are remiss.' Then he came down and entered his house and his pain increased until he was exhausted. Then some of his wives gathered to him, Umm Salama and Maymuna and some of the wives of the Muslims, among them Asma' d.`Umays while his uncle `Abbas was with him, and they agreed to force him to take medicine. `Abbas said, `Let me force him,' but they did it. When he recovered he asked who had treated him thus. When they told him it was his uncle he said, `This is a medicine which women have brought from that country,' and he pointed in the direction of Abyssinia. When he asked why they had done that his uncle said, `We were afraid that you would get pleurisy;' he replied, `That is a disease which God would not afflict me with. Let no one stop in the house until they have been forced to take this medicine, except my uncle.' Maymuna was forced to take it although she was fasting because of the apostle's oath, as a punishment for what they had done to him.

(T.Muhammad b.Ja`far b.al-Zubayr told me from `Urwa b.al-Zubayr that `A'isha told him that when they said that they were afraid that he would get pleurisy he said, `That is something which comes from the devil, and God would not let it have power over me.')

Sa`id b.`Ubayd b.al-Sabbaq from Muhammad b.Usama from his father told me that when the apostle's illness became severe he and the men came down to Medina and he went in to the apostle who was unable to speak. He began to lift his hand towards heaven and then bring it down upon him, from which he knew that he was blessing him.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me from `Ubayd b.Abdullah b.`Utba from `A'isha that she used to hear the apostle say, `God never takes a prophet to Himself without giving him the choice.' When he was at the point of death the last word I heard the apostle saying was, `Nay, rather the exalted Companion of paradise.'(Cf.Sura 4.71) I said (to myself), Then by God he is not choosing us! And I knew that that was what he used to tell us, namely that a prophet does not die without being given the choice.

Al-Zuhri said, Hamza b.`Abdullah b.`Umar told me that `A'isha said: `When the prophet became seriously ill he ordered the people to tell Abu Bakr to superintend them

prayers. `A'isha told him that Abu Bakr was a delicate man with a week voice who wept much when he read the Quran. He repeated his order nevertheless, and I repeated my objection. He said, "You are like Joseph's companions; tell him to preside at prayers." My only reason for saying what I did was that I wanted Abu Bakr to be spared this task, because I knew that people would never like a man who occupied the apostle's place, and would blame him for every misfortune that occured, and I wanted Abu Bakr to be spared this.'

Ibn Shihab said, `Abdullah b.Abu Bakr b.`Abdu'l-Rahman b.al-Harith b.Hisham told me from his father from `Abdullah b.Zama`a b.al-aswad b.al-Muttalib b.Asad that when the apostle was seriously ill and I with a number of Muslims was with him Bilal called him to prayer, and he told us to order someone to preside at prayers. So I went out and there was `Umar with the people, but Abu Bakr was not there. I told `Umar to get up and lead the prayers, so he did so, and when he shouted Allah Akbar the apostle heard his voice, for he had a powerful voice, and he asked where Abu Bakr was, saying twice over, `God and the Muslims forbid that.' So I was sent to Abu Bakr and he came after `Umar had finished that prayer and presided. `Umar asked me what on earth I had done, saying, `When you told me to take the prayers I thought that the apostle had given you orders to that effect; but for that I would not have done so.' I replied that he had not ordered me to do so, but when I could not see Abu Bakr I thought that he was most worthy of those present to preside at prayers.

Al-Zuhri said that Anas b.Malik told him that on the Monday (T.the day) on which God took His apostle he went out to the people as they were praying the morning prayer. The curtain was lifted and the door opened and out came the apostle and stood at `A'isha's door. The Muslims were almost seduced from their prayers for joy at seeing him, and he motioned to them (T.with his hand) that they should continue their prayers. The apostle smiled with joy when he marked their mein in prayer, and I never saw him with a nobler expression than he had that day. Then he went back and the people went away thinking that the apostle had recovered from his illness. Abu Bakr returned to his wife in al-Sunh.

Muhammad b.Ibrahim b.al-Harith told me from al-Qasim b.Muhammad that when the apostle heard `Umar saying Allah Akbar in the prayer he asked where Abu Bakr was. `God and the Muslims forbid this.' Had it not been for what `Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the apostle had appointed Abu Bakr his successor; but he said when he died,`If I appoint a successor, one better than I did so; and if I leave them (to elect my successor) one better than I did so.' So the people knew that the apostle had not appointed a successor and `Umar was not suspected of hostility towards Abu Bakr.(Abu Bakr appointed `Umar to succeed him; the prophet made no appointment.)

Abu Bakr b.`Abdullah b.Abu Mulayka told me that when the Monday came the apostle went out to morning prayer with his head wrapped up while Abu Bakr was leading the prayers. When the apostle went out the people's attention wavered, and Abu Bakr knew that the people would not behave thus unless the apostle had come, so he withdrew from his place; but the apostle pushed him in the back, saying, `Lead the men

in prayer,' and the apostle sat at his side praying in a sitting posture on the right ;of Abu Bakr. When he had ended prayer he turned to the men and spoke to them with a loud voice which could be heard outside the mosque: `O men, the fire is kindled, and rebellions come like the darkness of the night. By God, you can lay nothing to my charge. I allow only what the Quran allows and forbid only what the Quran forbids.'

When he had ended these words Abu Bakr said to him: `O prophet of God, I see that this morning you enjoy the favour and goodness of God as we desire; today is the day of Bint Kharija. May I go to her?' The apostle agreed and went indoors and Abu Bakr went to his wife in al-Sunh.

Al-Zuhri said, and `Abdullah b.Ka`b b.Malik from `Abdullah b.`Abbas told me: That day `Ali went out from the apostle and the men asked him how the apostle was and he replied that thanks be to God he had recovered. `Abbas took him by the hand and said, "Ali, three nights hence you will be a slave. I swear by God that I recognized death in the apostle's face as I used to recognize it in the faces of the sons of `Abdu'l-Muttalib. So let us go to the apostle; if authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others we will request him to enjoin the people to treat us well.' `Ali answered: `By God, I will not. If it is withheld from us none after him will give it to us.' The apostle died with the heat of noon that day.

Ya`qub b.`Utba from al-Zuhri from `Urwa from `A'isha said: The apostle came back to me from the mosque that day and lay in my bosom. A man of Abu Bakr's family came in to me with a toothpick in his hand and the aposlte looked at it in such a way that I knew he wanted it, and when I asked him if he wanted me to give it to him he said Yes; so I took it and chewed it for him to soften it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had ever seen him rub before; then he laid it down. I found him heavy in my bosom and as I looked into his face, lo his eyes were fixed and he was saying, `Nay, the most Exalted Companion is of paradise.' I said, `You were given the choice and you have chosen, by Him Who sent you with the truth!' And so the apostle was taken.

Yahya b.`Abbad b.`Abdullah b.al-Zubayr from his father told me that he heard `A'isha say: The apostle died in my bosom during my turn: I had wronged none in regard to him. It was due to my ignorance and extreme youth that the apostle died in my arms. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my breast and slapping my face along with the other women.

Al-Zuhri said, and Sa`id b.al-Musayyib from Abu Hurayra told me: When the apostle was dead `Umar got up and said: `Some of the disaffected will allege that the apostle is dead, but by God he is not dead: he has gone to his Lord as Moses b.`Imran went and was hidden from his people for forty days, returning to them after it was said that he had died. By God,the apostle will return as Moses returned and will cut off the hands and feet of men who allege that the apostle is dead.' When Abu Bakr heard what was happening he came to the door of the mosque as `Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention but went in to `A'isha's house to the apostle, who was lying covered by a mantle of Yamani cloth. He went and uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, `You are dearer

than my father and mother. You have tasted the death which God had decreed: a second death will never overtake you.' Then he replaced the mantle on the apostle's face and went out. `Umar was still speaking and he said, `Gently, `Umar, be quiet.' But `Umar refused and went on talking, and when Abu Bakr saw that he would not be silent he went forward to the people who, when they heard his words, came to him and left `Umar. Giving thanks and praise to God he said: `O men, if anyone worships Muhammad, Muhammad is dead: if anyone worships God, God is alive, immortal.' Then he recited this verse: `Muhammad is nothing but an aposlte. Apostles have passed away before him. Can it be that if he were to die or be killed you would turn back on your heels? He who turns back does not harm to God and God will reward the grateful.'(Sura 3.138) By God, it was as though the people did not know that this verse (T. concerning the apostle) had come down until Abu Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him and it was (constantly) in their mouths. `Umar said, `By God, when I heard Abu Bakr recite these words I was dumbfounded so that my legs would not bear me and I fell to the ground knowing that the apostle was indeed dead.'

244 - THE MEETING IN THE HALL OF B. SA`IDA

When the apostle was taken this clan of the Ansar gathered round Sa`d b.`Ubada in the hall of B.Sa`ida, and `Ali and al-Zubayr b.al-`Awwam and Talha b.`Ubaydullalh separated themselves in Fatima's house while the rest of the Muhajirin gathered round Abu Bakr accompanied by Usayd b.Hudayr with the B.`Abdu'l-Ashhal. Then someone came to Abu Bakr and `Umar telling them that this clan of the Ansar had gathered round Sa`d in the hall of B.Sa`ida. `If you want to have command of the people, then take it before their action becomes serious.' Now the apostle was still in his house, the burial arrangements not having been completed, and his family had locked the door of the house. `Umar said, `I said to Abu Bakr, Let us go to these our brothers of the Ansar to see what they are doing.'

In connextion with these events `Abdullah b.`Abu Bakr told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from `Ubaydullah b.`Abdullah b.`Utba b.Mas`ud from `Abdullah b.`Abbas who said, I was waiting for `Abdu'l-Rahman b.`Auf in his station in Mina while he was with `Umar in the last pilgrimage which `Umar performed. When he returned he found me waiting, for I was teaching him to read the Quaran. `Abdu'l-Rahman said to me: 'I wish you could have seen a man who came to the commander the faithfuland said, "O commander of the faithful, would you like a man who said, By God, if 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so fealty given to Abu Bakr was a hasty mistake and was ratified. " ' `Umar was angry and said,'God willing, I shall get up among the men tonight and warn them against those who want to usurp power over them.' I said,'Dont do it commander ofthe faithful, for the festival brings together the riff-raff and the lowest of the people; they are the ones who will be in the majority in your proximity (T. your assembly)when you stand among the people. And I am afraid lest you should get up and say something which they will repeat everywhere, not understanding what you say or interpreting it alright; so wait until you come to Medina, for it is the home of the sunna and you can confer privately with the lawyers and the nobles of the people. (T. you will come to the home of the hijra and the sunna and you can confer privately with

the apostle's companions both muhajirin and ansar) (The difference between the two reports of what I.I.said is interesting. Ziyad makes the lawyers and the say about them and regards the prophet's companions as the real authorities. If the tradition is genuine T.'s version must be authentic because there can hardly have been lawyers in `Umar's day. However, it is possible that at that time fiqh did not bear its later meaning.) You can say what you will and the lawyers (T.they) will understand what you say and interpret it properly.'`Umar replied,`By God, if He will I will do so as soon as I get to Medina.'

We came to Medina at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja and on the Friday I returned quickly when the sun had set and found Sa'id . Zayd b. 'Amr . nufayl sitting by the support of the pulpit and I sat opposite him knee to knee. Immediately 'Umar came out and when I saw him coming I said to Sa'id, 'He will say somethig tonight on this pulpit which he has never said since he was made caliph.' Sa'id was annoyed and asked, 'What do you suppose that he is going to say that he has never said before? 'Umar sat in the pulpit, and when the muczzins were silent he praised God as was fitting and said: 'I am about to say to you today something which God has willed that I should say and I do not know whether perhaps it is my last utterance. He who utterence and heeds it let him take it with him whithersoever he goes; and as for him who fears that he will not heed it, he may not deny that I said it. God sent Muhammad and sent down the scripture to him. Part of what he sent down was the passage on stoning; we read it, we were taught it and we heeded it. The apostle stoned (adulteres) and we stoned them after him. I fear that in time to come men will say that they find no mention of stoning in God's book and thereby go astray by neglecting and ordinance which God has sent down. Verily stoning in the book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if proof stands or pregnancy is clear or confession is made. Then we read in what we read from God's book: "Do not desire to have ancestors other than your own for it is infidelity so to do." (This citation, which on the face of it has nothing to do with adultery, shows that the aya of which it is the beginning was well known in I.I's time. It continues: If an adult man or woman commit adultery stone them without exception as a punishment from God. God is mighty and wise.' See Noldeke-Schewally, Gasch. d. Qorans, i.248, where the authorities are given. If it was part of the Quran it is difficult to see where it stood originally. Muslim authorities suggest Sura 33, but the rhyme forbids this; and Sura 24 but there the punsihment is scourging. Most commentators hold that the verse is one of those that was afterwards abrogated, while others say that it was accidentally lost owing to a domestic animal eating the part of the page on which the revelation was written. Cf. Zamakhshari on Sura 33, and others. This tradition which is carried back to 'A 'nisha is condemned as the invention of sectarians. There is a real proplem which can hardly be satisfactorily solved: on the one hand, the Quran teachers that aduterers must be scourged: on the other hand, this exceeding early tradition- much older than the later canonical collections of hadith that they must be stoned is evidently the authority which lies behind the penalty prescribed by Muslim lawbooks to this day. See the authorities quoted op.cit.,p.251.

Since the words shaykha and albatta occur nowhere in the Quran and since the first part of the verse appears in a slightly different form as a saying of Muhammad in

Muslim;s Sahih(Iman 27), the probability is that it never formed part of the Quran. However , if the traditional form of 'Umar's speech as given by i.i. (and by T. on another authority) is authentic, it remains to be explained why Umar, who was a most truthful man, should have stated publicly in the strongest possible terms that the verse was tobe read in the Quran.

Did not the apostle say, 'Do notpraise me extravagantly as Jesus son of Mary was praised and say 'The servant and the apostle of God?' I have heard that someone said, 'If 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so.'Don't let a man deceive himslef by saying that the acceptance of Abu bbakr was an unpremeditated affair (falta. I have translated this 'hasty mistake' on p.684. The exact meaning is some what elusive. which was ratified. 'Admittedly it was that, but God averted the evil of it. there is none among you to whom people would devoted themselves as they did to Abu Bakr. He who accepts a man as ruler without consulting the Muslims, such acceptance hqs no validity for either of them: they are in danger of being killed. What happened was that when God took away His apostle the Ansar opposed us and gathered with their chiefs in the hall of B.Sa'ida; and 'Ali and al-Zubayr and their companions withdrew from us; while the Muhajirin gathered to Abu Bakr.
I told Abu Bakr that we should go to our brothers the Ansar, so we went off to go to them when two honest fellows met us and told us of the conclusion the people had come to. They asked us where we were going, and when we told them they said that there was no need for us to approach them and we must make our own decision. I said, `By God, we will go to them,' and we found them in the hall of B.Saida. In the middle of them was a man wrapped up. In answer to my inquiries they said that he was Sa'd b. Ubada and that he was ill. When we sat down their speaker pronounced the shahada and praised God as was fitting and then continued: `We are God's Helpers and the squardron of Islam. You, O Muhajirin, are a family of ours and a company of your people have come to settle.' (Umar) said,` And lo, they were trying to cut us off from our origin and wrest authority from us. (The crucial word qala indicating that Umar was the speaker is missing from W. T. 1822 makes the passage perfectly clear. He said When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from (yakhtazilu) our origin and wrest authority from us and I had prepared,' & c. The passage is of great importance in that it shows how the Emigrants were then the dominating party and henceforth the Ansar would have to take a subordinate place). When he had finished I wanted to speak, for I had prepared a speech in my mid which pleased me much. I wanted to produce it before Abu Bakr and I was trying to soften a certain asperity of his ; but Abu Bakr said,`Gently, Umar I did not like to anger him and so he spoke. He was a man with more knowledge and dignity than I, and by God he did not omit a single word which I had thought of and he uttered it in his inimitable way better than I could have done.

He said:`All the good that you have said about yourselves is derserved. But the Arabs will recognise authority only in this clan of Quraysh, they being the best of the Arabs in blood of country. I offer you one of these two men: accept which you please.' Thus saying he took hold of my hand and that of Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah, who was sitting between us. Nothing he said displeased me more than that. By God, I would rather have

come forward and have had my head struck off-if that were no sin-than rule over a people of whom Abu Bakr was one.

One of the Ansar Said: I am the rubbing post and the fruitful propped-up palm. (i.e. a man who can cure people's ills and is held in high esteem because of his great experience). Let us have on ruler and you another, O Quraysh.' Altercation waxed hotter and voices were raised until when a complete breach was to be feared I said, `Stretch out your hand, Abu Bakr.' He did so and I paid him homage; the Muhajirin followed and then the Ansar. (In doing so) we jumped on Sa'd b. Ubada and someone said that we had killed him. I said,`God kill him.'

Al-Zuhri said that Urwa b. al-Zubayr told him that one of the two men whom they met on the way to the hall was `Uwaym b. Sa'ida and the other was Ma'n b. Adiy, brother of B.al-Ajlan. Concerning Uwaym we have heard that when the apostle was asked who were those of whom God said `In it are men who love to purify themselves and God loves those who purify themselves,'(Sura 9.109) the apostle said that the best man of them was Uwaym b. Sa'ida. As to Ma'n, we have heard that when men wept over the apostle's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would split up into factions, he said that eh did not want to die before him so that he could bear witness to his truth when he was dead as he had done when he was alive. Ma'n was killed on the day of al-Yamama as a martyr in the caliphate of Abu Bakr, the day of Musaylima the arch-liar.

Al-Zuhri told me on the authority of Anas b. Malik: On the morrow of Abu Bakr's acceptance in the hall he sat in the pulpit and Umar got up and spoke before him, and after praising God as was meet he said, ` O men, yesterday I said something (T. based on my, own opinion and) which I do not find in God's book nor was it something which the apsotle entrusted to me; but I thought that the apostle would order our affairs (T.until) he was the last of us (alive). God has left His book with you, that by which He guided His apostle and if you hold fast to that God will guide you as He guided him. God has placed your affairs in the hands of the best one among you, the companion of the apostle, "the second of the two when they wer in the cave", (Sura 9.40) so arise and swear fealty to him.' Thereupon the people swore fealty to Abu Bakr as a body after the pledge in the hall.

Abu Bakr said after praising God: `I have been given authority over you but I am not the best of you. If I do well, help me, and if I do ill, then put me right. Truth consists in loyalty and falsehood in treachery. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right if God will; and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him. If a people refrain from fighting in the way of God, God will smite them with disgrace. Wickedness is never widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey God and His apostle , and if I disobey them you owe me no obedience. Arise to prayer. God have mercy on you.'

Husayn b. Abdullah told me from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas who said: When Umar was caliph I was walking with him while he was intent on business of his. We were alone and

he had a whip in his hand, and as he talked to himself he swished the side of his legs with his whip. As he turned to me he asked me if I knew what induced him to speak as he did when the apostle died. I said that only he could know that, and he went on: "It was because I used to read `thus we have made you a middle people that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you,' (Sura 2.137) and by God I thought that the apostle would remain among his people until he could witness against them as to the last things they did. That was what induced me to say what I did."

245 - THE BURIAL PREPARATIONS

When fealty had been sworn to Abu Bakr men came to prepare the apostle for burial on the Tuesday. Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and Husayn b. Abdullah and others of our companions told me that Ali and Abbas and his sons al-Fadl adn Qutham and Usama b. Zayd and Shuqran freedman of the apostle were those who took charge of the washing of him; and that Aus b. Khauli, one of B. Auf b. al-khazraj, said, `I adjure you by God,' Ali and by our share in the apostle. (Sc. that you will let me take part or some such apodosis) Aus was one of the apostle's companions who had been at Badr. Ali gave him permission to enter and he he came in and sat down and was present at the washing of the apostle . Ali drew him on to his breast and Abbas and al-Fadl and Qutham turned him over along with him. Usama and Shuqran poured the water over him, while Ali washed him, having drawn him towards him breast. He still wore his shirt with which he rubbed him from the outside without touching the apostle's body with his hand the while he said, `Dearer than my father and my mother, how sweet you are alive and dead!' The apostle's body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father Abbad from Aisha: When they wanted to wash the apostle dispute arose. They did not know whether they were to strip him of his clothes as they stripped their dead or to wash him with his clothes on. As they disputed God cast a deep sleep upon them so that every man's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a voice came from the direction of the house, none knowing who it was: `Wash the apostle with his clothes on.' So they got up and went to the apostle and washed him with his shrit on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt between him and them (T. Aisha used to say, `Had I known at the beginning of my affair what I knew at the end of it none but his wives would have washed him.)

Jafar b. Muhammad b. Ali b. al-Husayn from his father from his grandfather Ali b. Al-Husayn, and al-Zuhri from Ali b-al-Husayn, said that when the apostle had been washed he was wrapped the one over the other.

Husayn b. Abdullah told me from Ikrima from Ibn Abbas: Now Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah used to open the ground as the Meccans dig, and Abu Talha Zayd b. Sahl used to dig graves for the Medinans and to make a niche in them and when they wanted to bury the apostle al-Abbas called two me and told one to go to Abu Ubayda and the other to Abu Talha saying, `O God, choose for (T.thy) the apostle.' The one sent to Abu Talha

found his man and brought him and he dug the grave with the niche for the apostle. (All muslims graves contain this niche or recess).

When the preparations for burial had been completed on the Tuesday he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disputed over the place of burial. Some were in favour of burying him in his mosque, while others wanter to bury him with his companions. Abu Bakr said,`I heard the apostle say, "NO prophet dies but he is buried where he died." ; so the bed on which he died was taken up and they made a grave beneath it. Then the people came to visit the apostle praying over him by companies: first come the men, then the woman, then the children (T. then the slaves) No man acted as imam in the prayers over the apostle. The apostle was buried in the middle of the night of the Wednesday.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from his wife Fatima d. (T. Muhammad b.) Umara from Amra d. Abdul Rahman b. Sa'd b. Zurara that Aisha said: We knew nothing about the burial of the apostle until we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the middle of the Wednesday night. Ibn Ishaq Said: Fatima told me this tradition.

Those who descended into the grave were Ali and al-Fadl and Qutham the sons of Abbas and Shuqran. Aus implored Ali in the name of God and his share in the apostle to let him descend, and he let him go with the others. When the apostle was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him Shuqran his freedman took a garment which the apostle used to wear and use as a rug and buried (T. cast) it in the grave saying,`By God, none shall ever wear it after you,' so it was buried with the apostle.

Al-Mughira b. Shuba used to claim that he was the last man to be with the apostle. He used to say, `I took my ring and let it fell into the grave and said, My ring has dropped. But I threw it in purposely that I might touch the apostle and be the last man to be with him.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from Miqsam, freedman of Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal, from his freedman Abdullah b.al-Harith: I went on the little pilgrimage (T.I poured out) ablution water was poured out for him and he washed. When he had finished some Iraqis came in saying that they had come to ask to him about a matter on which they would like him to give them some information. He said,`I suppose that al-Mughira tells you that he was the last person to be with the apostle? When they said that that was so, he said,`He lies. The last man to be with the apostle was Qutham b. Abbas.'

Salih b. Kaysan told me from al-Zuhri from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Utba that Aisha told him: The apostle wore a black cloak when he suffered severe pain. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at others he would take it off, saying the while, `God slay a people who choose the graves of their prophets as mosques,' warning his community against such a pratice.

On the same authority I was told that the injunction the apostle gave was in his words `Let not two religious be left in the Arabian peninsula.' (T. The apostle died on the 12th Rabi ul-awwal on the very day that he came to Medina as a emigrant, having completed

exactly twelve years in his migration.) When the apostle was dead the Muslims were sore stricken. I have heard that Aisha used to say, `When the apostle died the Arabs apostatized and Christianity and Judaism raised their hands and disaffection appeared. The Muslims became as sheep exposed to rain on a winter's night through the loss of their prophet until God united them under Abu Bakr (920).

Hassan said mourning the apostle:

Tell the poor that plenty has left them
With the prophet who departed from them
Who was it who has a saddle and a camel for me,
My family's sustenance when rain falls?
Or with whom can we argue without anxiety
When the tongue runs away with a man?

He was the light and the brilliance we followed.
He was sight and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The Banu'l-Najjar were utterly abased,
But it was a thing decreed by God.
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves.
(Apparently `the pople' are the Ansar and `they' are the Quraysh. The connexion of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come via I.I.)

Hassan also said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide to his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright.
Your wives stripped the tents in morning
And did not strike the pegs behind the curtains.
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (921).